EXTRACTS
FROM THE
DISTRICT & STATES GAZETTEERS
OF THE
PUNJAB (PAKISTAN)

VOLUME TWO

Research Society of Pakistan
University of the Punjab,
Lahore

CONTENTS

CONTENTS

GENERAL PREFACE

To meet a long standing need of general readers and research scholars, the Research Society of Pakistan, has decided to reprint by off-set process the following sections of official District and States Gazetteers of the Punjab (Pakistan) and the Punjab (India) :—

1. Physical Description.
2. History.
3. Families of note.
4. Arts and Manufactures.
5. Places of interest.

The reprint is based on the revised editions of the Gazetteers published mostly in the first quarter of this century.

Page numbers of the extracts have been kept intact to facilitate reference. However for the convenience of general readers, serial numbers have been given at the bottom of each page.

The reprint is in two volumes each of the Punjab (Pakistan) and the Punjab (India) in the alphabetical order of the names of the Districts. A general index has also been added.

The first volume of the series namely the Punjab (Pakistan) has already been published. This is the second volume, which contains the remaining districts of the Punjab (Pakistan) and Bahawalpur State.

It may, however, be added that inspite of our strenuous afforts we have not been able to include in this volume anything relating to the Sheikhupura District which came into existence in 1919 by detaching portions of the Districts of Gujranwala and Lahore and amalgamating them to form a new district. We have not been able to locate a copy of Part A of the Gazetteer although copies of Part B are available. Perhaps Part A was never published. A few stray references can be found in the first volume of this series in the Districts of Gujranwala and Lahore.

DR. M. JAHANGIR KHAN
Director
Research Society of Pakistan

14th May 1977.

GAZETTEER

OF THE

MULTAN DISTRICT,

BY

E. D. MACLAGAN, Esquire, C.S.,

Settlement Officer.

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PREFACE.

The present edition of the Multan District Gazetteer is based on the first edition, which was issued in 1884: but the material has been brought up to date, and has, in many cases, been entirely recast. Considerable use has been made of the information collected in Rai Hukm Chand's *Tawárikh-i-Multán,* which was published shortly after the Revenue Settlement of 1873-1880, and the Editor is under special obligations to several members of the staff of the recent Settlement (1896-1901) for help in the production of the present work.

September 1892.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISTRICT.

SECTION A.—DESCRIPTION.

Chapter I.

Descriptive.

Boundaries.

The Multan district lies between north latitude 29° 22′ and 30° 45′, and east longitude 71° 4′ and 72° 55′. It is bounded on the east, north and west by the districts of Montgomery, Jhang and Muzaffargarh, and on the south by the feudatory State of Baháwalpur. Roughly speaking, the Sutlej separates it from Baháwalpur, and the Chenáb from Muzaffargarh, but in the case of Jhang and Montgomery the boundary is an artificial one, running for the most part through desert country. The boundary with Montgomery has been maintained fairly consistently from the time of annexation, but the Jhang boundary has sometimes altered, always in the direction of increasing the Multan territories. The greater part of the Trans-Rávi tract was added to Multan in 1851, the river having previously formed the boundary. In 1880 five more villages on the lower Rávi were transferred, so that the whole of the area dependent for inundation on the Rávi might be included in the Multan district. Again, in 1898, eight more villages near the confluence of the Rávi and Chenáb were absorbed, with the object of facilitating certain extensions of the Sidhnai Canal system in that direction; and with the recent advent of the Chenáb Canal into the neighbourhood, it is possible that further changes in the district boundaries may take place. To the west, the deep stream of the Chenáb formed an ever-varying boundary until the year 1893, when it was laid down that specified villages should always remain portions of the Multan and Muzaffargarh districts respectively, whether they were on the right or the left bank of the river. The district of Multan as now constituted forms a rough triangle having as its basis the Montgomery line, and its apex the point of junction of the Chenab and Sutlej. The length of the base is about 60 miles; that of the Chenab line 100 miles as the crow flies and that of the Sutlej some 20 or 30 miles longer.

Area and general description.

The total area of the district, according to the village survey carried out in 1897–1899, is 5,948 square miles, of which 2,257 square miles are Government waste. The area, excluding Government waste, was thus 3,691 square miles, of which, again, only 1,572 were returned as cultivated, and of which only 1,237 were found to be on an average under crops. The cultivation

Chapter I.
Descriptive.
Area and general description.

was thus only 27 per cent. of the total area, whilst only 21 per cent. was actually under crop. The district is divided into five tahsils; and some leading statistics regarding the district and these tahsils are given in Table No. I. opposite the first page of this volume. The district contains one town of more than 10,000 souls, namely, Multan, with a population (including cantonments) of 87,394. The administrative head-quarters are situated at Multan, on the North-Western Railway, four miles from the left bank of the Chenáb, on about the middle point of the western boundary of the district. Multan stands 4th in order of area and 18th in order of population among the 32 districts of the province, comprising 6·3 per cent. of the total area, 3·5 per cent. of the total population, and 4·7 per cent. of the urban population of the British part of the Punjab territories. The latitude, longitude, and height in feet above the sea of the head-quarter station of each tahsil are shown in the margin.

	North latitude.	East longitude.	Feet above sea level.
Multan ...	30° 12′	71° 31′	402
Shujabad ...	29° 53′	71° 20′	360
Lodhrán ...	29° 32′	71° 41′	380
Mailsi ...	29° 47′	72° 15′	431
Kabírwála ...	30° 24′	71° 55′	437

Tahsils.

As will be gathered from the above statistics, the district is divided into five tahsils. The head-quarters of the Multan, Shujabad and Mailsi tahsils have been at those places from the beginning of British rule. Those of the Lodhrán* tahsil were for two or three years at Kot Pir Saadat until they were removed to their present situation on the high road from Multan to Bahawálpur. The head-quarters of the northernmost tahsil were at Sarai Siddhu till August 1889, when, in consequence of the changes caused by the Sidhnai Canal, they were transferred to Kabírwála. As regards the internal boundaries of these tahsils, there have, exclusive of small alterations, been three main changes made since annexation. Firstly, during the Settlement of 1856—1859 a large stretch of desert country lying between the old bed of the Bias and its old right-hand high bank were transferred from the Sarai Siddhu to the Mailsi tahsil. Then, in 1881, a series of changes were made with the object of enlarging the Shujabad and decreasing the Mailsi charge: under these arrangements the Shujabad tahsil, which formerly only reached to the old Biás, was extended southwards by the addition of 27 villages from Lodhrán, so as to include all the area ordinarily irrigated from the Chenáb river, and at the same time 60 villages in the neighbourhood of Kahror were transferred from the Mailsi to the Lodhrán tahsil. Even after

* This name, derived from the Lodhra tribe, is sometimes pronounced with the accent on the last syllable as though it were a Persian word, but in common parlance the accent is on the first syllable, and it is often spoken of among the people as Lodhra or Lodhrán

Chapter I Descriptive. Tahsils.

these changes were made, however, the Mailsi tahsil was still found too unwieldly, and Shujabad too light a charge, and further alterations were made in 1897, by which the greater part of the remainder of the Jalálpur thána, consisting of 46 villages, was transferred from Lodhrán to Shujabad, while 104 villages to the east of Kahror were taken over from Mailsi in compensation.

The rivers.

The whole of the tract is an alluvial plain sloping gently from the north-east to the south-west, with a slight slope also from the north-west to the south-east. It is all of comparatively, and much of it of very, recent formation. The past physical history of the district is in fact the history of the rivers, which have made up the formation: and an exceedingly difficult history it is to unravel.*

The Rávi.

The Rávi would seem to have had three different courses within historical times. The earliest was in a straight line from Tulamba, that is, from shortly below the point of its entering the district, to the city of Multan. This route is indicated by a slight difference in the level of the land along a certain part of the tract of country lying immediately south of Tulamba and by some marked depressions in the country round Rashida and Tatipur. The next course adopted by the stream entailed the abandonment of its bed south of Tulamba for the extraordinary reach known as the Sidhnai (*i.e.*, the straight river), which is a perfectly straight cutting some ten or twelve miles in length from a little west of Tulamba to a little east of Sarai Siddhu. The origin of this wonderful reach is wrapt in mystery. The Hindús, who have a temple to Sita at Kachlamba at the head of the reach, and two to Rám Chandar and Lachman at Rám Chauntra and Lachman Chauntra at the tail, tell the story that Ráma and Lachman were bathing here, and having no one to watch their clothes, commanded the river to run straight on, which it did. Other variations of the legend explain that Sita was bathing at Kachlamba, and that the river straightened out to enable the brothers to see her from Rám Chauntra; or that some beautiful goddess (name unknown), who was bathing in the river, was pursued by the River-god, who, as she hid behind successive corners, straightened them out to obtain a view of her. The Muhammadans also have their own stories to tell. Some say that the Sidhnai reach was excavated by a Muhammadan king, whose name is no longer remembered. Others tell how, when Dára Shikoh was being pursued by Aurangzeb, one of his followers, to whom he entrusted his crown, threw it into the Rávi to prevent its falling into the hands of his pursuers, and how Aurangzeb, in order to recover the crown, diverted the Rávi by the

* Some attempts have been made in Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 221-2, in Major Raverty's article on 'The Mihran of Sind and its Tributaries' (J. A. S. B., 1893, vol. lxi.), and in Surgeon-Major Oldham's article on the 'Lost River of the Indian Desert' in the *Calcutta Review*, July 1874.

Chapter I.

Descriptive

Sidhnai reach into the Chenáb. From sober history we obtain as little aid as from these versatile fictions, for in no historical or geographical work does any clear indication appear to be given, either of the origin of this reach or of the date of its formation. Against the theory that the reach was artificially made, are the width of the bed and the absence of all traces of excavation: on the other hand, it is equally difficult to imagine the river cutting for itself a perfectly straight channel through the highest and hardest land in the neighbourhood. From whatever origin it has sprung, the reach as it now stands presents in flood time a most imposing and beautiful spectacle, probably not to be surpassed on any of the rivers of the Punjab plains; either side being overhung with a rich growth of graceful trees, among which the date-palm is the most plentiful and prominent.* From the lower end of this striking reach the river used in former times to bend its course southwards, joining the older bed about Rashída, and passing on like the older river, to the neighbourhood of Multan. This course of the river lay almost through the centre of the area now irrigated by the Sidhnai Canal; and in many of the Sidhnai villages the depressions which it has left are still spoken of as 'rávis.' From the banks of the river as it so ran were taken off a large number of canals and water-courses, the remains of which (known as *árás*,) are still prominent in the neighbourhood of Makhdúm Rashíd, Kádirpur Ran and other Sidhnai villages, but are slowly disappearing before the mattock of the cultivator. The presence of the Rávi at Multan is attested as early as A.D. 712, when the city was taken by Muhammad Bin Kásim; and though tradition states that when the Gardezis settled in Multan at the end of the 11th century the river had left the city, we find that in Tamerlane's time the Rávi joined the Chenáb below Multan. In 1502 A.D. we hear of the Rávi being adopted as the boundary between the Lodi and Langáh dominions, and of its being then only 20 miles from Shorkot†; a fact which would seem to indicate the existence of the Sidhnai reach, and possibly also the junction of the Rávi with the Chenáb (as at present) shortly below the reach. The statement of Abul Fazl,‡ that the Rávi and Chenáb at the end of the sixteenth century joined at Zafarpur (a place no longer identifiable), 27 *kos* from the confluence of the Chenáb and Jhelum, and 60 *kos* from that of the Chenáb and Indus, has been held to show that the Rávi and Chenáb then joined in much the same neighbourhood as at present; and this is not inconsistent with the other indications of the Ain, so far as these can be followed. In the days of Aurangzeb, however, there is no doubt that the Rávi again ran past

* Masson, who travelled along the reach about the year 1827, says: 'The margins of the stream are fringed with groves of date-trees in which numerous wells are found, shaded by *pipals*. The opposite bank being embellished in like manner, the scenery up and down the river is fine and attractive.' (Travels I. 401)

† Ferishta iv. 393-5. Tab. Akb. Ell. v, 469.

‡ Ain ii. 326 (Jarrett's Translation).

Chapter I.

Descriptive.

The Rávi.

Multan: for we hear of the Emperor's camp being pitched in A.D. 1658 at Multan within 3 miles of the place where the Chenáb and Rávi met*; and the revenue village or *mahal* of Multan was divided in this same period into portions called '*tarafs*,' of which one, on the south-east of the city, retains the name of Taraf Rávi to this day. And writing as late as the end of the 18th century, the geographer Bernoulli † (depending, it is true, on sources of information which may have been somewhat out of date) remarks that the right bank of the Rávi was 2 or 3 miles from Multan, and that a branch of that river, known as the Monan, ran within a mile of the city. Even in comparatively recent years previous to the intervention of the Sidhnai cultivation, it was not unusual in flood time for a spill to pass from the Rávi down the old bed as far as the suburbs of the city; but as to the date on which the river finally diverted its course, so as to join with the Chenáb, as now, in the neighbourhood of Chauki Muhan,‡ it is impossible to make any statement. Indeed, it is very likely that the course of this river has undergone several marked alterations in either direction during historica times, and it is impossible to be sure without definite information as to the position which it occupied at any particular date.

The volume of water in the Rávi during the winter months has much decreased owing to the supplies taken off by the Bári Doáb Canal, and for the greater part of the cold weather its bed in this district is absolutely dry. When there is water in the river the whole of this is rendered available for irrigation by the dam at the head of the Sidhnai Canal; and the irrigation, owing to the rich quality of the silt in suspension, is of an excellent character. The river above the Sidhnai reach has of late years been straightening itself out, and has thus deprived many villages of the inundations on which they used to depend; while, at the same time, it has shown a marked tendency to scour its bed and thus reduce the surface level of the water. Although, therefore, in many ways the most interesting of the rivers of the district, the Rávi is also the most uncertain and the most disappointing.

The Chenáb.

The Chenáb,§ on the other hand, (or rather the united Jhelum and Chenáb) is, where it flows through this district, an imposing river, never dry, and never. even fordable except in remarkably dry winters. It is not unlikely that the Chenáb originally flowed in a course some miles to the east of its present bed, passing, in fact, the same route as that above described as having at one time (*viz.*, after being abandoned by the Chenáb) occupied by the Rávi between Sarai Siddhu and

*Alamgírnama, pp. 200, *seq.*
†Desc. Ind. i. 116.
‡ This village derives its name from the fact of its being at the mouth of the Rávi.
§ Locally pronounced Chanha.

Chapter I.

Descriptive.

The Chenáb.

Rashída. While the Chenáb was in this bed, both Shorkot and Multan lay to the west of the river; and it is held by some authorities* that Multan lay to the west of the Chenáb as late as A.D. 1245, when the country was attacked by the Moghal Manguta. The river, however, flowed to the west of the city (as it now does) in the days of Albiruni, that is to say, in the 11th century, and it was also to the west of the city at the time of Tamerlane's invasion and at the time of the writing of the Ain-i-Akbari; and it is probable that Multan has lain east of the Chenáb for at least five centuries, if not longer. As it now runs the river has no very marked high bank, and the difference between the average level in January and the level of the highest floods is stated to be 13 feet. The damage which used to be done in years of excessive flood, such as 1893 and 1894, was very serious, the inundation at one time threatening even the safety of Multan itself; but steps have since been taken by a series of embankments, extending from Khatti-Chor in the Kabírwála tahsil to Dhundhun south of Shujabad, to protect the country from the possibility of such inundations in future. The Chenáb water, though less fertilizing than that of the Rávi, is more so than that of the Sutlej; and the people in the south-west of the district, whose lands receive water from both rivers, mark the difference by calling the Sutlej *nar* or male, and the Chenab *máda* or female. The stream is navigable throughout by country boats, and steamers used to ply upon it as far as Bandarghat until the breaking up of the flotilla some 20 years ago.

The Biás.

The Biás, which is known locally as the Viyáh, flowed, until comparatively recent times, in a bed, still very well marked, through the centre of the district from the neighbourhood of Pakhi Mián on the east to that of Theh Kalán on the west. Although this bed is very small and narrow, the basin of the river in flood was fairly large, if we may judge from the remains of the right high bank, which are well marked along a great part of the course of the stream, running parallel to the old channel at a distance of several miles. On the left or southern side the old Biás has no high bank. The Biás was running in its old bed at the time of Tamerlane's invasion, and the country which it watered is described as full of supplies and prosperous towns. The river was also in its old bed in the days of the Ain-i-Akbari, and the pargana of Khai, which depended on this river for its prosperity, is described by popular rumour as a tract which yielded the traditional 'nine lakhs' of revenue. There are still remains of several canal cuts taking out from the Biás, both in the neighbourhood of Khai (near Mitru) and elsewhere; and these old canal cuts are still known to the people by their original names (Shekhwah, Lodanwah, Kálúwah, Gauharwah, etc.), though they have been out of use for many

* See Raverty (J. A. S. B., 1892, pp. 157, 159 and 165).

Chapter I.

Descriptive.

The Biás.

years. There is a story that the Biás deserted its original course because certain boatmen refused to carry a *fakir* across the stream, thereby entailing the curse of the *fakir* on everything concerned with the contretemps. As to the date at which the river left its bed to join, as it now does, with the Sutlej near Hari ka Pattan in the Lahore district, local accounts are very vague. People generally say that the event occurred some 200 years ago, and there are said to be some historical evidences of this. On the other hand, the stream is shown as flowing in its present course in Rennell's map of Hindustán, dated 1788, and there was a very old man living in 1889 who is said to have remembered the drying up of the stream in his youth.* The ordinarily accepted date for the change appears to be A.D. 1790 or 1796, † but it is possible that the process of change was only gradual.

The Sutlej.

The remaining river of the district is the Sutlej. The river is sometimes spoken of, especially in the upper part of its course, as the Níli, but the ordinary name for it is the Ghára; Satlaj or Sattluj being the '*sirkári nám*' employed in talking to officials only. This river, like the rest, has changed its course within historical times, but our information regarding its vagaries is somewhat uncertain. It is believed by some‡ that the Sutlej originally joined with a river known as the Hakra, but now lost, which used to flow through the Baháwalpur State at a distance of some 40 miles south of the present channel of the Sutlej. Abulfazl's description of the Sutlej and Biás is not very intelligible,§ but from the account given by him of the Suba of Multan, it is clear that the Sutlej in the time of Akbar ran in a bed not materially different from that which it now occupies. The river bed is narrower and more sharply defined than that of the Chenáb, and the depth of water during the cold weather seldom exceeds 12 feet, rising in flood to 18 feet. The river is in several places fordable in dry winters; and the difference between the average level in January and the level of the highest floods is only 9 feet, as compared with 13 feet on the Chenáb. The northern bank of the river is, moreover, far better defined than that of the Chenáb, and in ordinary years presents a sufficient barrier to the flooding beyond it. Near the confluence of the two rivers the intervening land is regularly flooded during the summer, but the floods come almost entirely from the Chenáb, the Sutlej, as a rule, only inundating the area below the high bank. As compared with the Chenáb, the Sutlej is very capricious in its inundations, and the area flooded varies very much from year to year. The stream is navigable throughout by

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* *See* Raverty (J. A. S. B., 1893, p. 179); *see* also *Calcutta Review*, 1875, p. 337.

† *See* Dr. Oldham in *Calcutta Review*, July 1874, and Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p. 222.

‡ *See* Dr. Oldham's article referred to. This view is strongly opposed in another article by 'Nearchus' in *Calcutta Review*, 1875, p. 323, *seq*.

§ *See* Aín (Jarrett), ii. 326.

Chapter I.

Descriptive.

River discharges, etc.

country boats, and in the days of steam navigation steamers occasionally went up as far as Ferozepore.

There are no data to show the discharges of the Sutlej river in this district, but there are records for the Chenáb at Sher Shah since 1890, which give the following minimum discharges: —

Year.	*Minimum discharge.*	*Year.*	*Minimum discharge.*
1891-92 ...	12,200	1896-97 ...	11,600
1892-93 ...	15,550	1897-98 ...	10,100
1893-94 ...	21,900	1898-99 ...	5,900
1894-95 ...	21,300	1899-1900 ...	5,400
1895-96 ...	20,300		

The question of the supply of water in the rivers is of considerable interest in connection with the canal system of the district and with the complaints often made that the canals have suffered from the construction of the Sirhind and Chenáb Canals. The Sirhind Canal was opened in 1883-84, began to develop in 1887-88, and was in full working order in 1891-92; while the Chenáb canal was opened in 1887-88, began to develop in 1892-93, and was practically in full working order in 1897-98. The canals of this district begin to flow in the spring when the floods rise, and cease flowing in the autumn when the floods subside, so that the effect of canals above-stream would be felt mainly in the months of April and October. The average gauge readings on the rivers have been as follows*: —

	Chenab River.			Sutlej River.		
	For whole year.	For April.	For October.	For whole year.	For April.	For October
1879—1883	391·13	390·78	390·04	370·96	369·79	370·46
1884—1888	391·84	392·51	390·07	371·22	369·76	371·27
1889—1893	391·90	391·96	390·55	371·25	369·95	371·33
1894—1898	391·13	392·18	370·24	370·23	368·45	369·64

* The Chenáb readings were at Bandarghát till December 1894, when the gauge was removed to Sher Shah. The Sutlej readings are at Adamwáhan.

River discharges, &c.

The average annual period for which the canals were running are given below*: —

	Chenab River			Sutlej River.		
	Average date of opening of canals.	Average date of closing of canals.	Period of running of canals.	Average date of opening of canals.	Average date of closing of canals.	Period of running of canals.
			Days.			Days.
1865—69 ...	26 April..	25 Sept....	152	19 April...	10 Oct. ...	175
1870—74 ...	17 " ...	27 " ...	163	3 May ..	9 " ...	159
1875—79 ...	22 " ...	28 " ...	159	13 April..	11 " ...	182
1880—84 ...	21 " ..	4 Oct. ..	166	2 " ..	17 " ...	190
1885—89 ...	24 " ...	22 Sept....	151	8 " ..	22 " ...	198
1890—94 ...	22 " ...	1 Oct. ..	162	20 " ...	9 " ...	174
1895—99 ...	29 " ...	1 " ..	135	7 May ...	6 " ...	165

The average areas irrigated (including failed areas) by the inundation canals, other than the Hájiwah canal, have been :—

	Chenáb Canals,	Sutlej Canals,
	Acres.	Acres.
1868-69 to 1872-73	101,353 ...	111,165
1873-74 to 1877-78	130,407 ...	137,249
1878-79 to 1882-83	154,380 ...	169,097
1883-84 to 1887-88	157,716 ...	173,706
1888-89 to 1892-93	164,531 ...	169,507
1893-94 to 1897-98	170,879 ...	171,119

Configuration of the district

Strictly speaking, the district (if we omit consideration of the Trans-Rávi tract, which geographically is rather a portion of the Jhang district) consists of two main portions, *viz.*, (i) the high central plateau between the old bed of the Rávi and the old right bank of the Biás, a tract which is looked upon as the *bár* proper, though the term is also commonly applied to all lands outside the reach of the river; and (ii) a low alluvial plain sloping away from this central plateau towards the beds of the rivers. For practical purposes, however, it is more convenient to look on the district as composed of three distinctive tracts, namely, (*a*) the tract within the sphere of the direct influence of the rivers, (*b*) that reached by the canals, and (*c*) that beyond the reach of the canals.

The riverain.

The riverain tract, which is spoken of as the Hithár or the 'Kandha Daryá,' presents much the same features as similar tracts in other parts of the province. In the winter we find a straggling, sluggish stream, meandering between sandbanks,

* This relates to the four large Chenáb Canals (*viz.*, the Dauráno Langána, Wali Muhammad, Sikandarabad and Gajjuhatta), and to all the Sutlej Canals except the Hájiwáh.

Chapter I.

Descriptive.
The riverain.

and along its sides long stretches of low tamarisk scrub, interspersed with long fields of gram, or wheat, or peas. In July come the floods (*chhal*), and the whole of the lower tract adjoining the river is inundated with water. Where there is an inlet towards the areas further from the river, or where the slope to the river bed is very gradual, the inundation spreads further inland, and (especially in the south-western corner of the district) penetrates by creeks and natural depressions to villages far distant from the river. Where the river is a full and vigorous stream like the Chenáb, the riverain villages are in many places protected by embankments against its encroachments, but the moisture will percolate much further inland than the actual floods themselves. Where the river is more feeble, as in the case of the Sutlej, its inundations are, as a rule, confined to the areas below the high bank; but the existence of the bank enables the zamindárs to make more frequent use of *jhalárs* for conveying the river water on to the higher lands. The areas under the direct influence of the river are usually very bare of trees; but in the higher lands subject to the indirect benefit of the river moisture, trees and vegetation of all kinds are more luxuriant than in the tracts further inland.

The canal irrigated tract.

It is in the tract intervening between the riverain and the *bár* that the canals find their sphere of action. The canals of this district are (with the exception of the Sidhnai) inundation canals, running only when there is sufficient flood in the river to reach the level of their beds at the places where they take off from the river. An account of these canals will be given in Chapter V below; and meantime it will suffice to notice that the course of these canals and of their branches is generally manifested to the eye by a line of vegetation and a series of high spoil banks. The watercourses by which the water is taken from the canals to the fields, require, like the canals themselves, an annual silt clearance, and the banks on either side tend thus to grow higher year by year. The cultivation dependent on these canals is aided by an immense number of wells dotted over the tract under consideration, each with its Persian wheel attached and its cattle byres adjoining. The greater number of the cultivators live in houses round these wells in groups of three or four families to each well; but in many places there is some central well or other spot where the chief landowners, and artizans, and others are more especially congregated. Both the individual wells and the larger villages or *bastis* are, as a rule, distinguished to the eye by the cluster of trees that adjoins them, but elsewhere, except along the banks of canals and watercourses, this intermediate tract of country is marked by little in the shape of tree vegetation.

The bár.

There remains the third tract of high land beyond the reach of the canals, which is known by the general name of

Chapter I.

Descriptive.
The bár.

'the *bár*.' The high tract between the old banks of the Rávi and Biás is known properly as the Ganji *bár*. Between this and the Chenáb lies the Ráwa or Rávi *bár* (a term which for revenue purposes has been applied to the whole *bár* tract of the district); and to the south lie the Biás *bár* and the Nili *bár* on the old Biás and Sutlej respectively. The Ganji *bár* would be a comparatively sterile waste were it not for a scanty growth of *jand* and *jal* trees; as it is, water is obtained at depth of 40 to 48 feet, and is employed for drinking only, the tract being frequented only by camel breeders. Of the Ráwa proper or Rávi *bár* the greater part has been encroached upon by the irrigation of the Sidhnai Canal, and the remainder consists for the most part of a fairly thickly wooded tract, known as the *jhangar*, the more valuable portions of which have been set apart by Government as reserved forests for the production of firewood. The *bár* country to the south of the high bank of the old Biás, again, differs entirely in its features from the Rávi *bár*; the country being but slightly above the level of the Sutlej, and of comparatively recent alluvial formation, the upper soil is with the aid of water capable of producing good crops, and the country is here and there well wooded, but deep sand is met with a few feet below the surface;* and in the absence of water artificially supplied, the country for mile after mile is completely desolate and sterile without a trace of grass or other vegetation.

Rainfall.

There is a recording station for rainfall at each of the tahsil head-quarters, and the results of the records are shown in tables III, IIIA and IIIB of this Gazetteer. The average recorded rainfall of the district for the 10 years ending 1899-1900 is 6·27 inches, and the district shares very little either in the summer or in the winter rains.† The natives will say: "When we see a cloud, we exclaim, 'it has rained.'" The rainfall, besides being scanty, is very irregularly distributed, and heavy falls may occur in one place, while a village ten miles off may be left untouched. The town of Kahror considers itself especially badly treated in this matter; and the saying there is: "Ai Kahror di wárí, há minh te thí gai andhári" that is to say, that when Kahror's turn for rain comes, the rain becomes a mere dust-storm. It is impossible to say whether the tahsil head-

* The sandy nature of the soil greatly increases the cost and difficulty of sinking wells, as it is necessary not only to have masonry sides but to line the masonry with wattles. The soil, too, is so yielding that it cannot (so the people say) bear the weight of buffaloes treading round the wells, and bullocks only can be used to work them.

† The traveller Albiruni, writing in the 14th century, says: 'The people of Multan used to tell me that they have no Varsha-Kála (rainy season)' (Sach 211). But the same author in contesting the supposed age of the idol of the sun at Multan wrote, 'How could wood have lasted such a length of time, particularly in a place where the air and soil are rather wet' The immense damage done by the heavy rains during Tamerlane's invasion (A.D. 1397) is noted in Chapter II below. The most remarkable fall of recent times is probably that of the 28th-29th July 1892, when 8·48 inches fell at Multan within 48 hours.

Chapter I.
Descriptive.
Rainfall.

quarters, where the rain is registered, have higher or lower falls of rain than the average village; but in Mailsi, where the tahsil head-quarters lie at the southern corner of the tahsil, it is probable that the tahsil record falls short of the average of the tahsil. There are old zamíndárs, who will explain to you that the blessing of heaven cannot be expected to fall as copiously at places like tahsil head-quarters, where so much perjury is committed, as elsewhere; but we have at present no statistics to test this theory. The Canal Department have lately started some registering stations at their bungalows, which may at some future period shed further light on the subject. The rain, though so scanty in this district, is still of no little agricultural importance. There is, it is true, but little cultivation dependent on the summer rains, but the growth of grass, on which the welfare of the cattle hangs, is closely connected with the amount of the summer rainfall. And although little or none of the rabi crop is sown with the aid of rain, a great part of it depends for its maturity very largely on the timeliness and quantity of the winter rain.

There are two sayings of the people on the subject of the rainfall which are worth noting, as showing the connection in their minds between rain and thunder. On the one hand they say:—

Awe te na bháwe .. ... Thukk hai us áwan kúu
Kháwe te na máwe .. ... Thukk hai us kháwan kúu
Gajje te no wasse ... ... Thukk hai us Sáwan kúu

'To come and not be welcome is a poor coming; to eat and not digest is a poor eating; to thunder and not rain is a poor July.' On the other hand, if they wish to point out that much talk means little action' they say, 'Jera gajje o wasse nahín.' 'If there is thunder, there is no rain.'

Climate.

The heat and dust of Multan are proverbial. The day temperature in the summer months is high, but this is counterbalanced by a comparatively cool night. Usually at night a breeze springs up, which prevents that feeling of suffocation felt in some other places where the actual temperature recorded may not be so high, but where the air is still. No doubt the high temperature is due to the comparative want of moisture in the atmosphere, which renders it diathermic, permitting the passage of the heat rays more freely than when it is laden with moisture. The soil, too, absorbs and reflects the heat to a high degree; yet once the sun goes down, the pure dry air allows of the rapid radiation of heat from the soil, thus giving as a compensation to the heat of the day a cool night. Table No. IV shows the average temperature of the three months, May, July and December, for the years extending from 1868-69 to 1898-99. The highest day temperatures are recorded in the end of May and beginning of June. The difference between the maximum and minimum temperatures in May is as much as 42 degrees.

Chapter I.
Descriptive.
Climate.

The climate of the district is not so bad as it is often painted. As elsewhere in the Punjab, the cold weather is delightful, and the hot weather, though a long one, is probably more endurable than that of most plain stations in the province. In March there are some hot days, but a storm or series of storms generally comes, and the mornings and evenings remain fairly cool till well into May. From then to the end of June it rapidly gets hotter, the last week or ten days of June being usually very oppressive. For some reason or other, although there seems to be only too much hot wind, tatties will not work in Multan. What the weather will be from the end of June to the beginning of the cold weather is a great chance. In favourable years a slight breeze sets in with the rains, and continues to blow on and off throughout July; in August there are generally some hot steamy days; in September the days are still hot, but the mornings and evenings become cool, and this coolness increases until the cold weather sets in, generally with a thunderstorm, about October 15th, but it is too hot to be pleasant in tents till the middle of November. This is the weather in favourable years; in unfavourable ones no breeze sets in, and as soon as the scanty showers cease the whole place begins to steam.

Health.

The district, as a whole, is healthy. The statistics regarding the births and deaths in the district will be found in Tables XI, XIA and XIB, and those for births and deaths in the towns in Table XLIV; and further remarks on the subject of these data will be found in Chapter III below.

Cholera is a rare visitant. In 1892 there was an epidemic causing 1,939 deaths; the next epidemic was in 1899, when there were 117 deaths. In the interval the disease was absent.

Malarial fevers are more or less prevalent, but the death-rate from this class of disease is considerably affected by the rainfall. In 1892, for instance, there was an enormous death-rate owing entirely to the increase of fevers in consequence of the heavy rainfall. The parts of the district near Jalálpur and Shujabad are subject to floods, and this detrimentally affects the health of the population. Spleen is common in this part of the district, and also asthma of a malarial origin—the two diseases often going together, and both being the result of repeated attacks of fever. Malarial fevers are most prevalent during the months of October, November, December and January. Speaking generally, however, there is not much fever in Multan: and there is a good deal of truth in the people's saying that 'Multan is healthy except when it rains—and it never rains.'

Eye diseases are rife, particularly those forms which affect the lids; large numbers of people being the subjects of granular ophthalmia in all its stages, from mere irritation to destruction of the eye as an organ of vision.

Chapter I.
Descriptive.
Health.

Stone in the bladder is also common, the actual cause being still undecided. This disease affects children as well as old persons. It is difficult to say whether it affects males and females equally, owing to the reluctance of the latter to undergo treatment.

The average death-rate per 1,000 for the period 1890—99 on the population of 1881 is 33·94; the birth-rate 47·41 per 1,000.

Geology.

The soil of the district is of an alluvial character, and sand is everywhere met at a short distance below the surface. The geology of the district has, however, been subjected to very little detailed enquiry; and readers are referred to the sketch of the geology of the Punjab as a whole, which was prepared by Mr. Medlicott, late Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, and which has been published *in extenso* in the Provincial volume of the Gazetteer series, and also as a separate pamphlet.

Mineral products.

There was a certain amount of salt manufacture under native rule in places where *kallar* soil was prevalent, more especially in the Shujabad Tahsil, and the Nunars or salt workers have left their names attached to mounds, wells, &c., in various parts of the district, but such manufacture is no longer permitted under our salt laws. Even saltpetre is only manufactured in moderate quantities; in 1897-99 an average number of 13 licenses were granted per annum to cover an average manufacture of 5,000 maunds. A little *kankar* is also here and there found sparsely on the surface and a certain amount of *kankar* was at one time dug up from the bed of the Sidhnai reach in the Kabírwála tahsil.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

EARLY HISTORY TO 700 A.D.

Chapter II.

History.

The antiquities of the district are fully discussed by General Sir A. Cunningham in his Ancient Geography of India, pp. 219—241, and in Volume V of his Archæological Survey Reports, pp. 111—136. The chief information available regarding the early names of the city of Multan, the temple of the Sun, and so forth, will be found in Chapter VI below.

There is practically no history of Multan before the arrival of the Arabs in the 8th century A.D. It is nearly certain that Alexander passed through the district in the cold weather of B.C. 325—326, but it is almost impossible to trace his march with any definiteness. The accounts of his invasion are discussed in Sir A. Cunningham's books, in Bunbury's Ancient Geography and in the last edition of this Gazetteer, but the identifications are so utterly conjectural that it has been thought better in this edition of the work to quote as it stands the account given by Arrian, from which readers may draw their own conclusions. That historian, after describing how Alexander after reaching the confluence of the Chenáb and Jhelum rivers marched across a desert against the Malloi and stormed one of their cities (supposed by General Cunningham to be Kot Kamália). Arrian then continues :—

* Alexander having dined and allowed his troops to rest till the first watch of the night, began to march forward, and, having travelled a great distance in the night, arrived at the river Hydraôtês at daybreak. There he learned that many of the Malloi† had already crossed to the other bank, but he fell upon others who were in the act of crossing and slew many of them during the passage. He crossed the river along with them, just as he was, and by the same ford. He then closely pursued the fugitives who had outstripped him in their retreat. Many of these he slew, and he captured others, but most of them escaped to a position of great natural strength, which was also strongly fortified.‡ But when the infantry came up with him, Alexander sent Peithôn with his own brigade and two squadrons of cavalry against the fugitives. This detachment attacked the stronghold, captured it at the first assault, and made slaves of all who had fled into it, except, of course, those who had fallen in the attack. Then Peithôn and his men, their task fulfilled, returned to the camp,

Alexander himself next led his army against a certain city of the Brachmans,§ because he had learned that many of the Malloi had fled thither for

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* The translation is that given by McCrindle in "The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great." Constable, 1893.

† The Malloi are probably the same as the Málavas mentioned in the Mahabharata.

‡ (χωρίον ὀχυρον καί τετειχισμένον)
Cunningham locates the position at Tulamba, where there are remains of a large mud fort. See also the account of Tulamba in Chapter VI below.

§ This, according to Cunningham, is probably the mound at Atári on the Kabírwála-Tulamba road.

refuge. On reaching it, he led the phalanx in compact ranks against all parts of the wall. The inhabitants, on finding the walls undermined, and that they were themselves obliged to retire before the storm of missiles, left the walls and fled to the citadel, and began to defend themselves from thence. But as a few Macedonians had rushed in along with them, they rallied, and turning round in a body upon the pursuers, drove some from the citadel and killed twenty-five of them in their retreat. Upon this Alexander ordered his men to apply the scaling ladders to the citadel on all its sides and to undermine its walls; and when an undermined tower had fallen and a breach had been made in the wall between two towers, thus exposing the citadel to attack in that quarter, Alexander was seen to be the first man to scale and lay hold of the wall. Upon seeing this, the rest of the Macedonians for very shame ascended the wall at various points, and quickly had the citadel in their hands. Some of the Indians set fire to their houses, in which they were caught and killed, but most part fell fighting. About 5,000 in all were killed, and, as they were men of spirit, a few only were taken prisoners.

He remained there one day to give his army rest, and next day he moved forward to attack the rest of the Malloi. He found their cities abandoned, and ascertained that the inhabitants had fled into the desert. There he again allowed the army a day's rest, and next day sent Peithôn and Demetrios, the cavalry commander, back to the river with their own troops, and as many battalions of light armed infantry as the nature of the work required. He directed them to march along the edge of the river, and if they came upon any of those who had fled for refuge to the jungle, of which there were numerous patches along the river-banks, to put them all to death unless they voluntarily surrendered. The troops under these two officers captured many of the fugitives in these jungles and killed them.

He marched himself against the largest city of the Malloi, to which he was informed many men from their other cities had fled for safety. The Indians, however, abandoned this place also when they heard that Alexander was approaching. They then crossed the Hydraôtês, and, with a view to obstruct Alexander's passage, remained drawn up in order of battle upon the banks because they were very steep. On learning this, he took all the cavalry which he had with him, and marched to that part of the Hydraôtês where he had been told the Malloi were posted, and the infantry were directed to follow after him. When he came to the river and descried the enemy drawn up on the opposite bank, he plunged at once, just as he was after the march, into the ford, with the cavalry only. When the enemy saw Alexander now in the middle of the stream they withdrew in haste, but yet in good order, from the bank, and Alexander pursued them with the cavalry only. But when the Indians perceived he had nothing but a party of horse with him, they faced round and fought stoutly, being about 50,000 in number. Alexander, perceiving that their phalanx was very compact and his own infantry not on the ground, rode alone all round them, and sometimes charged their ranks, but not at close quarters. Meanwhile the Agrianians and other battalions of light-armed infantry, which consisted of picked men, arrived on the field along with the archers, while the phalanx of infantry was showing in sight at no great distance off. As they were threatened at once with so many dangers, the Indians wheeled round, and with headlong speed fled to the strongest of all the cities that lay near.* Alexander killed many of them in the pursuit, while those who escaped to the city were shut up within its walls. At first, therefore, he surrounded the place with his horsemen as soon as they came up from the march. But when the infantry arrived he encamped around the wall on every side for the remainder of this day—a time too short for making an assault, to say nothing of the great fatigue his army had undergone, the infantry from their long march, and the cavalry by the continuous pursuit and especially by the passage of the river.

On the following day, dividing his army into two parts, he himself assaulted the wall at the head of one division, while Perdikkas led forward the other. Upon this the Indians without waiting to receive the attack of the Macedonians, abandoned the walls and fled for refuge to the citadel. Alexander and his troops

* This is the city usually identified with Multan. The identification is very probably correct, but that it is not without difficulties will be easily seen by a glance at the text above quoted.

Chapter II.

History.

Early period.

therefore burst open a small gate and entered the city long before the others. But Perdikkas and the troops under his command entered it much later, having found it no easy work to surmount the walls. The most of them, in fact, had neglected to bring scaling ladders, for when they saw the wall left without defenders they took it for granted that the city had actually been captured. But when it became clear that the enemy was still in possession of the citadel, and that many of them were drawn up in front of it to repel attack, the Macedonians endeavoured to force their way into it, some by sapping the walls, and others by applying the scaling ladders wherever that was practicable. Alexander, thinking that the Macedonians who carried the ladders were loitering too much, snatched one from the man who carried it, placed it against the wall, and began to ascend, cowering the while under his shield. The next to follow was Peukestas, who carried the sacred shield which Alexander had taken from the temple of the Ilian Athênâ, and which he used to keep with him and have carried before him in all his battles. Next to him Leonnatos, an officer of the bodyguard, ascended by the same ladder; and by a different ladder Abreas, one of those soldiers who for superior merit drew double pay and allowances. The king was now near the coping of the wall, and resting his shield against it, was pushing some of the Indians within the fort, and had cleared the parapet by killing others with his sword. The hypaspists, now alarmed beyond measure for the king's safety, pushed each other in their haste up the same ladder and broke it so that those who were already mounting it fell down and made the ascent impracticable for others.

Alexander, while standing on the wall, was then assailed on every side from the adjacent towers, for none of the Indians had the courage to come near him. He was assailed also by men in the city, who threw darts at him from no great distance off, for it so happened that a mound of earth had been thrown up in that quarter close to the wall. Alexander was, moreover, a conspicuous object both by the splendour of his arms and the astonishing audacity he displayed. He then perceived that if he remained where he was, he would be exposed to danger without being able to achieve anything noteworthy, but if he leaped down into the citadel he might perhaps by this very act paralyse the Indians with terror, and if he did not, but necessarily incurred danger, he would in that case not die ignobly, but after performing great deeds worth being remembered by the men of after times. Having so resolved, he leaped down from the wall into the citadel. Then, supporting himself against the wall he slew with his sword some who assailed him at close quarters, and in particular the governor of the Indians who had rushed upon him too boldly. Against another Indian whom he saw approaching, he hurled a stone to check his advance, and another he similarly repelled. If any one came within nearer reach he again used his sword. The barbarians had then no further wish to approach him but standing around assailed him from all quarters with whatever missiles they carried or could lay their hands on.

At this crisis Peukestas, and Abreas the dimoirite, and after them Leonnatos, the only men who succeeded in reaching the top of the wall before the ladder broke, leaped down and began fighting in front of the king. But there Abreas fell, pierced in the forehead by an arrow. Alexander himself was also struck by one which pierced through his cuirass into his chest above the pap, so that, as Ptolemy says, air gurgled from the wound along with the blood. But sorely wounded as he was, he continued to defend himself as long as his blood was still warm. Since much blood however, kept gushing out with every breath he drew, a dizziness and faintness seized him, and he fell where he stood in a collapse upon his shield. Peukestas then bestrode him where he fell holding up in front of him the sacred shield which had been taken from Ilion, while Leonnatos protected him from side attacks. But both these men were severely wounded, and Alexander was now on the point of swooning away from the loss of blood. As for the Macedonians, they were at a loss how to make their way into the citadel, because those who had seen Alexander shot at upon the wall and then leap down inside it, had broken down the ladders up which they were rushing in all haste, dreading lest their king, in recklessly exposing himself to danger, should come by some hurt. In their perplexity they devised various plans for ascending the wall. It was made of earth, and so some drove pegs into it, and swinging themselves up by means of these, scrambled with difficulty to the top. Others ascended by mounting one upon the other. The man who first reached the top flung himself headlong from the wall into the city,

and was followed by the others. There, when they saw the king fallen prostrate, they all raised loud lamentations and outcries of grief. And now around his fallen form a desperate struggle ensued, one Macedonian after another holding his shield in front of him. In the meantime, some of the soldiers having shattered the bar by which the gate in the wall between the towers was secured, made their way into the city a few at a time, and others when they saw that a rift was made in the gate, put their shoulders under it and having then pushed it into the space within the wall, opened an entrance into the citadel in that quarter.

Upon this some began to kill the Indians, and in the massacre spared none, neither man, woman, nor child. Others bore off the king upon his shield. His condition was very low, and they could not yet tell whether he was likely to survive. Some writers have asserted that Kritodêmos, a physician of Kôs, an Asklepiad by birth, extracted the weapon from the wound by making an incision where the blow had struck. Other writers, however say that as no surgeon was present at this terrible crisis, Perdikkas, an officer of the bodyguard at Alexander's own desire made an incision into the wound with his sword and removed the weapon. Its removal was followed by such a copious effusion of blood that Alexander again swooned, and the swoon had the effect of staunching the flux. Many fictions also have been recorded by historians concerning this accident, and Fame receiving them from the original inventors, has preserved them to our own day nor will she cease to transmit the falsehoods to one generation after another except they be finally suppressed by this history.

The common account, for example, is that this accident befell Alexander among the Oxydrakai,* but in fact it occurred among the Malloi, an independent Indian nation. The city belonged to the Malloi and the men who wounded Alexander were Malloi. They had certainly agreed to combine with the Oxydrakai and give battle to the common enemy, but Alexander had thwarted this design by his sudden and rapid march through the waterless country, whereby these tribes were prevented from giving each other mutual help.

While Alexander remained at this place to be cured of his wound, the first news which reached the camp whence he, had started to attack the Malloi was that he had died of his wound. Then there arose at first a loud lamentation from the whole army, as the mournful tidings spread from man to man. But when their lamentation was ended, they gave way to despondency and anxious doubts about the appointment of a commander to the army, for among the officers many could advance claims to that dignity which both to Alexander and the Macedonians seemed of equal weight. They were also in fear and doubt how they could be conducted home in safety surrounded as they were on all hands by warlike nations, some not yet reduced, but likely to fight resolutely for their freedom while others would to a certainty revolt when relieved from their fear of Alexander. They seemed besides, to be just then among impassable rivers, while the whole outlook presented nothing but inextricable difficulties when they wanted their king. But on receiving word that he was still alive they could hardly think it true, or persuade themselves that he was likely to recover. Even when a letter came from the king himself intimating that he would soon come down to the camp, most of them from the excess of fear which possessed them distrusted the news, for they fancied that the letter was a forgery concocted by his body-guards and generals.

On coming to know this, Alexander, anxious to prevent any commotions arising in the army, as soon as he could bear the fatigue, had himself conveyed to the banks of the river Hydraotês and embarking there he sailed down the river to reach the camp, at the junction of the Hydraôtês and the Akesines,† where Hêphaistion commanded the land forces and Nearchos the fleet. When the vessel which carried the king was now approaching the camp, he ordered the awning to be removed from the poop that he might be visible to all. They

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* Also called Hydrakai, Sydracae and Syrakousai by various classical authors. Authorities are at variance as regards the proper Sanskrit equivalent which, is given as Suraka Asuraka, Sudra Sudraka, &c.

† *i.e.*, of the Rávi and the Chenáb. As noted in Chapter I these rivers used up to a comparatively recent period to meet south of Multan.

Chapter II.

History.

Early period.

were, however, even yet incredulous, supposing that the freight of the vessel was Alexander's dead body, until he neared the bank when he raised his arm and stretched out his hand to the multitude. Then the men raised a loud cheer and lifted up their hands, some towards heaven and some towards Alexander himself. Tears even started involuntarily to the eyes of not a few at the unexpected sight. Some of the hypaspists brought him a litter where he was carried ashore from the vessel, but he called for his horse. When he was seen once more on horseback, the whole army greeted him with loud acclamations, which filled with their echoes the shores and all the surrounding hills and dales [!]

Alexander having received the submission of Malloi and Oxydrakai, proceeded down the Chenáb to its junction with the Indus, leaving Philip as 'satrap' in charge. This Philip was shortly afterwards murdered by one Eudemus, who began to extend his power over the north and west of the province. In B.C. 327, however, the Macedonians were overpowered by Chandragupta, of Pataliputra, the Sandracottus of Megasthenes, and the family of this prince remained in power over Northern India till the beginning of the second century B.C., when the country was invaded by the Græco-Bactrian sovereigns who were at that time being ousted from their own Bactrian dominions. Then from about 30 B.C to 470 A.D. the Kushan tribe of the great Yue-chi and their successors from a cognate race, the Little Yue-chi, were the predominant power; and from 470 to about 550 A.D. the Ephthalites or White Huns are supposed to have been in authority. The battle in which the White Huns are believed to have been finally defeated by a Hindu king Vikramaditya (about A.D. 544), is said by Alberuni to have been fought "in the region of Karúr between Multan and the castle of Loni," but the identification of this Karúr with the town of Kahror in the Multan district is very doubtful.

The next indication of events in the early history of Multan is derived from the writings of early Arab geographers* in which Multan figures as the capital of an important province of the kingdom of Sindh. At the time when the Arabs first penetrated the valley of the Indus, the country was ruled by Chach, a Brahman, who had usurped the throne on the death of Sahási Rai, the last monarch of a dynasty bearing the name of Rai. With regard to this dynasty no detailed information is extant.† The *Chachnámo*, however, relates that Siharas, father of Sahási Raj, had divided his kingdom into four provinces, the most northern of which had its capital at Multan, and extended as far as the borders of Kashmír.‡ The date of Chach's usurpation is fixed by Sir H. Elliot as A.H. 10, corresponding to A.D. 631.§ Having seized upon Alor, the

* Collected in Elliot's "History of India," Vol. I.

† The *Chachnáma* mentions the names of three kings—Sahási Rai, his father Siharas, and his grandfather Sahási Rai I; the *Tufut-ul-kirám* mentions two additional names (see Elliot, Hist. Ind., I., p. 405). Another Arab History—the *Majma-i-wáridát*—assigns to the dynasty an antiquity of two thousand years.

‡ *Chachnáma*. Elliot, Hist. Ind., I., p. 139.

§ Hist., Ind., I., p. 414.

Chapter II.

History.
Arab rule.

capital of the Rai dynasty, he marched northwards into the province of Multan, which was held by Malik Bajhra, a relative of Sahási Rai. Crossing the Biás, which then had an independent course, he defeated the son of Bajhra, and having occupied the fort of Sikka, on the Rávi, opposite Multan, crossed over to the siege of the capital city. After a stout resistance Bajhra retired within the walls, and having made an unsuccessful application for help to the Rája of Kashmír, at last surrendered upon honorable terms. From Multan, Chach proceeded to subdue Brahmapur, Kahror and Ashabar, cities of the Multan province, and then marching northwards, and penetrating apparently into the lower Himalayas, there fixed the boundary between his kingdom and that of Kashmír.* Chach died in A. D. 671, and was succeeded by his brother Chandar, who is said to have been a zealous adherent of the Buddhist faith.† Chandar was succeeded in A. D. 679 by his nephew Dahir, son of Chach.

Towards the end of the year 641 A.D., while Chach was still alive, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang came, *viá* Sindh, to Multan. The account of his travels merely states briefly that "leaving the right bank of the Indus, he arrived at the kingdom of Mu-lo-san-pu-lu" (Mula-sthána-pura), and continues with a short description of the Sun-temple in the city. Hiuen Tsang's account of the Punjab kingdoms of that day is not easily reconciled with the accounts given by the Arab historians, but deserves credit on account of his general truthfulness and accuracy.

ARAB RULE.—CIRCA 700—970 A. D.

One is apt to forget that when Hiuen Tsang visited Multan twenty years of the Hijra era had already passed, and that within twenty years of his departure the Arabs were knocking at the gates of Sindh. The Arabs were, it is true, restrained by various considerations from any immediate incursions into India, and they had set about the conquest of Spain before they laid hands on the Indus valley, but in due time and within seventy years of the visit of the Buddhist pilgrim the Muhammadan conqueror stood in his footsteps at Multan. The piratical outrages of the Meds of lower Sindh had roused the spirit of the Caliph, and a victorious army led by a passionate general of eighteen years of age surged up the valley of the Indus, defeating the remnants of the dynasty of Chach and capturing fortress after fortress till Multan itself was reached.

Muhammadanism, having thus been introduced into Multan, was not again repulsed. It would be a mistake, however, to

* *Chachnáma.* Elliot, Hist. Ind., I, p. 144.
† *Ibid*, 152-53

Chapter II.

History.
Arab rule.

imagine that the district became at once the Muhammadan country that it now is. The invading force was but small in numbers, and far removed from its supports, so that the occupation of the district was in the main a military one. The Governor himself lived in a cantonment some miles from Multan, and there appears to have been a subordinate Governor at Kahror, but the majority of the people of the district were, as before, Rájpút unbelievers. The conquerors must have been largely Arabs, but it was only by degrees that anything like a permanent immigration of true or nominal Arabs took place: there is no Syad or Kuresh family of note in the district that traces its advent from any date before the Ghaznavide invasion, and there is no tradition (other than that of the conversion of the Dhudis of Diwán Chawali Mashaikh) which points to any general conversions of the natives during the first three centuries of Muhammadan occupation. The Hindu populations, lying along the banks of the river, were left much to themselves, they were assessed to land revenue and the capitation tax, but their internal organization was not interfered with, and their religious institutions were, after the first flush of victory, left undisturbed.

As time passed on the power of the Caliphate began weaken, and by the end of the 9th century Multan was, for all practical purposes, independent of Baghdad. How the local governors continued to maintain their power against the natives it is not easy to say: it is possible that, as Masúdi says, the possession of the Sun-temple was their safeguard, but more probably the Punjab and Delhi powers, though much renowned in story, were really too weak to have much effect on the Muhammadan garrison of Multan, while the Sáhí dynasties to the north were fully occupied in resisting Mussalmán aggression in the direction of Kandahar and Kábul. At all events we hear of no wars, and the district remained for three centuries the outpost of Islám in India, while practically the whole of the rest of what is now known as the Punjab remained under Hindu rulers.

Chronicle.

664. The Arabs invaded the Indus Valley. Firishta (Briggs i, 4) says that they penetrated to Multan, but Al Biladuri (Ell. i, 116) does not expressly state this to have been the case.

712. Muhammad Kasim marches triumphantly from lower Sindh up the Indus Valley, defeats Raja Dáhir near Sakkar, and presses on towards Multan. After taking Askalanda (supposed to be the modern Uch)*, he attacked Sikka (a fort lying apparently immediately opposite Multan on the south bank of the Rávi), and ultimately gained Multan itself.

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* The Rávi then probably flowed south of the city of Multan. Askalanda (var. Alakanda, Akaslandu, A'dhanda, &c.) has been identified, very doubtfully, with Uch. The site of Sikka is unknown; possibly it was on the mounds south of the City Railway Station where the shrine of Mai Pákdáman now stands.

Chapter II.

History.

Arab rule.

The following is the account of the campaign given by Al Biladuri (d. A. D 892-3, Ell. i, 122) —

'*Muhammad advanced towards Alsaka, a town on this side of the Biyás,* which was captured by him and is now in ruins. He then crossed the Biás and went towards Multan, where, in the action which ensued, Zaida, the son of Umar, of the tribe of Tai, covered himself with glory. The infidels retreated in disorder into the town, and Muhammad commenced the siege, but the provisions being exhausted, the Mussalmáns were reduced to eat asses. Then came there forward an old man who sued for quarter and pointed out to them an aqueduct, by which the inhabitants were supplied with drinking water from the river of Basmad It flowed within the city into a reservoir like a well which they call *taláb*. Muhammad destroyed this water-course, whereon the inhabitants oppressed with thirst surrendered at discretion. He massacred the men capable of bearing arms, but the children were taken captives as well as the ministers of the temple to the number of six thousand.'

The author of the Chach-nama, which was written before 750 A.D., gives a somewhat different account. (Ell. i, 203 *seqq.*) :—

'When he had settled affairs with Kaska, he left the fort, crossed the Biás and reached the stronghold of Askalanda, the people of which, being informed of the arrival of the Arab army, came out to fight. The idolators were defeated and threw themselves into the fort. They began to shoot arrows and fling stones from the mangonels on the walls. The battle continued for *seven days*, and the nephew of the chief of Multan, who was in the fort of that city, made such attacks that the army began to be distressed for provisions; but at last the chief of Askalanda came out in the night time and threw himself into the fort of Sikka, which is a large fort on the south bank of the Rávi.......Muhammad Kasim, with the army, proceeded towards Sikka Multan. *It was a fort on the south bank of the Rávi*, and Bajhra Taki, grandson of Bajhra (daughter's son) was in it. When he received the intelligence he commenced operations. Every day when the army of the Arabs advanced towards the fort, the enemy came out and fought, and for 17 days they maintained a fierce conflict. Bajhra passed over the Rávi and went into Multan. In consequence of the death of his friends Muhammad Kásim had sworn to destroy the fort, so he ordered his men to pillage the whole city. He then crossed over towards Multan at the ferry below the city, and Bajhra came out to take the field. That day the battle raged from morning till sunset, and when the world, like a day-labourer, covered itself with the blanket of darkness, the king of the heavenly host covered himself with the veil of concealment, and all retired to their tents. The next day when the morning dawned from the horizon, and earth was illumined fighting again commenced, and many men were slain on both sides; but the victory remained still undecided. For a space of two months mangonels and ghazraks were used, and stones and arrows were thrown from the wall of the fort. At last provisions became exceedingly scarce in the camp, and the price of an ass's head was raised to 500 dirhams. When the chief Gursiya, son of Chandar, nephew of Dahir, saw that the Arabs were in no way disheartened, but, on the contrary, were confident, and that he had no prospect of relief, he went to wait on the king of Kashmir. The next day, when the Arabs reached the fort and the fight commenced, no place was found suitable for digging a mine until a person came out of the fort and sued for mercy. Muhammad Kásim gave him protection, and he pointed out a place towards the north on the banks of a river. A mine was dug, and in two or three days the walls fell down and the fort was taken. Six thousand warriors were put to death and all their relations and dependents were taken as slaves. Protection was given to the merchants, artisans and the agriculturists...... When Muhammad Kásim had settled terms with the principal inhabitants of Multan he erected a Jama Masjid and minarets, and he appointed the Amir Daud Nasr, son of Walid Ummani its Governor. He left Kharim, son of Abul Malik Taman in the fort of Brahmapur, on the banks of the Jhelum, which was called Sobur (Shore ?). Akrama, son of Rihan Shami, was appointed Governor of the territory round Multan, and Ahmad, son of Harima, son of Atba Madani, was appointed Governor of the forts of Ajtahad and Karur.'

After this Muhammad Kásim had marched some distance northward when he was recalled by orders from the Caliph : the well-known story of this sudden recall and its tragic results is recorded in most histories of India.

Chapter II.

History.

The Karmatians.

After Kásim's death no further information is forthcoming, except that Multan was once more taken by the Arabs in the Caliphate of Mansur, 753—774 and once again in that of Mutasim billah (833—841) [Al Biladuri in Ell. i, 127—128].

In 871 the lower Indus Valley fell into the hands of Yakúb bin Lais, and shortly after that event we find two kingdoms established, one with its capital at Mansura near the present Haidarabad, and the other with its head-quarters at Multan.

915—916.—The Geographer Masudi visited Multan and in his " Meadows of Gold " he records:—' The king of Multan is a Koraishite, the crown of Multan has been hereditary in the family which rules at present, since ancient times, from the beginning of Islám.' ' Multan ' he adds 'is one of the strongest frontier places of the Musalmáns, and around it there are 120,000 towns and villages, (villages and estates.) ' (Ell. i, 22). Kanauj, he asserts, was then a province of Multan, ' the greatest of the countries which form a frontier against unbelieving nations.' (Ell. i 454). He also says that Multan was under ' a Koreshi of the Bani us Samah ' called Abu Lihab, and that it was ' the general rendezvous of the caravans which proceed into Khurasan ' (Raverty in J A.S.B 1892, page 190).

About 951, the Geographer Istakhri wrote his Books of the Climates' in which he says, ' Mansura is more fertile than Multan.' (Raverty J.A.S B. 1892, page 190, translates ' Multan has a large *hisár* but Mansura is the more populous ') At half a parsang from Multan there is a large cantonment (lofty edifices—Raverty) which is the abode of the chief, who never enters Multan except on Friday when he goes on the back of an elephant, in order to join in the Prayer of that day The Governor is of the tribe of Kuraish (Raverty adds—' the descendant of Sámson of Lawai who seized upon Multan ') and is not subject to the ruler of Mansura, but reads the *khutba* in the name of the Khalifa. Samand is a small city, situated like Multan, on the east of the river Mihran , between each of these places and the river, the distance is two parsangs.* The water is obtained from wells. The people of Multan wear trousers, and most of them speak Persian and Sindhi as in Mansura.' (Ell. i, 28-29).

In 976 Ibn Haukal visited India for the second time, and gives very much the same account of Multan, as Istakhri does.

The Karmatians in Multan—A. D. 970—1206.

As the Caliphate grew weaker, the tendency to schism in Persia and elsewhere increased, and in 891, one Abdulla (called ' Karmat ' from his using in confidential communications the minute Arabic writing so termed) came into notice as a follower of the Ismailians, one of the most dangerous of the Ali-ite sects in the East. This Abdulla started a doctrine that everything was allowable, and proceeded to carry out his views with violence. Syria was invaded, Basra and Kufa were taken, and even Mecca was pillaged, and the black stone removed. His followers were soon afterwards ignominiously defeated in Egypt and Irak, and appear gradually to have pushed themselves and their doctrines into the Indus Valley, where towards the end of the 10th century they seized Multan, destroyed the Hindu temple, and altered the site of the orthodox mosque. At that period a family of Lodi Patháns had obtained possession of the whole Punjab frontier from a little south of Peshâwar to Multan, and the governors of this family seem shortly to have come under

* The position of Samand or Basmad is not known. The cantonment referred to was known as Jandrud, Jandrár, Jandur, &c. See Ell. i, 380.

The Karmatians.

the Karmatian influence. Already owning a very loose allegiance to the Ghaznavide monarchs, they now became specially obnoxious to that zealous defender of the Faith, Mahmúd of Ghazni, who twice marched against them, and ultimately deported the governor Daud Lodi from Multan to Afghanistan. This Daud was shortly afterwards released by Mahmúd's successor Masaud, but Multan still continued to be steeped in heresy and we find among the Karmatians of the day a rája of the native Sumra family, who appears to have enjoyed considerable power in the district. The country, however, remained nominally subject to the Ghaznavides, until they in their turn were overthrown by Muhammad Ghori, who in the course of his expeditions passed several times through Multan and on one occasion is recorded to have 'delivered that place from the hands of the Karmatians.' This is the last we hear of this sect in Multan which had been more or less in their hands for two centuries.

The result of the sectarian wars appears to have been unfavourable to the prosperity of the city and the district; for when the Gardezi Syads first immigrated to Multan in the reign of Sultán Bairám Shah (1118–1152) the city is said to have been utterly deserted. The Gardezi Syads,—who, it may be noted, are to this day Shias—appear to have got possession of a good deal of land along the old course of the Rávi as far north as the middle of the Kabírwála tahsil and Sheikh Yusuf Gardezi, their chief, is the first of the great company of Muhammadan preachers of whom we hear so much in the next period.

Chronicle

Circa 970 A. D.—Firishta says (Briggs i, 9) 'During the reign of the Samani kings the Afghans formed a barrier between the kingdoms of Multan and Lahore, and thus we find the Samani troops always limited their predatory excursions to Sind and Tatta. When the government of Ghazni devolved on Alaptagin, his general Sabuktagin frequently invaded the provinces of Multan and Laghman, carrying away its inhabitants as slaves in spite of the Afghans. Jaipal, the Raja of Lahore, concerted measures with the Bhattia Raja to obtain the services of Sheikh Hamid, an Afghan, who, being appointed Governor of Multan and Laghman, placed garrisons of Afghan troops in those districts.'

970.—'On the death of Alaptagin, Sabuktagin succeeded to his power: and Sheikh Hamid, perceiving that his own country would, in all probability, suffer in the incursions with which Sabuktagin threatened India, united himself with that prince. Sabuktagin from motives of policy avoided the district of Sheikh Hamid by every means in his power.' (Firishta, Briggs i, 9).

980.—The Karmatians under Jalam ibn Shaiban took Multan, destroyed the idol temple and built a new mosque in place of the old one. (Alb. Sach. i, 110).

1004.—Mahmud of Ghazni passed through the province of Multan on his way to Bhatia. The province of Multan appears to have extended up to the Salt Range, and Bhatia is supposed by Elliot to be Bhera (ii, 441). [Firishta Br. i, 38].

1005.—'Sheikh Hamid Lodi, the first ruler of Multan, had paid tribute (done homage) to Amir Sabuktagin, and after him his grandson Abul Fath Daud, the son of Nasir, the son of Hamid. Abul Fath Daud now having abandoned the tenets of the faithful had at this time shaken off his allegiance.'

Chapter II.
—
History.
The Karmatians.

He obtained the assistance of Anandpal of Lahore who was, however, defeated by Mahmúd, who then 'entered Multan by the route of Bhatinda.' Mahmud besieged Multan for seven days, but hearing of an invasion of Herat, retired after receiving the submission of Abul Fath. (Firishta i, 41). The Tarikhi Yumini says 'he took Multan by assault and treated the people with severity.' (Ell, ii, 32). The Kamil-ut-tawarikh, (Ell. ii, 248), says the invasion was prompted by Abul Fath's inclination to heresy, and by his having induced the people of the country to follow his opinions: on hearing of Anandpal's defeat Abul Fath sent his property to Serandip and evacuated Multan. Mahmúd finding the people infatuated in this heresy besieged the place and took it by storm.

1010.—Mahmud was under the necessity of marching to Multan which had revolted, and having cut off a number of the infidel inhabitants and brought Daud, the son of Nasir, to Ghazni, he confined him in the fort of Ghurak (or Tabrak) for life. (Firishta i, 50.)

Hamid Ulla says 'Mahmud made war with Nawasa, (the grandson), ruler of Multan: conquered that country: converted the people to Islam: put to death the ruler of Multan, and entrusted the government of that country to another chief.' (Ell, iii, 65).

1011.—Mahmúd after taking Thánesar retired from that country because he had not yet rendered Multan a province of his own government. (Firishta i, 52). The Geographer, Alberuni, seems to have spent some time in Multan at this period. (J.A.S.B. 1892, p. 187).

1024.—Mahmud passed through Multan on his way to Somnath *via* Ajmer. He returned to Ghazni *viá* Sindh and Multan. (Firishta i, 69—78).

1027.—Mahmud, in order to fight 'the Jats who lived in the Jud mountains' (*i.e.*, probably the Salt Range) came to Multan, built a fleet of boats there and had a great naval battle with the Jats. (Firishta i, 82).

1030.—Masaud Ghaznavi released Daud, (Ell. i, 491). Masaud himself had at one time been Governor of Multan under his father. (Raverty Tab. Nas. 91).

1032.—In the sacred books of the Druses there is a curious letter written in 1032 by Baha-ud-din, the chief apostle of Hamza 'to the unitarians of Multan and Hindustan in general, and to Sheikh Ibn Sumar, Raja Bal in particular' bidding the latter 'arise and bring back Daud the younger into the true religion, for Masaud only delivered him from prison and bondage that you might accomplish the ministry with which you were charged against Abdulla, his nephew, and all the inhabitants of Multan.' The letter would seem to show that the Sumras were powerful in Multan at the time and were Karmatians. (Ell. i, 491).

1042.—Nami, grandson of Mahmúd Ghaznavi, was made governor of Peshawar and Multan: but Sultan Modud shortly afterwards sent a force to Multan against him, which attacked and slew him. (Firishta i, 116).

1049.—The Afghans seized on the Indus Valley, but were defeated by Ali bin Rabbia, who came to Peshâwar from Ghazni, and 'having reduced Multan and Sindh, subdued by force of arms the Afghans who had declared their independence in that country.' (Firishta i, 129).

1118.—Muhammad Balin, the rebellious viceroy of Sultan Bairam Ghaznavi, advanced to oppose the king as far as Multan. A battle ensued: but 'the curse of ingratitude fell like a storm on the head of the perfidious rebel, who in his flight, with his sons and attendants sank into a deep quagmire wherein they all perished.' (Firishta i, 151).

1175.—Shahab-ud-din Muhammad Ghori having conquered Gardez, led his forces to Multan and delivered that place from the hands of the Karmatians who had regained possession of it some years previously. (Ell. ii, 293, Tab Nas. Firishta i, 157, Rav. Tab. Nas. 449).

1176.—He again subdued the province of Multan and marched against Uch. (Firishta i, 169).

1178.—He again passed through Multan and Uch on his way to Gujerat (Firishta i, 170).

1186.—Muhammad Ghori took Lahore and put it in charge of Ali Karmakh Wali of Multan. (Firishta i, 171, Rav. Tab. Nas. 454).

1192-3—Hindustan having rebelled, Muhammad Ghori advanced to Lahore and Multan, where he conferred titles and offices on all who had been firm to his interest. (Firishta i, 174).

1203—Muhammad Ghori was defeated in Turkistan: then 'Aibak Bak, one of the most confidential servants of the State, an officer of high rank in the army, fled from the field of battle, and carried away the impression that by heavenly visitation the blessed person of the king had met with a misfortune and been slain. He fled with the speed of the wind to Multan, and on his arrival went immediately to Mir Dad Hasan, the lord of a standard,' (Raverty says Amir Dad, *i.e.*, Chief Justice, under Amir Muhammad, Governor of Lahore and Multan, Tab. Nas. 476), 'and told him that he had a private message from the king. Amir Dad Hasan retired with him into his closet where the assassin pretending to whisper into his ear, drew a dagger and stabbed him to the heart. He then ran instantly to the courtyard where he proclaimed aloud that he had killed the traitor Amir Daud in obedience to the king's command, and producing a false order and commission to assume the government, he was acknowledged by the army and the people.' (Taj-ul-Maasir, Ell. ii, 233, and Firishta i, 182). This led to an outbreak of the Khokhars who were then powerful between the Chenáb and the Salt Range, but 'Baha-ud-din Muhammad, Governor of Sangwan, with his brother who held lands (akta) within the borders of Multan, accompanied by many of the chief people of the city, marched out against them. Ultimately the Khokhars were thoroughly defeated on the Jhelum: but Muhammad Ghori was shortly afterwards (1205) assassinated by the Gakkhars, in the Ráwalpindi District.

The Moghal Invasions. A. D. 1206—1528.

In 1218 Chingiz invaded Western Turkestan, and for the next three centuries the history of Multan is practically the history of the incursions from Western and Central Asia to which the Moghal invasion of Chingiz gave rise.

The centre of Muhammadan authority in India during the period was Delhi, and the normal condition of Multan was that of nominal subjection to the Delhi kings, but twice during the period Multan was for all practical purposes a separate kingdom independent of Delhi, *viz.*, in 1210—1227, when the energetic Slave Governor Nasir-ud-din Kubacha, ruled over Multan and Sindh, and again in 1445—1527 when the Langáhs governed the district independently of the Delhi Emperors. At times, too, the province was held by vigorous governors who, though unable to secure independence, were powerful factors in the dynastic changes of the time. Such were Malik Kabir Khan, who in 1236 joined in the conspiracy to put Razia Begam on the throne; Bahram Abia or Kishlu Khan who, in 1321, acted as the right hand man of Ghias-ud-din Tughlak in the latter's successful usurpation; and Syad Khizr Khan, who marched to Delhi in 1414 and there founded the Syad Dynasty which lasted 38 years. We get but little light from the historians as to the character of the government under each ruler, and the details given as regarding the various degrees of severity or ability with

Chapter II.
History.
Moghal Invasions.

which sovereigns like Ala-ud-din Khilji, Ghias-ud-din Tughlak, and Feroz Shah Tughlak administered their empires, can scarcely be taken as applying in any completeness to territories so far from Delhi as Multan and Uch. We may take it as very probable that the interior administration of the district was equally neglected by all or nearly all the numerous governors and kings that ruled it, and that their attention was mainly fixed on repelling the hideous and incessant ravages of the Moghal hordes from Khurasan and Central Asia.

There is an oft-quoted passage in the poems of Amir Khusrau which indicates the manner in which these pagan invaders were viewed by the Moslems of India. 'There were more than a thousand Tatar infidels,' he writes, 'and warriors of other tribes, riding on camels, great commanders in battle, all with steel-like bodies clothed in cotton; with faces like fire, with caps of sheep skin, with their heads shorn. Their eyes were so narrow and piercing that they might have bored a hole in a brazen vessel. Their stink was more horrible than their colour. Their faces were set on their bodies as if they had no necks. Their cheeks resembled soft leather bottles, full of wrinkles and knots. Their noses extended from cheek to cheek, and their mouths from cheek bone to cheek bone. Their nostrils resembled rotten graves, and from them the hair descended as far as the lips Their moustaches were of extravagant length. They had but scanty beards about their chins. Their chests of a colour half black, half white were so covered with lice that they looked like sesame growing on a bad soil. Their whole body indeed was covered with these insects, and their skin as rough and grainy as shagreen leather, fit only to be converted into shoes. They devoured dogs and pigs with their nasty teeth.'

Such were the Moghals as they first appeared to the nations of Hindustan. As time went on the invading armies became less strange, numbers of them from time to time settled down in the country, they had gradually mixed with the inhabitants of Iran and Turan, they had adopted the tenets of Islam, and ultimately when the last Central Asian invasion placed Babar on the throne, the invaders were little, if it all, less civilized than the nations which they invaded. Without attempting to enter into the controverted questions regarding the ethnological relationship of Turks, Moghals and Tatars, it will suffice for us to notice that at least ten important invasions of the southern Punjab by these Central Asian hordes are recorded in the three centuries between 1221 and 1528. First there was the celebrated escape, described by Gibbon, of Jalal-ud-din Khwarizm Shah across the Indus pursued by the hosts of Chingiz, an episode which drew upon Multan the hostility both of pursuers and pursued, (1221—1224). Then in 1239 another tribe, the Karlugh Turks, being ousted from Ghazni raided Multan, and were followed by a pursuing host of Moghals under Nuin Mungutah.

Chapter II.
History.
Moghal Invasions.

In 1257 the Moghals under Nuin Saleh were treacherously invited to Multan to aid the local Governor in his intrigues, and were only dissuaded from wholesale massacre by a handsome bribe. In 1284 the Moghal raiders, under Timur Khan, defeated and killed the Prince Muhammad, known as the Martyr Prince, who then ruled in Multan. In 1305 an invasion under Aibak Khan was repelled by the redoubtable warrior Ghazi Beg Tughlak, who is said to have twenty-nine times defeated the invading hordes. In 1327 a force under Turmsharin Khan overran the district, and only retreated on payment of a bribe. In 1397 came Tamerlane himself, whose troops occupied Uch and Multan, sacked Tulamba, raided the Khokhars of the Rávi Valley and passed on across the Biás to Pákpattan and Delhi. In 1430 Shah Rukh, the grandson of Tamerlane, dispatched a force against the province, which had advanced to the very gates of the city before it was defeated. Then in 1524-5 we find the Arghun Turks, who had been driven from Kandahar to Sindh, pressing up against the province, and after a long siege occupying and sacking the city And finally in 1528 came the peaceful transfer of the province to the emissaries of the last great invader, Babar For three centuries this unhappy district bore the brunt of the great racial disturbances caused by the Central Asian upheavals. The difficulties of the Khaibar route and (for a great part of the time) the powerful hostility of the northern Gakkhars, drove the majority of the invading hosts to attempt the Multan route to Hindustan, a route which, while the Gaggar and Sutlej stillheld their ancient courses, had much more to recommend it than in the centuries which followed. The Multan district, therefore, which in the ninth and tenth centuries constituted an outwork of Western Islam against Eastern Paganism, became in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the foremost barrier of Indian Muhammadanism against the paganism and barbarism which swept upon it from the West That the district can have had any real prosperity during these prolonged periods of incessant raiding it is impossible to believe The fact that an important commercial route ran through Multan gave a certain amount of intermittent prosperity to the city, but in the district there was probably little enough of cultivation, except in the strips of alluvial soil along the Chenáb, Biás and the Gharra.

As regards the races who cultivated the soil during these days of distress we have little or no information. Very few of the landowning races of to-day can trace their advent to a period before the establishment of the Langáh power in the fifteenth century. With the exception of the Langáhs themselves and of the Biloch tribes which joined them we find no notice of any invaders settling down upon the soil. The tribes of Moghal or Turk origin who from time to time became domiciled in the country, must have become absorbed among the people

Chapter II.
History.
Moghal Invasions.

and may be now represented by some of the numerous petty disjointed clans of the district which can give no account of their origin. The effect probably of the Moghal invasions was to break up and drive away the larger tribal units, especially on the western edge of the district, leaving the way open for the miscellaneous and haphazard colonization which forms the basis of the 'colluvies gentium' now presented to our eyes.

In one respect indeed the devastation of Khurasan and Western Iran was to the benefit of this part of India, for it led to the settling of a considerable number of pious and learned men, most of whom no doubt passed on towards Delhi but many of whom stayed to bless Multan with their presence. The preliminary disturbances of Ghori times had driven the Gardezi Syads to this district. A little later came a family of Kureshis from Khwarizm which settled at Kot Karor near Leiah and which gave birth to the famous Sheikh Baha-ud-din Zakaria or Bahawal Haqq, who, after traversing nearly the whole Muhammadan world, chose Multan as his place of residence. To Multan also about the same time came Pir Shams Tabrez from Sabzawar and Kazi Kutb-ud-din from Kashan: to Pák-pattan came Baba Farid Shakarganj: to Delhi (by way of Multan) came Khwaja Kutb-ud-din Bakhtiar Kaki: and to Uch came Saiad Jalal, the founder of many sacred families in Multan, Muzaffargarh and Baháwalpur. In the same period arose Sakhi Sarwar, whose father had emigrated from Bukhara to Sakot in this district. These holy men, together with others too numerous to mention, would seem to have set themselves seriously to convert to Islam the remaining Hindu agriculturists and nomads of this part of India, and it is to their persuasion and reputation, rather than to the sword of any conqueror, that the people of the South-West Punjab own their faith in Islam. The lukewarmness of the population in previous times was roused into a keen fervour by the pagan invasions; an emperor's tomb was granted as the resting place of the body of the Saint Rukn-i-Alam, and from this time forward the holy men and holy shrines of Multan bestowed upon the city a unique reputation throughout the whole Mussalman world.

Chronicle.

1210.—Malik Nasir-ud-din Kubacha,* one of the trained slaves of Muhammad Ghori, and son-in-law of Sultan Kutb-ud-din, marched towards Sindh, and seized Uch and Multan. (Firishta i, 203, Tab. Nas. Ell. ii, 301-2). He was 'a man of the highest intelligence, cleverness, experience, discretion and acumen.' He set himself up as an independent sovereign, and issued coins with bilingual Hindi and Arabic inscriptions. (Thomas Path. Kings, p. 100-1), and his power at one time extended from Sirhind to Sindh.

1221.—Jalal-ud-din Mankbarni, Khwarizm Shah, was pursued by the armies of Changiz Khan to the banks of the Indus. Shortly afterwards the Moghal General Turtai advanced to Bhera and then to Multan, 'but as there were no stones there he ordered that the population of Bhera should be turned out to make floats of wood and load them with stones for the manjaniks. So they

* The name is said to be derived from the Turkish *kuba*, a short coat.

Chapter II.

History.

Moghal Invasions.

floated them down the river, and when they arrived at Multan, the manjanicks were set to work and threw down many ramparts of the fort, which was nearly taken, when the excessive heat of the weather put a stop to their operations.' (Jahankusha, Ell ii, 392). The Rozat-us-safa says the Moghals were commanded by Bala Nuvan, and that owing to the excessive heat 'the Multanis escaped from that Bala (calamity)' (Ell. ii, 559). The Ain-i-Akbari gives the name of the general as Turmatai Novian, and says he actually took Multan, but that Kubacha by opening his treasury repaired the disaster. (Jar. iii, 344, see also Rav. Tab. Nas 535). Howorth says that the army was commanded by two generals, Bela and Durbai (Hist Mong i, 90). Jalal-ud-din meantime found his progress opposed both by Shams-ud-din Altamsh in Hindustan and Nasir-ud-din in Multan; he accordingly joined with the Khokhars who were the enemies of the latter, and his general Uzbeg Pai fell suddenly on Nasir-ud-din at Uch. Kubacha fled to Bhakkar and then back to Multan, which Uzbeg Pai invested. Uzbeg Pai seems to have struck coins at Multan in anticipation of taking the city, (Thomas Path. Kings, p. 99), but the siege had to be raised. (Jahankusha, Ell ii, 396-7). Jalal-ud-din passed through Multan territory again next year on his way to Sindh. (Do)

1224.—' After the victory of Nandana, Tari (or Toli, [or Turtai]), the Moghal prince, came with a large army to the walls of the city of Multan and besieged that strong place for forty days. During this war and invasion Malik Nasir-ud-din opened his treasures and lavished them munificently among the people He gave such proof of resolution, energy, wisdom and personal bravery that it will remain on record till the day of judgment.' (Tab. Nas. Ell. ii, 303, and viii, xviii) [Possibly this is the same siege as that of Turtai recorded above; the accounts of this period are somewhat confused.] Firishta iii, 420, says Chughtai Khan commanded the siege in person.

1227.—Shams-ud-din Altamsh of Delhi besieged and took Uch; and Nasir-ud-din was drowned, or as some say drowned himself, in the Indus (Tab. Nas Ell. ii, 304, iv, 146, Firishta i, 210, iii, 420). Multan fell into the hands of Shams-ud-din. and a rare copper coin of this king records the fact of his rule in this city. (Thomas Path. Kings, p. 75). Malik Kabir Khan (also known as Izz-ud-din Ayaz) was made governor of Multan. (Raverty Tab. Nas. p. 725).

1236— Multan was apparently again in a troubled state for Shams-ud-din was starting from Delhi to march against it when he died. (Firishta i, 211 Others, *e g*, Raverty Tab., p. 623, read 'Banian' not 'Multan' in connection with this incident) Malik Kabir Khan, governor of Multan, in the same year joined in the conspiracy to put Razia Begam on the throne; he became governor of Lahore, and was succeeded by Malik Karakash at Multan, but in 1239 Multan was restored to him. (Firishta i, 214—220, Tab. Nas. Ell. ii, 335, Raverty, 644). He shortly afterwards rebelled, and according to a local history, Razia Begam marched on and took Multan, where she bestowed much alms on the poor and gave villages in maafi to the Kureshi and Gardezi families.

1239 —The Karlugh Turk, Saif-ud-din Hasan, was driven this year from Ghazni by the Moghals and seized Multan. (Thomas Path. Kings, p. 93). He coined money in his own name. (Raverty in J. A.S.B. 1892, p. 157).

Meantime Kabir Khan assumed sovereignty in Uch, and after his death in 1241, his son Taj-ud-din several times attacked the Karlughs before the gates of Multan (Raverty Tab. Nas. 656).

1245.—A Moghal army under Muin Mangutah attacked Uch; Saif-ud-din fled from Multan to Sindh; but the Moghals retired on hearing that the Delhi troops had reached the Biás. (Raverty Tab. Nas. 1154, Firishta i, 231).

1246.—The Delhi authorities made an effort to stem the tide of the Moghal advance by appointing Malik Sher Khan-i-Sunkar to a large frontier Government including Multan; which was taken from the Karlughs. (Firishta i, 235).

Chapter II.

History.

Moghal Invasions.

1249.—Malik Hasan Karlugh advanced from Banian; he himself was slain but the Karlughs under his son Nasir-ud-din Muhammad took Multan from Izz-ud-din Balban, who then held it. The Karlughs were very soon afterwards ousted by Sher Khan. (Raverty Tab. Nas 684, 782—792).

1250.—Malik Izz-ud-din Balban, governor of Uch and Nagor, tried to take Multan from Sher Khan but failed. (Raverty J.A.S.B. 1892, p. 172). In the same year Akhtiyar-ud-din Kuroz, who held Multan for Sher Khan, captured a number of Moghals and sent them to Delhi (Raverty Tab. Nas. 685).

About this period the Sultan Nasir-ud-din visited Multan at least once, and as usual, showed great respect to the sacred families. (Firishta i, 238-9).

1254.—An insurrection in Sindh caused the loss of several forts in Multan and Sher Khan was disgraced. Next year Izz-ud-din Balban was made governor of Multan. (Firishta i, 240, Raverty J.A.S.B. 1892, 173).

1257.—Izz-ud-din treacherously invited the Moghals; and Nuin Saloh, having arrived at Uch, sent a force against Multan. Multan was delivered to the Moghals and the defences of the citadel were destroyed. The Saint Bahawal Hakk had to pay down 100,000 dinars to save the place from being sacked, and one Chinghis Khan was made Hakim of Multan. (Raverty J.A.S.B. 892, 175, Tab. Nas. 844 and 1201). D'Ohsson relates that the Moghals retired on hearing of the approach of Muhammad Sultan of Delhi, and adds that during the reign of Sultan Bahu (Balban 1265-87) Multan became the asylum of many Persian princes whose realms had been invaded by the Moghals (Hist. des Mongols, iv, 559).

1270.—Prince Muhammad, son of Ghias-ud-din Balban, was made governor of Multan. He twice invited Sheikh Saadi of Shiraz to his court at Multan, but the invitation was declined on the plea of age. The prince's intention was to build a Khankah for him in Multan, and to endow it with villages for his maintenance. Sheikh Saadi sent him a Gulistan and a Bostan written with his own hand; and Saadi's popularity in India dates from this event. (Firishta i, 259, Tar. Fir. Shahi, Ell. iii 110.) It is stated that although the prince was a noted patron of poets, he was on bad terms with Sheikh Sadr-ud-din, son of Bahawal Haqq.

1284.—The Moghals under Timur Khan invaded Lahore and Dipálpur and were met by Prince Muhammad 'on the banks of the river of Lahore* which runs through part of the Multan province. The Moghals were routed, but Muhammad while isolated from his followers was surprised and slain, (the incident led to his being known afterwards as the Khán-i-Shahid or Martyred Prince). Among the captives taken by the Moghals was the poet Amir Khusrau. (Firishta i, 269). The son of the deceased prince, Kai Khusru, succeeded his father in the Government of Multan. (Firishta i, 269).

1288 Circa.—Malik Jalal-ud-din Firoz, afterwards Sultan, was made governor of Multan, in order that he might preclude the possibility of any invasion by the Moghals. (Wassaf in Ell iii, 38). In 1290 Firoz advanced to Delhi and seized the throne.

1292.—Arkali Khan, son of Sultan Firoz, was made governor of Multan. On Firoz's assassination in 1295, his family fled to Multan for protection against Firoz's nephew Ala-ud-din Khilji. The latter, however, sent 40,000 horse after them who besieged Multan for two months, until the citizens and troops betrayed the princes into their hands. (Firishta i, 325). Sheikh Rukn-ud-din, grandson of Bahawal Haqq, is said to have interceded for them, but on their arrival at Delhi they were blinded and imprisoned. Nusrat Khan was made governor of Multan, and he shortly afterwards defeated an invasion of the Moghals from Sevistan.

1305.—The Moghals under Kubák or Aibak Khan, an officer of Dua, the Chaghatai Khan of Máwarulnahr, ravaged Multan; they were defeated by Ghazi Beg Tughlak and perished miserably in the deserts. (Firishta i, 363. D'Ohsson, iv, 561. See also Oliver in J.R.A.S., 1888. p. 99.

* Probably the Rávi, but possibly the Biás, see Ell. iii, 520.

1321.—When Ghazi Beg of Lahore revolted, Moghaltagiu, governor of Multan, jealous of precedence, refused to join him; he was accordingly cut off by Bahram Abia, 'a Moghal chief of some note in that quarter.' (Firishta i, 397). Ghazi Beg then usurped the power at Delhi under the name of Ghias-ud-din. He is said to have inscribed on the Jama Masjid at Multan the words, 'I have encountered the Tartars on twenty-nine occasions and defeated them; hence I am called Malik-ul-Ghazi.' (Thomas Path. Kings, p. 192, Ell. iii, 606). He is said to have left one Taj-ud-din as his governor at Multan.

1327.—A Moghal force under Turmushrin Khan subdued Multan, but was bribed by Muhammad Tughlak to withdraw. (Firishta i, 413).

1334.—Ibn Batuta of Tangiers arrived in Multan from Uch. He gives the following account of his journey :—

'From Uch I went to Multan. The city is the capital of Sindh and the Amir-ul-umara of the province lives there. Ten kos on this side one has to cross a river which is narrow and deep and impassable except by boats. Here travellers are interrogated and their property examined. At that time every merchant had to pay a fourth of his merchandise as toll as well as 7 dinárs per horse. Two years after I reached Hindustan the king abolished all this toll; and when the country was under the Abbasside Caliph there had been no dues except the usar and zakát. I dreaded the examination of merchandise for my packages though containing little enough looked large, and I feared lest the whole should be opened: but Kutb-ul-Mulk sent a military officer from Multan with orders that my baggage should not be searched, for which I thanked God. We stopped that night on the river bank and early in the morning there came to me one Dahkán Samarkandi, a postal officer, who was the king's news-writer. After meeting him I went in his company to the ruler of Multan who in those days was Kutb-ul-Mulk, a great and accomplished ruler. When I came to him he got up to greet me and gave me a place at his side I offered as presents a slave, a horse, and raisins and almonds; these last do not grow in that country and are imported as curiosities from Khurasan The Amir sat on a raised platform covered by a carpet and by him sat Salar the Kazi of the city and a Khatíb whose name I forget. To the right and left were the military officers and behind him stood armed men, while the army marched past in front. A number of bows were lying there, and any one in the army who wished to display his skill in archery took up a bow and drew it and if any one wished to display his skill in horsemanship, he ran his lance at a small drum that was attached to a low wall or played *Chaughan* with a ball that was lying there. Men were promoted according to the skill shown by them on these occasions. When we had saluted Kutb-ud-din as I have described, he ordered that we should reside in the city with the dependents of Sheikh Rukn-ud-din, Kureshi, the rule being that the Sheikh could not entertain strangers without the governor's permission. Delhi is 40 days' march from Multan and there is cultivation all the way.'

Ibn Batuta says that he went to Delhi *viâ* Abohar, Abibakhar, Pákpattan and Sarusti, but if the Abohar mentioned is the Abohar of the Ferozpore district, he has apparently forgotten the order of the towns. In another place also however (the passage quoted below) he has put Abohar near Multan, and possibly some site now disappeared is referred to. Abibakhar is not known, unless it is (as tentatively suggested by M. Muhammad Hussain) the shrine of Abubakar at Dhillun in Mailsi.

1340.—Muhammad Tughlak sent orders to Bahram Abia, governor of Multan (also known as Kishlu Khan) to have families removed forcibly to the new capital of Daulatabad in the Deccan, but the messenger, using insolent language, had his head cut off. Muhammad Tughlak defeated Bahram, and ordered a general slaughter of the inhabitants of Multan, which was only averted by the prayer of the saint Rukhn-i-Alam, who came bareheaded to the king's court and stood before him soliciting pardon for the people. (Firishta i, 421, Ell. iii, 242, vii, 136).

Ibn Batuta, however a more trustworthy authority, gives a different account. He says that Muhammad having flayed his nephew and sent his remains round the kingdom *in terrorem*, Kishlu Khan, governor of Multan,

Chapter II.
History.
Moghal invasions.

buried them: whereon Muhammad advanced against him. Battle was fought 'two days journey from Multan in the desert plain of Abohar', in which Kishlu Khan was killed. Muhammad then took Multan, flayed the Kázi and suspended Kishlu's head over the gate of the city. 'I saw it there,' says the traveller, 'when I arrived in Multan.' (Ibn Batuta, Ell. iii, 616). In this campaign the family of Bahawal Haqq sided with the king and were rewarded with 100 villages (see Muhammad Husain, Ibn Batuta, p. 153). If Ibn Batuta is correct the date of the rebellion given in Briggs' Firishta (1340) must be wrong as Ibn Batuta seems to have been in Multan once only viz. in 1334.

1341.—Bahzad Khan, governor of Multan, was defeated by some Afghans under Shahu, who 'poured down like a torrent on Multan,' and took the city. On the approach of the Delhi army the Afghans retreated. (Firishta i, 425, Tar. Fir. Shah, Ell. iii, 244).

1351.—Sultan Firoz who succeeded to the throne when he was in Sindh marched to Delhi via Multan and when in Multan behaved very liberally to the Sheikhs of the city. (Shams-i-Siraj, Ell. iii, 282)

1350.—Tatar Khan was made Shikkdar (governor) of Multan, (Ell. iv, 9). During this reign the converted Hindu Makbul, afterwards the Wazir Khan Jahan, and Ain Mahru, known as Ain-ul-Mulk, seem to have been governors of Multan (Ell. iii, 268—370). Afterwards the governors seem to have been Malik Mardan, Malik Shaikh, Malik Sulaiman and Khizr Khan, all of a Syad family. (Ell. iv, 46).

1395.—Sárang Khan, governor of Dipálpur, attacked Khizr Khan, and with the aid of Malik Mardan Bhatti seized the Shikk (province) of Multan. He then advanced against Delhi but was defeated and retired to Multan. (Firishta i, 483, Tar. Mb. Sh Ell. iv, 32).

1397.—Pir Muhammad Jahangir, grandson of Tamerlane, invested Uch, and when Sárang Khan sent troops against him he advanced to the Biás and fell on the Multanis by surprise just after they crossed the river (apparently at a place called Tamtama or Tantana). He pursued them to Multan, which he invested for six months, so that therein 'nothing eatable, not even a rat or a mouse, remained alive.' At last Sárang capitulated, but meantime the excessive rains had caused a serious mortality among the horses of the besieging army, so that they had to shift their quarters from the camp into the city. The neighbouring zamindars seeing this began to get restive. (Fi. 482. Malf-i-Tim., Ell. iii, 399—417. Rav. J.A.S.B. 1892, 181, 279).

Meantime Tamerlane marching from the north encamped outside Tulamba (October 13th, 1398). After chastising some zamindars in the neighbourhood and seizing a large number of cattle he passed on leaving the fort uncaptured. He then halted at Jal (or, it may be, at a 'chál' or lake) on the Bias 'opposite Shahpur,' from which he marched out with a flying column to chastise Nusrat Khokhar, who was encamped in swampy ground on the bank of a lake. The 'unsanctified Indians' being defeated and 'the God-forsaken Nusrat' being slain, the army moved to Shahnawaz, a populous village on the Biás, 'where there was a great quantity of grain stored up.' On the 26th October, says Tamerlane, 'I set out from Shahnawaz on my return to the baggage and pitched my camp on the bank of the river Biyah, opposite to Janjan, and gave orders that all my whole army and baggage should cross the river to Janjan (or Khanjan) and that they should set up my tent on a little eminence outside the town at the foot of which was a verdant garden.' At this place (which is stated to have been 40 kos from Multan, Rav., p. 287) Pir Muhammad, marching out from Multan, joined Tamerlane's army, and as the rains had killed his horses so that the soldiers went either on foot or bullocks, 30,000 new horses were provided for him. Leaving Janjan, Tamerlane marched to Sihwal: then on 3rd November to Arwán, then to Jahwál from which he passed on through Pákapttan to the conquest of Delhi.*

* Except Tulamba, none of the places in this district mentioned by Tamerlane are, so far as is known, identifiable.

(Malf. Tim. Ell. iii, 413—420; Zafarn. Ell. iii, 484-6; Fir. i, 487, Rav. J.A.S.B. 1892, 280—285). On his return from Delhi through the Panjab Tamerlane appointed Khizr Khan to be Governor of Multan. (Malf. Ell. iii, 475).

1405. The Delhi forces marched against Khizr Khan. 'At Tulamba they were opposed by Rai Daud, Kamal Khan Mai, and Rai Habbu, the son of Rai Ratti, chiefs in the northern provinces, who were defeated.' Near Pákpattan however, on November 18th, Khizr Khan was victorious, and in 1414 he seized on the power at Delhi, founding the dynasty of the Syads. (Fir. i, 501).

1427. Death of Malik Ala ul Mulk, Amir of Multan, (Ell. iv, 59).

1429 Malik Rajah Nadira Amir of Multan died and the fief was restored to Malik Mahmud Husain, Imad-ul-Mulk, who was sent to Multan from Delhi with a large army (Tar. Mub. Shah. Ell. iv, 67, Fir. i, 524).

1430. Sheikh Ali, governor of Kabul, on behalf of Shah Rukh Mirza, son of Tamerlane, advanced against Multan Imad-ul-Mulk went out to Tulamba to oppose him, and Sheikh Ali moved off to Khatibpur On May 8th Imad returned to Multan and Sheikh Ali crossed the Ravi and laid all waste along the bank of the joint Jhelum-Chenáb (Firishta says the Rávi). At a kos distance from Multan he defeated and killed Sultan Shah Lodi who was sent against him, and on the 27th May he occupied Khairabad 'within six miles of Multan.' On June 18th a fight took place in the gardens outside Multan in which he was repulsed; and two days later he was again driven back A reinforcement of royal troops came up, and on Friday, July 25th, 'approaching the prayer-house (namazgah) endeavoured to enter the kútela of Ala-ul-Mulk' Sheikh Ali opposed them and a great battle ensued in which he was defeated and driven across the river (said to be the Jhelum, but either the Chenáb and Ravi is meant) towards Shorkot.

The Delhi authorities getting jealous of Imad had him recalled and the 'ikta' or fief of Multan was transferred to Malik Khair-ud-din Khani. The transfer was inconsiderately carried out and this led to troubles (Tab. Akh. and Tar. Mub. Sh. Ell iv, 70—72. Fir. i, 525—6).

1431. Sheikh Ali was induced by Jasrath Khokhar to attack Multan again. After taking Khatibpur he reached Tulamba and sacked the town ruthlessly. He does not however seem to have advanced further. (Ell. iv, 73).

1432. Saiad Mubarak Shah, Sultan of Delhi, advanced from the Montgomery district in pursuit of Sheikh Ali, and after crossing the Rávi near Tulamba put him to flight (Tar Mub. Shah Ell iv, 77, Fir. i, 528). After taking Shorkot the king made a detour to Multan to visit the tombs of the saints. (Fir i, 529). In 1435 his successor, Muhammad Shah, paid Multan a visit for a similar purpose. (Tab. Akb. Ell. iv, 84). Shortly after this Bahlol Lodi seems to have been Governor of Multan (Ain. Jar ii, 388.)

1437. Disturbances arose in Multan owing to the discontent of the Langáhs who are represented by Firishta as a Pathan tribe recently arrived from Sibi (Ell. iv, 85. Fir iv, 380). Their then habitat was Rapri (Cf. Ell. v, 306).

1443. Tired of anarchy the people of Multan selected a ruler 'one Sheikh Yusaf, a man of learning, wisdom and high character' of the tribe of Koresh (a descendant of Bahawal Hakk), and 'the public prayers were read, and money coined, in his name.' 'The prince fully repaid their confidence by re-organising the government and gaining the esteem and friendship of the surrounding zamíndars.'

1445. Rai Sahra, Langáh, father-in law of Sheikh Yusaf, seized Multan and drove out Sheikh Yusaf to Delhi, The story of how he came to see his daughter in the town, and how having drunk duck's blood and taken an emetic he induced his son-in-law to let in some of his own people to tend him is given at length in Firishta iv, 381—2. Rai Sahra assumed the title of Kutb-ud-din Langah and reigned till 1469. (see Firishta; the names and dates in the Ain-i-Akbari differ somewhat, see Ain. Jar. ii, 234-5).*

* Mr. Dames in Punjab Notes and Queries ii, 514, observes that there are apparently no coins of the Langáh dynasty extant

Chapter II.

History.

Moghal Invasions.

1469. Husain Khan Langáh, son of Kutb-ud-Din, succeeded. He attacked and took Shorkot and Chiniot; also the country round Kot Kahror and Dinkot, which he colonized with Dodai Beloches, who, being pressed by the Moghals in Kachi and Sindh, now appear for the first time in India. (Fir. iv, 386. J.A.S.B, 1848, ii, 560). His brother Shahab Din rebelled in Kahror but was taken and imprisoned. Then the Delhi troops advanced in aid of the exiled Sheikh Yusaf and had nearly reached Multan when Husain Khan, 'crossing the Indus' threw himself into the fort and routed the invaders, driving them towards Chiniot. About this time, too, a number of Sahnas emigrated from Sindh to Multan. (Fir. iv 387-8) and one of them called Jam Bayazid was granted Shorkot (c Punjab N. and Q. iii, 215).

1480 circa.—One historian relates that in the reign of Bahlol Khan Lodi of Delhi the Delhi troops marched through Multan to chastise a rebel called Ahmad Bhatti, but this is not mentioned in most histories. (Ell. v, 5). About this time, however, the Bhattis of Jesalmir established themselves between the Sutlej and the Biás (and even as far as Asinikot beyond the Biás) and were in constant conflict with the Langáhs, Khichis, Joyás and other tribes of that region. Rawal Chachik of Jesalmir was killed in a great fight with the Langáhs near Dunyapur (Tod Rájasthán, Calc. edn. 1894, ii, 110—113).

1483. A treaty was made between Husain Khan and Sikandar Khan Lodi of Delhi. (Fir. iv, 389).

1500 circa.—Firishta tells a story regarding the envoy whom Husain Khan sent to Ahmadabad and who said that the whole revenues of Multan could not build a palace like that at Ahmadabad. The prime minister consoled Husain Khan by saying that 'though India might be the country of riches yet Multan could boast in being a country of men.' Among the literary men of Multan he proceeded to enumerate 'Sheikh Yusaf Koreshi, Sheikh Baha-ud-din Zakaria, and others brought up in the philosophic school of Haji Abdul Wahab, besides Fatteh-Ulla and his disciple Aziz-Ulla, both inhabitants of Multan, and who had each thousands of disciples.' Husain Khan shortly afterwards resigned in favour of his son Firoz, but Firoz was poisoned by his minister, and Husain again assumed power. (Fir iv, 389—391).

1502. Husain ousted his minister Imad-ul-Malk in favour of Jam Bayazid Sahna, and soon after died. (Fir.iv, 391; others put his death in 1497 or 1498.) His successor Mahmud was 'young and foolish withal,' and complaints were made to him that Jam Bayazid transacted public business at his private house on the bank of the Chenáb and insulted the dignity of revenue collectors. Jam Bayazid's son attempted to assassinate the king, and then fled with his father to Shorkot, where they submitted to the Delhi Lodis. A treaty was made by which the Rávi was recognized as the boundary between the Delhi and Multan kingdoms. (Fir. iv, 393-5, Tab. Akb. Ell. v, 469).

1520 circa.—Mir Chakar Rind, the famous Biloch Chief, tried to get a footing in Multan but was opposed by Sohrab Dudai and went on to Shorkot. (Tab. Akb. Ell.v 470. Fir. iv, 396). About this time Shiism is said to have been introduced to Multan by Mir Imad Gardezi—others say Mir Shahdad, son of Mir Chakar. (Do.).

1524. The Arghun Turks who had been driven out of Kandahar were induced by Babar to attack Multan and advanced to the Ghara. Sheikh Baha-ud din Koreshi, was sent from Multan to dissuade them but failed. The Langáh army composed largely of 'Beloches, Jats, Rinds and others' marched out, but at Beg, one or two marches from Multan, Sultan Mahmud died suddenly, probably poisoned either by Sheikh Shuja Bukhari, his minister, or by Langar (or Lashkar) Khan, a man of note. (Fir. iv, 89, Ersk. B and H. 458. Tab. Akb. Ell. v, 471. Tarkhaonama. Ell.v. 314). Mahmud appears before his death to have sworn fealty to Babar (Fir. iv, 435).

His son Sultan Husain, a minor, succeeded him, and Sheikh Baha-ud-din seems to have persuaded the Arghuns to retire, leaving the Ghara as the boundary. (Ersk. Bab. and Hum., 391.)

1525. Anarchy prevailed in Multan. 'The leading chiefs and nobles retired each to his own tribe or jagir and strengthened himself there.' Langar Khan

Chapter II.
History.
The Moghal Emperors.

induced the Arghuns once more to attack Multan and the place was besieged. The besieged were reduced to great straits through the incapacity and rapacity of Shuja, the minister, and his factotum Jadah (or Juma) Machhi. (Ersk. 394).

1527. After the siege had lasted for a year and some months, the Arghuns took the fort by assault: 'having broken down the Lahore gate with axes and hammers.' Almost every one was massacred and even such as fled to the 'convent of the Sheikhs' did not escape, for this also was plundered and set on fire after being drenched in blood. The historians have preserved several detailed accounts of this siege, (see Erskine 395—6. Fir. iv, 399. Tab. Akb. Ell. v, 472—5).

Shams-ud-din who was left by the Arghuns with 600 men in charge of Multan committed great cruelties to extort money. Langar Khan on the other hand did his best to rebuild the desolated city, but had soon to retire in disgust to Babar at Lahore. (Ersk. 398).

1528. Some 15 months after the Arghuns took possession, a popular insurrection under one Shamsher Khan expelled Shams-ud-din. The Arghuns then resigned the province to Babar, who sent his son Askari with Langar Khan to take it over (Ersk. 398).

The Moghal Emperors—A. D. 1528—1752.*

Under the strong, centralized Government of the greater Moghal Emperors, Multan at last enjoyed a long period of peace, and it obtained in the documents and coins of the period the standing title of 'Dár-ul-amán' (the seat of safety). It may be said that for two hundred years from 1548 to 1748, there was no warfare in this part of the Punjab; a rebel or a fugitive prince once or twice flitted through the district, bringing no doubt a certain amount of temporary depredation in his train, but the country as a whole had settled down to peace. The cultivation probably remained as before for the most part confined to the riverain lands; the area immediately around and north of Multan was (for some reason not ascertained) available for settlers in Shah Jehan's reign and was colonized by men from all parts of North-Western India, but there was probably no very great extension of cultivation, and the figures for the provincial revenue, so far as we can follow them, do not indicate any very large development. The people, however, had peace and their status must in many ways have improved. Commerce at any rate seems to have flourished, and Multan itself became a noted emporium for trade between Hindustan and the Persian Empire. The city became the head-quarters of a Province, which covered the whole of the South-Western Punjab, and at times included also the whole of Sindh. The governors seem as a whole to have been intelligent and well behaved, and the Province—involving as it sometimes did the command of armies on the Kandahar frontier—was often confided to princes of the Royal House.

* For the information regarding this and the subsequent period I am indebted largely to a very interesting history of Multan prepared by Shah Yusaf, Gardezi, and most of the facts for which authority is not quoted below are related in that history. There are also some interesting details in a manuscript history of the Saddozai and Khudakka families entitled 'Taskirat ul Muluk' in the possession of Nur Muhammad Khan, Khudakka, of Multan.

Chapter II.

History.

The Moghal Emperors.

Even when the Moghal power began to fall to pieces Multan at first escaped much of the devastation which visited other parts of India. The route to Delhi by Bhatinda and Abohar was now too dry for armies and the high road to Delhi from the west no longer lay through Multan but through Lahore. The armies of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, with their awful attendant evils, left Multan unscathed, and it was only from minor and subsidiary contentions that this district suffered. In the later days of the empire, and more especially when the trans-Indus tracts had been cut off by Nadir Shah, the Multan Province became by degrees an appendage of Lahore. As the central power weakened, the government became more and more a government by contract, a money-making concern: it got into the hands of Hindus, and it is to the Hindu instinct that we owe the origin of those local farmings of revenue, which in turn led to that development of canal irrigation, that forms the one bright spot amid the general confusion of the succeeding period before the days of Diwan Sawan Mal.

Chronicle.

1528—1530.—Langar Khan, governor of Multan.

1530.—On Babar's death Mirza Kamran obtained the Punjab and recalled Langar Khan to Lahore.

1540.—Humayun, in his retreat from India, marched from Lahore into the territories of Bakhshu Khan Langáh. To propitiate this chief Humayun gave him the title of Khan Jahan, and Bakhshu Khan, though not attending the camp himself, gave all assistance to Humayun to help him to cross the Gharu (Ersk. Bab. and Hum. ii, 208).

1541.—Multan passed with Lahore into the hands of Sher Shah, Afghan. This sovereign is said to have erected three tiled mosques in Multan, *viz.*, at the shrines of Bahawal Hakk, Rukn-i-Alam and Shah Yusuf Gardezi.

1542.—Humayun in his wanderings came from Bhakkar to Uch, but Bakhshu Khan Langah put such obstacles in his way that he had to retire to Bikanir territory. (Ersk. ii, 236).

1543 Circa.—The Beloches had meantime continued their incursions, the Mazaris reached Tulamba and Mír Chakar Rind settled down at Satgarh in Montgomery. Sher Khan sent Haibat Khan Niazi, governor of Lahore, against Chakar, and according to Beloch legend, Haibat having killed Chakar's son, roasted his ribs. Chakar however is said to have marched on Multan and thence to Sitpur; and legend (here at fault) says that Haibat was killed and his head made into a drinking cup. (Dame's Belochi Text book Stories, pp. 10-12. Temple's Legends of the Punjab, ii, 491).

One Fath Khan Jat, who was in rebellion at Pákpattan, was also attacked, by Haibat and his Afghans. He fled to a mud fort between Kahror and Fattehpur, when he held out for some time with the help of Hindu Khan Beloch, and Bakhshu Khan Langáh, but the fort was at last captured. Haibat Khan, on reaching Multan, restored it from the devastation done by the Belochis, and was ordered by Sher Shah to 'repeople Multan and to observe the customs of the Langáhs and not to measure the land but to take a share of the produce.' Fatteh Jang Khan was left in charge of Multan and under his benevolent rule Multan flourished more than under the Langáhs. He founded Shergarh. (Tar. Sher Shah, Ell. iv, 398—9). [Local Legend says that Malik Fatu'l Khan Joya, chief of Fattehpur, refused to pay his revenue to the Suba of Khai

Chapter II.
History.
The Moghal Emperors.

called Ali Husain who lived at Shitabgarh. Ali Husain attacked him and they met in single combat at Halim Khichi, and Ali Husain was killed. Another story locates the combat at Fattehpur and says that both were killed.]

About 1554 the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali passed through Multan on his way from Uch to Lahore. In his Mirat-ul-Mamalik he wrote: 'In the beginning of Ramzan we came to the river Kara or Kere, which we crossed by means of a raft. The people of Sind gave us permission to proceed as far as the Machvara and the river was crossed by boats. On the other side we found 500 Jats awaiting us, but our fire-arms frightened them and they did not attack. We advanced unmolested and reached the town of Multan on the 15th of Ramzan. In Multan I only visited the graves of the Sheikhs Baha-ud-din Zakaria, Rukn-ud-din and Sadr-ud-din. I received a blessing from Sheikh Muhammad Radjva and after receiving permission to continue my journey from Sultan Mir Miran Mirza Hussain, we proceeded towards Lahore.' (Vambery's Translation, p. 45). [The Kara is apparently the Ghára or Sutlej and if so the Machvara must be the Biás].

1556—1605.—Reign of Akbar. We have some passing notices of the persons in power in Multan during this reign. In 1561, on the defeat of Bahram Multan was given in jagir to Muhammad Kasim Khan of Nishapur (Ain. i, 353). In 1570 Khan Jahan Lodi was made governor, (do i, 503). Some time before 1577, Syad Khan Chaghatai was governor, (do. i, 331). Between 1580 and 1588 Sadik Khan was made governor, (do. i, 356). In 1586, Khwaja Abdussamad was made Diwan, (do. i, 495). In 1591, Khan-i- Khanan's jagir was transferred to Multan (do. i, 335), and in 1593, Multan, 'which is more than Kandahar,' was given in jagir to Mirza Rustam Safawi, (do. i, 314). In 1593, Mirza Jani Beg got the Suba of Multan as tayul, (do. i, 363), and in 1596 Muhammad Aziz Koka got Multan in jagir (do. i, 327). In 1602, Syad Khan Chaghtai was appointed to the province of Multan (do. i, 332). Multan in Akbar's time had a silver and copper mint (do. i, 31).*

In 1573, the family of the Mirzas, sons of Muhammad Sultan Mirza, rebelled against Akbar and passed through the Punjab towards Multan. Near Tulamba Ibrahim Husain Mirza while returning from hunting, was attacked by the royal troops and his brother taken prisoner. Ibrahim Husain retired, and in trying to pass the Gharu was wounded in the throat with an arrow by certain Jhils [Jhabels] 'who are fishermen dwelling about Multan.' He was taken prisoner and carried to Multan (Tab. Akb Ell. v, 355, Ain. i, 468).

1605—1627.—Reign of Jahangir. In 1619 apparently Khan Jahan was made governor of Multan. (De Laet. Ind. 240. cf. Herbert's Trav., Ed. 1628, p. 90). In 1614 the Englishmen Still and Crowther passed through Multan on their way from Ajmir to Ispahan. (Wheeler's Early Travs, 63).

1627—1658. Reign of Shah Jahan At first Kilij Khan was governor. When he was transferred to Kandahar, Multan was given in jagir to Shahzada Murad Bakhsh, who built the present city walls and the bridge outside the Lohari Gate, and who colonized and brought under cultivation a great deal of land in the neighbourhood. When he was transferred to the Deccan, Nijabat Khan, a mild and popular governor, came to Multan as subadar. After this Multan was given in jagir to Prince Aurangzeb, and in his time (1648) Kandahar being taken by the Persians certain Saddozai exiles came and settled in Multan and Rangpur. Prince Aurangzeb is said to have repaired the tombs of Zainul-ab-din at Sakot and Khalik Wali at Khatti Chor. After this Multan became part of the jagir of Dara Shekoh for a year and a half, but was again transferred to Aurangzeb. While Aurangzeb was occupied in the siege of Kandahar (1652), Multan was again given to Dara, who appointed Sheikh Musa Gilani as his Naib. In 1658 came the illness of the Emperor Shah Jahan, the defeat of Dara near Agra and the assumption of the sovereignty by Aurangzeb.

The Augustinian friar Manrique seems to have visited Multan twice during Shah Jahan's reign. (Itinerario, p. 378).

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* The British Museum contains the following Moghal coins of the Multan Mint: Akbar, copper A. H. 1,000; Shahjahan, gold 1068; silver 1039, 1040, 1042, 1043, 1045, 1048. Aurangzeb gold 1075, 1077; silver 1070, 1073, 1076, Farrukh Siyar, silver 1125, 1126, 1130.

Chapter II.

History.

The Moghal Emperors.

1658—1707.—Reign of Aurangzeb. Dara Shekoh, fleeing from Lahore before Aurangzeb, came to Multan for a few days (5th to 13th September 1658), put his treasure on boats and marched himself by land to Uch, intending to go to Kandahar. He broke down behind him the bridges (probably boat bridges) on the Bias and Sutlej.* The vanguard of Aurangzeb's army sent out parties to Dunyapur, to see that Dara had not fled to Ajmir, but when it was clear he had escaped to Bhakkar, Saf Shikan Khan was sent in pursuit and Aurangzeb himself stayed at Multan. On 25th September 1658 the Emperor's camp was pitched three miles from the city at the place where the Chenáb and Rávi met and a day or two afterwards he paid his respects to the shrines. Shaikh Musa Gilani was dismissed, and Lashkar Khan, governor of Kashmir, was transferred to Multan, Khan Alim acting as Naib till Lashkar Khan should arrive. After staying five days, Aurangzeb heard of the movements of Shuja Khan in Bengal, and at once marched back to Delhi. (Alamgirnama, pp. 200 *seqq.* Khafi Khan, Ell. vii, 232. Dow iii, 252).

After two years Lashkar Khan gave place to Tarbiat Khan, and he afterwards to Saif Khan. Multan then became jagir to Prince Muhammad Azam, who stayed here a long time and seems to have made a good governor: he is said to have been accustomed to go in disguise through the city at night like Harun-al-rashid. After him the jagir went to Prince Muhammad Akbar. Then the Subadari was held jointly by Allayar Khan and Karam Khan. In 1694-5 Muizz-ud-din, afterwards Jahandar Shah, grandson of Aurangzeb, was governor and seems to have been fairly active. He refused to help the Daudputras of Bahawalpur on their opposition to the governor of Sindh (Irvine in J.A.S.B. 1896, pp. 176 and 208. Shahamat Ali Bahawalp. and Mult., p. 16).

1707—1719.—Reigns of Bahadur Shah, Jahandar Shah and Farrukh Siyar In 1712 Jahandar Shah is said to have appointed the dancer Niamat to be governor of Multan; the Wazir demanded in mockery a nazrana of 1,000 guitars and the Emperor cancelled the appointment. (Irvine in J.A.S.B. 1896, p. 167 The story is somewhat differently told in Shafi Khan, Ell. vii, 432).

Under Jahandar Shah Kokaltash Khan (Ali Murad) is said to have been Governor, with Sher Afkhan as his Deputy.

Under Farrukh Siyar the following were Subadars of Multan, *viz.*,—Nawab Khan Zaman, Sher Afkan Khan, Akidat Khan; and Sayad Husain Khan. Sher Afkan Khan seems to have been only the Deputy of Kutbul Mulk the Wazir. (Irvine in J.A.S.B. 1896, p. 156).

1719—1748. Reign of Muhammad Shah. The following were Subadars. (1) Sher Afkan Khan, Izzuddaula. (2) Bakir Khan who built the Bakirabad mosque which stands near the Lahore road about two miles N.E. of the city. (3) Sayad Husan Khan. (4) Sher Afkan Khan again. (5) Nawab Abdussamad Khan Turani; he held both Lahore and Multan, and built the Idgah. (6) On his death in 1735 his son Zakaria Khan (known as Khan Bahadur Khan) was granted both Subas, and lived sometimes in one, sometimes in the other. In his time all the trans-Indus part of the Multan province was transferred from the Delhi Empire to that of Nadir Shah. (7) On his death his son Hyat-ulla Khan, known as Shahnawaz Khan, who had previously been left in charge of Multan, was granted both Subas.

1748—1752. Reign of Ahmad Shah. On the death of Muhammad Shah Muin-ud-din Khan (Mir Mannu), son of the Wazir Kamr-ud-din Khan, was appointed to the Subas of Lahore and Multan. Kaura Mal, a low bred Kirar, who had obtained promotion under Shahnawaz, was employed by Mir Mannu to march against Shahnawaz. There was a fight outside Multan in which Jassa Singh Kalal, the founder of the Ahluwalia misl, aided Kaura Mal. At first Kaura Mal was defeated, but Shahnawaz hearing that Kaura Mal was with only a few attendants on an elephant near Daurana Langana, went against

* There is a local tradition at Shujatpur in the Shujabad tahsil that when Dara Shekoh had passed the bridge over the Biás there the inhabitants broke it down behind him to aid him in his flight and were consequently severely punished by Aurangzeb.

him with some horse and was shot while actually cutting with his sword at Kaura Mal's howda. Kaura Mal then took the 'Ijara' of Multan as Nazim on behalf of Mir Mannu and assumed the title of Maharaja.

Chapter II.

History.

Pathan and Sikh rule.

Kaura Mal maintained a friendly intercourse with the Daudputras of Baháwalpur and bestowed on Bahawal Khan the perpetual lease of the Adamwahan taluka for Rs. 4,000 per annum. To improve the new acquisition Bahawal Khan built the Shahdará (Sardárwáh) canal. Kaura Mal used often to go to Lahore and on one occasion he left as Naib-Nazim one Zahid Khan Saddozai Khankhel; this man having disobeyed some order, Kaura Mal marched against him, but when the armies met at Matithal Zahid Khan's army deserted and he dismounted from his palki and fled, but was afterwards captured. On another occasion Kaura Mal left one Khwaja Ishaq as his Naib, and this time Kaura Mal was killed, fighting against Ahmad Shah Abdali. (See Muhammad Latif's History of Punjab, 214, 215, Sh. Ali Sah. 33, 37 J.A.S.B. 1848, ii, 568—571).

In 1751 Mubarak Khan Daudputra* bought the land of Shini, Bakhri and Mudwala (now in Muzaffargarh) from the zamindars of Tahir: also Bet (? Bet Moghal) and Dunawali from Sheikh Raju Gardezi and brought them under cultivation (J.A.S.B. 1848, ii, 568). In 1752 Ahmad Shah Abdali compelled the Emperor to cede the Punjab and Sindh to him.† His son Tamur Shah was left in charge with Jahan Khan as adviser.

Pathan and Sikh Rule.

After having been an outlying province of the Delhi Empire Multan in 1752 became a province owing allegiance, often very nominal, to the Afghan kings of Kabul. The country was ruled for the most part by Governors of Pathan extraction, and under the rule of the Saddozais of Kabul a marked change took place in the fortunes of those Pathan families, chiefly Saddozais, who from time to time had fled from Afghanistan to take refuge in this district. By degrees those families, known as the Multani Pathans, absorbed a good deal of power: the fief of Shujabad remained for some time in the hands of one of them, and ultimately under Nawabs Muzaffar Khan and Sarfaraz Khan the Multan Saddozais set up for themselves a kingdom which was for all practical purposes independent. Under their government lands were conferred freely on the Pathan families; and numbers of Badozais, Bamozais, Tarins, Babars, Khakwanis and others, who had previously been mere towns-people or soldiers of fortune, became large jagirdars and landowners.

The rule of this Pathan government has come down to us surrounded by a certain halo, partly on account of the heroic

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* As the eastern half of the district was for a long time under the Daudputra rulers of Baháwalpur and one hears a good deal about them on travelling along the Sutlej it is thought convenient to append the following list of the more recent rulers of the Bahawalpur State:—A. D. 1727 Sadik Muhammad Khan I; 1746 Bahawal Khan I; 1751 Mubarik Khan; 1772 Bahawal Khan II; 1809 Sadik Muhammad Khan II; 1825 Bahawal Khan III; 1853 Sadatyar Khan; 1853 Fatteh Khan; 1859 Bahawal Khan IV; 1865 Sadik Muhammad Khan IV; 1899 Bahawal Khan V. Of these the best remembered in the district is Bahawal Khan III, our ally in the Multan campaign, who is always spoken of as Sakhi Bahawal Khan, i.e., the generous. The Nawab of Baháwalpur for the time being is generally spoken of as 'Khan' simply.

†Ahmad Shah struck coins at Multan in A. D. 1752 and 1754.

Chapter II.

History.

Pathan and Sikh rule.

defence made by the Nawabs against the Sikh aggressions, and partly on account of the very valuable assistance given to the British arms by the Pathan families in 1848; but, as a matter of fact, the Pathan administration of the country seems to have been exceedingly lax, and the rulers, who were brave men in the day of battle, were slothful, luxurious and utterly unbusiness-like in the management of their territories in days of peace. The rule of the Saddozais extended over both sides of the Chenáb from the neighbourhood of Sarai Siddhu to about half way down the present Shujabad tahsil, and the revenue they collected was about 5½ lakhs per annum. Their army consisted in peace time of some 2,000 men and 20 guns, but the number could be raised on emergency by the calling out of 10,000 or 12,000 militia. Elphinstone, who passed through Multan on his way to Kabul in 1807, says of the Multani administration: 'Nothing could be worse than the government; all sorts of direct exactions were aggravated by monopolies, rapacious and ungovernable troops, and every other kind of abuse.' (Elph. Caubul, 23). The following account by Elphinstone of his reception by Nawab Sarfaraz Khan gives an idea of the Pathans' notions of discipline and order in matters of ceremonial:—

'The principal events of our stay were our meetings with the governor of the province. The name of this personage was Sarfaraz Khan, and, as his government was in India, he had the title of Nabob. He was of an Afghan family, of the royal tribe of Saddozai, but his ancestors had so long been settled in Multan, that he had lost most of the characteristics of his nation. He seems to have been seized with a panic as soon as he heard of the approach of the mission and the whole of his behaviour to the end was marked with suspicion and distrust. He shut the gates of the city against us, and allowed none of our men or followers to enter without express permission. He also doubled his guards, and we heard, from good authority, of debates in his council, whether it was most probable that we should endeavour to surprise the city, or, that we should procure a cession of it to us from the king. He, however, agreed to visit me on the 15th of December, and a very large tent was pitched for his reception. One end of it was open, and from the entrance two canvass screens ran out, so as to form an alley about twenty yards long, which was lined with servants in livery, other servants extending beyond it. The troops were also drawn up in line along the road to the tent.

Mr. Strachey went to meet the governor, and found him mounted on a white horse, with gold trappings, attended by his officers and favorites, surrounded with large standards, and escorted by 200 horse and 3,000 foot. The dust, crowd, and confusion of the meeting are represented by Mr. Strachey as beyond all description. The governor welcomed Mr. Strachey according to the Persian custom, after which they joined and proceeded to the tent, the pressure and disorder increasing as they went. In some places men were fighting, and in others people were ridden down. Mr. Strachey's own horse was nearly borne to the ground, and only recovered himself by a violent exertion. When they approached the tent they missed the road, came in front of the line of troops, and rushed on the cavalry with such impetuosity that there was barely time to wheel back so as to allow a passage. In this manner the tide poured on towards the tent, the line of servants was swept away, the screens were torn down and trampled under foot, and even the tent ropes were assailed with such fury that the whole tent was nearly struck over our heads.

The inside was crowded and darkened in an instant. The governor and about ten of his companions sat, the rest seemed to be armed attendants and, indeed, the governor seemed to have attended to nothing but the number of his

Chapter II

History.

Pathan and Sikh rule.

guards. He sat but for a very short time, during the whole of which he was telling his beads with the utmost fervency, and addressing us with - "You are welcome," as fast as he could repeat the words. At last said he was afraid the crowd must annoy me, and withdrew. Sarfaraz Khan was a good looking young man; he wore the Persian dress, with a cap and a shawl turban over it, and spoke very good Persian. His attendants were large, fair, and handsome Afghans, most of them very well dressed, but in no sort of order or discipline. On the same evening I returned his visit, and found him sitting under an awning, on a terrace in one of his gardens. He had a large company sitting with him in good order. They differed greatly in appearance from the natives of India, but were neither handsomely dressed, nor so decorous as Persians. The Nabob being now free from alarm was civil and agreeable enough.

Only a little less than half of the present Multan district was in the hands of these Pathans: the rest, consisting of the whole of the Mailsi and Lodhran tahsils, and the southern half of Shujabad, was in the hands of the Daudputra Chiefs of Baháwalpur, who had gradually acquired the various talukas in this tract on lease from the rulers of Multan. When the power of the Multan Nawabs grew feebler, the Daudputras ceased paying their rent for these tracts, but on the advent of the Sikh power the rent was again strictly exacted from them. Under the Sikhs the rent was enhanced largely, until ultimately in 1831 the Daudputras failed to pay it, and the whole country west of Sutlej then passed into the hands first of General Ventura and then of Diwan Sawan Mal. The Daudputra rule in the Sutlej tahsils had lasted, off and on, for some eighty or ninety years, and their management of the country seems to have been on the whole sensible and popular. Some of their kardars, such as Sirdar Muhammad Khan and Jam Khan, have left a name behind them for energy and justice, and it is to their management that we owe for the most part of the present system of canal irrigation in the district.

The earliest canals of which we can trace the origin were the Muhammadwah and the Sirdarwah which were made some time before 1750 to improve the Daudputra lands in the west of the present Lodhran tahsil. The lands further to the east were then taken in hand, and in another five years the Daudputras had excavated the Bahawalwah, Sadikwah and Kabilwah. Further east again were constructed shortly afterwards, under the kardar Jam Khan, the two large canals, the Jamwah Kalan and the Jamwah Khurd, which are called after his name. And, finally, furthest to the east of all, when the Sikhs had taken the country, Ghulam Mustafa Khakwani built the canal Diwanwah, which he named after Diwan Sawan Mal. The success of these various irrigation schemes was great: large tracts of land were brought under cultivation, and tenants migrated eagerly from the Chenab lands to the Daudputra canals. The Pathans on the Chenab side were not slow in taking up the cue, and the Governor, Ali Muhammad Khan, started the digging of the large canal, still known after him as the Wali Muhammad, which irrigates the lands round Multan: but, with this exception, the attempts made to irrigate in the Chenab tahsils were feeble and

Chapter II.
History.
Pathan and Sikh rule.

irregular, compared with the great works of the Daudputras on the Sutlej. Two small cuts, now the Shahpur and Durana Langana canals, were made at an early date. Another, now the Sikandarabad, was constructed by the powerful Khokhar family for the irrigation of its own lands. The Saddozais fostered their jagir in Shujabad by permitting the construction of the Gujjuhatta, Bakhtuwah and Dhundhun canals. And towards the end of their rule some small efforts were made to extend irrigation northwards by the construction of the Khadal, Tahirpur and Matital cuts. The Government, however, had little to do with the canal making on the Chenáb side; and, indeed, the cultivation carried on by these Chenáb canals seems to have been but small. Elphinstone, who notes the number of "large and deep watercourses" in the Sutlej tahsils, does not mention canal irrigation round Multan. He says that a good deal of the country in these parts was "most abundantly watered by Persian wheels," but "a large proportion of the villages were in ruins, and there were other signs of a well cultivated country going to decay." [Elph. Caubul, i, 28].

The chief factor in this picture of desolation was the continual warfare with the Sikhs of the north. From the time when the Bhangi Misl first appeared before the city in 1771 to the day when the army of Ranjit Singh stormed the Multan fort in 1818, the greater part of the Multan and Kabírwála tahsils was being constantly overrun by predatory armies, and the havoc thus wrought has left its traces to the present day. Even when Ranjit Singh had taken Multan, he contented himself for a time with putting in governors of the muharrir type, who were quite incapable of restoring the prosperity of the country or of coping with the robber bands that overran the Kabírwála "bar:" and it was not till 1821, when Diwan Sawan Mal was made governor, that the unfortunate district obtained any real peace or strong government.*

For 23 years the Chenáb tahsils, and for 13 years the whole district, was under the rule of Sawan Mal. The careless and disorganized happy-go-lucky administration of the Pathan aristocracy was now exchanged for a government conducted on the strictest of business principles. There was, it is true, very little system, as we understand it, in Sawan Mal's government: administrative boundaries were terribly confused and constantly changing, and his revenue arrangements still baffle us by their local and individual character; but want of system was atoned for by a most minute knowledge of personal and local matters, a precise attention to business and strong centralization of power. We hear little or nothing of Sawan Mal's kardars and his government was of the 'one-man' type. He

* So much have these Sikh incursions impressed themselves on the minds of the people that they still have a saying: 'Sáin, jo balá ándí hai ubbiyon di hai.' 'Misfortune is from the north.'

was constant and methodical in his kutcherry hours, and minute in his supervision, especially over matters of accounts. He was thus able in a remarkable way to make this district the most contented in India, and yet at the same time to make it yield every rupee of income that could be squeezed from it, and this result he achieved by a combination of strict justice with minute revenue management.

Chapter II.

History.

Pathan and Sikh rule.

In his judicial work he was strict and impartial. Edwardes, who saw through the spectacles of his friends, the Pathan refugees, attributes this largely to Sawan Mal's own low origin, 'What in us,' he writes, 'is an imperfection in Sawan Mal amounted to a vice. He could not tolerate a gentleman. A low bred man himself, he hated any one who had a grandfather. Rich merchants he loved and called around him, for they earned their money as he did himself; but inherited wealth he regarded as contraband, a thing to be seized and confiscated whenever found. Thus the same man who would lend money to a Jat to buy a plough or dig a well, would keep a Multani Pathan out of his estate and think he did God a service. Between the poor he did justice with great pains and impartiality; but a rich man, even if in the right, never got a verdict from Sawan Mal without paying for it.'

So too in his revenue arrangements, which will be further described later on, he carried out the ideas of land nationalization to great lengths. His main principle was that if land was culturable and the owner did not cultivate it, another cultivator should be put in by the State, and the owner recouped by a small due or not according to circumstances. Each village was assessed in the way that gave the largest return to Government, but whenever possible that way was also the most suitable to the cultivators. If a man had not capital to build a well or to buy oxen, the State at once supplied the capital and recouped itself as best it could, not according to any system but by taking as much from the owner each year as he could spare without injury to the cultivation. The canals were diligently cleared out, the zealous zamindars being encouraged by rewards and honours, and the remiss being severely punished. The Hindu who wanted to invest money in land was given uncultivated land to reclaim, and when he had reclaimed it was made to pay a full annual revenue for it. Useless expenditure on jagirs and mafis was reduced to a minimum, and everything able to yield revenue was made to yield it. And yet the people, tired after long harassments and pleased with the substantial justice they received, were kept happy and contented as they have probably never been before or since.

Chronicle.

From 1752 to 1767 the most prominent person in the history of Multan was *Ali Muhammad Khan Khakwani*. This officer, who had accompanied Ahmad Shah in his expeditions, was appointed in 1752 to succeed Khwaja Ishak at Multan. He

Chapter II.

History.

Pathan and Sikh rule.

was at first a good ruler, but afterwards became avaricious and oppressive. In 1758 the Mahrattas, who had been invited into the Punjab by Adina Beg Khan, overran the district: Ali Muhammad Khan had to retire beyond the Ghara, and the Mahrattas appointed one Salih Muhammad Khan as Nazim in his place.* After some two years, however, a fresh invasion of the Duranis caused the Mahrattas to retire and Ali Muhammad in 1760 came to his own again. Next year, however, he was suspended, and the province was committed to the joint rule of Abdul Karim Khan and Allayar Khan Bamezai. After another interval the province fell to Nawab Shuja Khan Saddozai Khankhel, son of the Zahid Khan who had previously been naib-nazim, and a fellow-clansman of the king Ahmad Shah Durani. About the end of 1766, however, Ali Muhammad Khan was again restored, and with the help of the Daudputras he seized the province of Dera. In return for this help he leased to them for Rs. 8,000 a year the ilakas of Khanwah, Kahlwan (Kalluwala?), Adamwahan, Imam-ud-dinpur (Mamdi Mahtam?) and Shekhwah: he also allowed Mubarak Khan to seize and build a fort in certain land belonging to the Mailsi tribe and to take the lands on lease in perpetuity for Rs. 400 per annum. The latter acquisitions were entrusted to Jam Khan, son of Mulla Ali Kihrani who at once began to build a canal for their irrigation, and the success of these Sutlej canals was insured by the immigration from the north induced by Ali Muhammad Khan's cruelties. Meantime Ali Muhammad Khan seized Shuja Khan and put him in prison. When Ahmad Shah advanced against Multan, Shuja Khan was released but he had carefully kept the additional nails and hair which he had grown in prison and showed these to Ahmad Shah, who in his indignation seized Ali Muhammad Khan, had his belly ripped open and his body exposed on a camel through the streets of Multan. (See Sh. Ali, 49, 52—4 and J.A.S.B. 1848, ii, 560).

The years 1767 to 1770 are marked by what may be called the *Haji Sharif episode.* Although Nawab Shuja Khan was again appointed Subadar on Ali Muhammad's death, one Haji Sharif Khan Saddozai shortly afterwards got himself nominated from Kabul for the appointment, and Shuja Khan finding himself deserted by his army, had to retire to Shujabad. From Shujabad he sent a Hindu called Dharm Jas to Kabul with instructions to obtain the Subadarship either for Shuja Khan or for Dharm Jas himself: the Hindu did the latter, and sent one Mirza Sharif Beg, Taklu, a common chaprasi, as his naib to take over charge. Sharif Beg after seeing Shuja Khan at Shujabad advanced to Multan, entered the city by the Pak gate and then went into the fort by the Sikki gate. Haji Sharif Khan was having his beard dyed at the time in the Samman Burj of the fort; officer after officer was despatched by him to see what the disturbance was, but as none returned, his suspicions were roused and he escaped by the window. As he had been here so short a time, the people said of him 'Haji Sharif, na Rabi na Kharif,' i.e, he had not time to see either spring or autumn harvest. The naib Sharif Beg ruled well. When Dharm Jas came to take over charge, he summoned Sharif Beg to meet him at the Chenáb, but Sharif Beg refused and shut himself up in the fort, and while Dharm Jas was walking on the roof of a house in Diwan Mansa Ram's garden, a well directed ball from the fort killed him. Sharif Beg thereupon proclaimed himself ruler, and to protect himself from the anger of the king at Kabul he invited the assistance of the Bhangi Sikhs. A one-eyed general called Bahadur Khan Durani (called Bihru Khan in the Tazkirat-ul-Mulúk) was sent from Kabul to chastise Sharif Beg, and he took the city by undermining the walls, but failed to take the fort, and retired on the arrival of the Sikhs. Sharif Beg wisely refused to let his deliverers into the fort but one day, when he was at the Idgah, his Diwan allowed them in, whereon Sharif Beg fled to Sital Das' garden, and ultimately agreed to retire to his jagir at Tulamba where he built the present fort, and a few years later, he died. (See also p. 62, Sh. Ali where a somewhat different account is given; also J.A.S.B. 1848, ii, 571, where the dates differ a little).

From 1771 to 1779 the *Bhangi Sikhs* held and terrorized the whole of the north and centre of the district under their chiefs Ganda Singh and Jhanda Singh. Their general was Lahna Singh and the 'killadar' of the fort was Diwan Singh Chacchowalia. They failed to take Shujabad in spite of a three months siege: and Shuja Khan with his allies the Daudputras advanced against

* Apparently in subordination to a Mahratta Shamaji Rao (Muhammad Latif's History, Punjab, 231)

Chapter II.

History.

Pathan and Sikh rule.

Multan and seized the city, but failing to obtain the fort retired again. So too one Ali Mohammed Khan Durani who was sent from Kabul to expel the Sikhs was able to take the city only and failed to take the fort. In June 1773 Ahmad Shah Durani died and was succeeded by his son Taimur, who had hitherto been the nominal 'Nizam' of Multan.* So also in 1776 Nawab Shuja Khan died at Shujabad and was succeeded by his son Muzaffar Khan. The Sikhs had leased the country of Dipálpur, Kahror and Fattehpur between the Biás and Sutlej to Madad Ali Khan Daudpotra; but when the attack on Shujabad caused Muzaffar Khan to retire to Bahawalpur, the Daudputras espoused his cause and sent an army with him against the Sikhs. After besieging the city for 23 days they were admitted by the postern gate of the Gardezis on the west side of the town, and at once fell to indiscriminate looting, while the Sikh killadar, Diwan Singh, being shut up in the fort, sent expresses to Amritsar for aid. When Ganda Singh arrived from the Punjab the greater part of the Daudputra force were found to have returned to their homes in anticipation of sanction, and the Sikhs had little difficulty in driving Muzaffar Khan back to Shujabad. From Shujabad incessant appeals for help were sent to Taimur Shah, who then 'ordered Sirdar Bihru Khan with a proper force, experienced in war, to proceed and expel the Sikhs from Multan.' This general in 1778 had almost taken the fort when he was recalled. Another force under Sirdar Ali Maddad Khan was sent shortly afterwards, and this too had nearly taken the fort when it was withdrawn. In 1779 Taimur Shah himself advanced from Peshâwar to Dera Ghâzi Khan, and shortly afterwards a big fight took place between the two forces in the direction of Shujabad. The Shah's troops, numbering 18,000, under Zangi Khan, Kamalzai, are said to have been caught in a duststorm while facing the Sikh army; having obtained a Sikh drum, the Pathans began beating it, and the Sikhs, hearing their own war drum, began groping their way in small parties towards it and were cut down by the Pathans as they came up. Their heads were cut off and sent in kajawas on camels to Dera Ghazi Khan. The routed army was pursued by Taimur Shah in person to Multan; the Shah encamped at the Idgah and besieged the fort. By the intercession of Abdul-karim Khan, Babar, the Sikhs were allowed to surrender and march out with all the honours of war. Whereupon Taimur Shah took possession of the fort and after installing Muzaffar Khan as subadar, returned again to Kabul. (See J.A.S.B. 1848 ii, 556—7 Sh. Ali, pp. 62—4. Muhammad Latif's History, Punjab, 297—9.)

From 1779 to 1818 *Nawab Muzaffar Khan* Saddozai remained in power at Multan.

His relations towards the Kabul authorities were very varying and indefinite. In 1792 Taimur Shah took him to Kabul and was, it is said, intending to imprison him, when Taimur Shah died and was succeeded by Zaman Shah. Zaman Shah confirmed Muzaffar Khan, and we find coins of this king dated 1799 and 1800 which were struck at the Multan mint. Zaman Shah had summoned Muzaffar Khan to Kabul, and the latter had advanced as far as Tank when he heard that Zaman Shah had been blinded and deposed. Mahmud Shah set himself up as king in Kabul and Shah Shuja in Peshawar. At first the power of the former preponderated, and he confirmed Muzaffar Khan in his government, but his Wazir Fatteh Khan induced him to send Abdussamad Sadozai in his place. Muzaffar Khan refused to recognize Abdussamad, and defeated him at Dinpur near Muzaffargarh. Meantime in 1807 Shah Shuja regained ascendancy in Eastern Afghanistan, and sent an expedition under the son of the Wazir Ata Muhammad Khan, but matters were compromised, and Shah Shuja duly confirmed Muzaffar Khan, associating with him in the government his son Sarfaraz Khan. In 1807, Nawab Muzaffar Khan went for nine months on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and during his absence Elphinstone's Embassy to Kabul passed through Multan, remaining in the district from the 5th to the 21st of December. Shah Shuja's power in these parts lasted till 1809, and we have gold coins of his struck in Multan in that year. The story is that when Shuja-ul-Mulk came to terms with Ranjit Singh in 1809, he promised to give Multan over to him, but afterwards he got him to agree to leave Multan with Muzaffar Khan, the revenue of S. Siddhu, Sirdarpur and

* Coins were struck by Taimur as Nizam in 1762—4 and 1770 at Multan, the device being 'Ba'alam yaft sikka Taimur Shah Nizam, ba hukm i-Khuda wa Rasul,-i-anam,' and on the obverse 'San—zarb Dar-ul-aman Multan.' Coins were struck at Multan in the name of Taimur Shah as king in 1790 and 1791. (Dames, Coins of the Duranis in Num Chron viii, 325, &c).

Chapter II.
—
History.
Pathan and Sikh rule.

Tulamba being assigned to Shuja-ul-Mulk for maintenance: and it is said that Shuja-ul-Mulk having visited his jagir and found the maintenance insufficient, went on to Lahore.* The unhappy monarch is said to have passed through Multan and while there to have been lodged in the Hazuri Bagh. His women were put up in the Nawab's Haram Sarai and afterwards in Ali Muhammad Khan's Haveli outside the Lohari gate; but the Nawab omitted all visits of courtesy. In any case after 1809 Muzaffar Khan was nominally subject to Mahmud Shah until he began paying tribute to the Sikhs; and the local coinage in his life-time and indeed after the Sikhs had taken Multan at the time of his death was in the name of Mahmud Shah (see J.A.S.B. 1848, ii, 570, Dames loc cit and Tazkirat ul-Mulúk).

In his relations with the Daudputras of Baháwalpur, who (it must be remembered) held the greater part of what are now known as the 'Sutlej Tahsils,' Muzaffar Khan was not at first very happy, and we hear of an unprovoked aggression on his part in 1779, followed by a skirmish in which his officer Abdul-karim Khan Babar was killed. After Zaman Khan's death, however, when other governors were sent from Kabul to oust Muzaffar Khan, the latter received the hearty assistance of the Daudputras under Bahawal Khan I, and in return helped that chief in his aggressions towards Dera Gházi Khan and Muzaffargarh. In 1807, when Muzaffar Khan went to Mecca, Sarfaraz Khan renewed the lease to the Daudputras of the tracts of Adamwahan, Khanpur, Shergarh, and Khai and the Daudputras 'brought them under fine cultivation.' In 1810, however, when certain rebels stood out against Muhammad Khan II Daudputra in the lands north of the Sutlej, Sarfaraz Khan seems to have in some way abetted them, and the Daudputras then ceased paying their annual rent for these lands. After this the two Nawabs remained on bad terms. In 1811 certain rebels from the Bahá-walpur State were allowed by Muzaffar Khan to take refuge in Shujabad and make raids from thence. Shortly afterwards Muzaffar Khan sent his own army to oppose the Daudputra General Yakub Muhammad Khan, and the two forces met somewhere south of Shujabad, apperently near Panjani. The Multan force was defeated, and next day the bodies of their dead 'were transferred on hackeries to Shujabad by permission of the Daudputra commander.' The result of these contentions was that when the Sikhs attacked Multan, the Daudputras afforded the Pathans no kind of aid, (see Sh. Ali 65, 113, 120, 146, 166—7 J.A.S.B. 1848, ii, 570 Muhammad Latif's History, Punjab, 385, Edwardes Year in Pb. Front iii, 417).

It was in his relations with the Sikhs that Muzaffar Khan ultimately failed to hold his own. After the Bhangis had been driven out of Multan, an attack was made on the town by the Hathianwalas but they were repulsed. Later on an army was sent by Muzaffar Khan to Kamalia under Khan Muhammad Khan Badozai who recovered that town from the Sikhs and gave it over to its hereditary rulers, the Rais of the Kharral tribe. In 1802, he first came in contact with Ranjit Singh when that chief, having marched into the Nawab's dominions, was induced to retire by the promise of a large 'nazrana.' In 1806, Ranjit Singh made his *second* invasion: he advanced as far as Kot Mahtam (now Khan Bahadargarh in the south of the Kabirwala tahsil), but on hearing that the Mahrattas under Holkar were on his eastern frontier he retired, accepting a present of Rs. 70,000. In 1807 the third invasion took place, Ranjit Singh being urged to attack Multan by Abdussamad Khan, Badozai, the unsuccessful claimant of 1803. Ranjit Singh accused Muzaffar Khan of harbouring and helping his enemy Ahmad Khan Syal of Jhang, and again marched his troops to Kot Mahtam. A truce was there made with Khudayar Khan, the representative of the local jagirdar, but was broken by Ranjit Singh in order that he might have an excuse for looting the kirars of the neighbourhood. An attempt was made to arrest Khudayar Khan, but that officer drew his sword, and was advancing against Ranjit Singh's elephant when he was cut down. The Sikhs then advanced on Multan. After 11 days the Pathans retired into the fort and after another 11 days, Ranjit

* One story is that Shuja-ul-Mulk found in Multan another refugee Shahzada Ahsan Bakht, brother of the Delhi Emperor, who was in receipt of an allowance from the Afghans; and that as the Shahzada's allowance was in the form of an assignment of the income from drugs, spirits and houses of ill-fame, Shuja-ul-Mulk was not much tempted to apply for similar pecuniary aid. The jagir actually given to him was purposely located in a direction where the raids of the Syals and Kathias rendered collection of revenue very difficult.

Singh, who had no siege appliances, accepted a nazrana of Rs. 70,000 (half of which was realized by the Nawab from the inhabitants of the town), and after exacting a further sum from the Daudputras returned to Lahore. In 1810 Ranjit Singh made his *fourth* attack, alleging as his ground for hostilities the non-payment of the subsidy promised by Muzaffar Khan. The Sikhs reached Multan on February 24th and took possession of the city the next day. A contingent of 500 horse was exacted from the Daudputra, and the fort was hotly besieged, but without success. The following is the account of the siege given in Muhammad Latif's '*History of the Punjab*'—(see also Sh. Ali, 158).

"The citadel of Multan was now closely besieged by the Sikh army, but the Pathans offered a stout resistance and the most strenuous attempts of the Sikh soldiers to carry the fort by assault signally failed. A heavy bombardment was kept up for several days, but without any effect. Batteries were then erected opposite the fort, and an incessant fire was maintained, but hardly any impression was made on the citadel. Recourse was at length had to mining; but the besieged successfully countermined. Ranjit Singh made the most solemn and lavish promises to the Chiefs who should distinguish themselves in the action by the earliest effective advance. He personally reconnoitred the enemy's position, examined his posts, and fixed his own, marking out the spots for the batteries, and assigning lines of approach to the different chiefs, whose sense of duty to their countrymen was appealed to with vehemence. Extensive transport arrangements were made both by land and water from Lahore and Amritsar, and the whole resources of the country were unreservedly placed at the disposal of the military authorities to secure this much coveted possession. The famous "Bhangi *top*," named "Zamzama," was brought from Lahore to batter down the walls of the fort, but it made little impression on the besieged. It discharged a ball of 2½ maunds (kachcha) or 80 lbs. in weight, but the appliances for working this huge piece of ordnance were wanting in the Sikh camp, while nobody possessed sufficient skill to make a proper use of it. Some little impression that was made on the ramparts of the citadel by the Sikh artillery had the effect only of redoubling the zeal of the besieged, who, in countermining, blew up the battery of Sardar Attar Singh, Dhari, close to the fort, killing the Sardar and twelve others, and severely wounding many more, among whom were Sardar Nihal Singh, Attariwala, and the youthful Hari Singh, Nalwa. Confused and panic-stricken the assailants fled, leaving their dead close to the fort, but the high-minded Pathans sent the bodies to the besiegers, that of Attar Singh being wrapped in a pair of shawls. The siege lasted for two months, during which the Sikh army was greatly reduced, and its best soldiers and generals killed or incapacitated. The most conspicuous of these was Attar Singh, Dhari, a favorite companion and confidential Sardar of the Maharaja. Nor did the Sikh army meet with better success in other quarters. Diwan Muhkam Chand, who had been sent to reduce Shujabad, found the fort impregnable. A general assault was made on the 21st of March, but the Sikh army was repulsed with considerable loss. The Diwan became dangerously ill, and the loss on the side of the Sikhs, in killed and wounded, was great. Another general attack was made on the 25th, but with no better result.

The protracted military operations now caused a scarcity of provisions in the Sikh camp, both in Multan and Shujabad, and the Maharaja, seeing his case to be hopeless, retired on the 19th of April, being forced to acknowledge himself completely foiled in his attempt, and having the additional mortification of finding himself compelled to accept now the very terms which he had on so many previous occasions rejected with scorn, namely, a tribute of 2½ lakhs of rupees, twenty chargers and a contingent in time of war. Of the amount of the ransom Rs. 30,000 was paid in advance, while Abubakar Khan, brother-in-law of Muzaffar Khan, was delivered up as a hostage for the payment of the balance. The Maharaja's "amour propre" being in this way, to some extent, soothed, he returned to Lahore on the 25th of April, much depressed in spirits by the ill-success of his campaign, and throwing the blame on his Sardars and officers."

Shortly after this Muzaffar Khan began to correspond with the English in Calcutta, while Ranjit Singh approached Sir D. Ochterlony in Ludhiana, each hoping to receive English aid; but both parties were refused assistance. In 1812 the Sikhs appeared for the *fifth* time, commanded this time by Dal Singh.

Chapter II.

History.

Pathan and Sikh rule.

Some Rs. 50,000 of the promised subsidy was still due, but the Nawab having sold his jewels at Delhi made up the balance, the hostage was set free, and the Sikhs retired. In 1813 the Kabul troops threatened an attack on Multan by way of Trimmu Ghat, and Muzaffar Khan sent his Vakil, Ghulam Muhammad, to Lahore for help, with the result that troops were sent to Sarai Siddhu under Kanwar Kharrak Singh, and the danger averted. In 1816 the *sixth* Sikh invasion took place; Ranjit Singh advanced to Tulamba, besieged Ahmadabad, and camped at Salarwahan. An advanced column went on to Multan to enforce the subsidy demanded, and Phula Singh, Akali, intoxicated with bhang, suddenly stormed the town with some fanatics and got possession of part of the fort. The Nawab then paid down Rs. 80,060, promising to pay another Rs. 40,000 in a short time, and Ranjit Singh passed on to Mankera. In 1817 a *seventh* incursion was made under Bhawani Das, who was, however, compelled to raise the siege and retire, for which want of success he was fined Rs. 10,000 by his master. In 1818 came the *eighth* and last Sikh attack. It was felt that this was to be a war to the death, and immense preparations were made on either side. The Nawabs raised the cry of religion, and endeavoured to enlist the Mussalman sympathies of their neighbours, while the Sikhs endeavoured to detach them by all means in their power. An army of 25,000 men, fully equipped, was marched under Misr Diwan Chand into the trans-Chenab lands of the Nawab, and, after taking Khangarh and Muzaffargarh, appeared before Multan early in February. The city was taken after a few days, and the citadel was then bombarded. To quote Sir Lepel Griffin (Punjab Chiefs, p. 85):—

"The Nawab had only a force of 2,000 men, and the fort was not provisioned for a siege, but he made a defence the like of which the Sikhs had never seen before. Till the 2nd of June the bombardment went on, and two large breaches had been made in the walls, for the great Bhangi gun, the Zam-Zam of Ahmad Shah, Durrani, had been brought from Lahore and had been four times fired with effect. More than one assault had been made by the Sikhs, but they were repulsed, on one occasion with the loss of 1,880 men. The gates were blown in, but the garrison raised behind them mounds of earth on which they fought hand to hand with the Sikhs. The defenders of the fort were at length reduced to two or three hundred fighting men, most of them of the tribe or family of Muzaffar Khan. The rest had either been killed or had gone over to the enemy, for they had been heavily bribed to desert their master, and many of them were unable to resist the temptation. At length on the 2nd June an Akali, by name Sadhu Singh determined to surpass what Phula Singh had done in 1816, rushed with a few desperate followers into an outwork of the fort, and taking the Afghans by surprise, captured it.* The Sikh forces seeing this success advanced to the assault, and mounted the breach at the Khizri gate. Here the old Nawab, with his eight sons and all that remained of the garrison, stood sword in hand resolved to fight to the death. So many fell beneath the keen Afghan sword that the Sikhs drew back and opened fire on the little party with their matchlocks. 'Come on like men' shouted the Afghans, 'and let us fall in fair fight,' but this was an invitation which the Sikhs did not care to accept. There died the white-bearded Muzaffar Khan, scorning to accept quarter, and there died five of his sons. Zulfaqar Khan, his second son, was also wounded severely in the face, and two others, Sarfaraz Khan and Amir Beg Khan, accepted quarter and were saved. Diwan Ram Diyal took Sarfaraz Khan upon his elephant and conducted him with all honor to his own tent. Few of the garrison escaped with their lives and the whole city was given to plunder."

What followed is thus described in Muhammad Latif's History (p. 412):—

"The city and fort were now given up to be plundered by the Sikh troops great were the ravages committed by the Sikhs on this occasion. About [illegible]00 to 500 houses in the fort were razed to the ground, and their owners deprived of all they had. The precious stones, jewellery, shawls and other valuables belonging to the Nawab were confiscated to the State, and kept carefully packed by Diwan Ram Diyal, for the inspection of the Maharaja. The arms were all

* Masson (Trav. i, 397) says of this siege: "The attack threatened to end, like former ones, in failure when an adventurer named Jones, in the Sikh service, took charge of the batteries, advanced them close to the citadel and breached it"

Chapter II.

History.

Pathan and Sikh rule.

carried away. In the town many houses were set on fire, and nothing was left with the inhabitants that was worth having. Hundreds were stripped of their clothes. Outrages were committed on the women, many of whom committed suicide by drowning themselves in the wells, or otherwise putting an end to their lives, in order to save themselves from dishonour. Hundreds were killed in the sack of the city, and indeed there was hardly a soul who escaped both loss and violence. So great, in short, were the horrors inflicted upon the unfortunate inhabitants that the terrible incidents attendant on the sack of Multan are recollected to this day, and still not unfrequently form the topic of conversation. When all was over, Prince Kharak Singh made his triumphant entry into the fort, and took possession of all the State property and treasures belonging to the Nawab. The fort of Shujabad was then captured and sacked and booty estimated at 4,00,000 rupees, consisting of gold and silver utensils, and other valuables, fell into the hands of the victors. The first man who brought intelligence of the capture of Multan to Ranjit Singh, was a mace-bearer (chobdar) in the service of Sardar Fateh Singh, Ahluwalia. The Maharaja presented him with a pair of gold bracelets and a sheet of rich 'kalabatun' (cloth made of twisted silk and gold threads), and on the news being confirmed through official sources, great rejoicings were made at Lahore, which was the scene of festivities for eight days. The Maharaja having taken his seat on an elephant, moved about the principal streets of Lahore, showering down rupees to be scrambled for by the crowd.

Thus ended the Pathan rule in Multan.*

Between 1818 and 1821 *the Sikh Governors* of Multan were often changed. At first Sukh Dyal Khatri was made Subadar, and he endeavoured to make the people settle down again to agriculture by liberal grants of taccavi. In September 1819 he was imprisoned for a deficiency in his remittances, and was succeeded by Sham Singh, Peshawria, who obtained the farm of Multan for 6½ lakhs, and who with his kotwal Nazar Ali did his best to put down robbery with a high hand. In 1819 Ranjit Singh came himself to Multan for three months, *vid* Chiniot, and found cause to imprison Sham Singh. He was succeeded by Badan Hazari, a 'useless sycophant,' and in the charge of the accounts was placed Sawan Mal, a Khatri of Akalgarh, on a salary of Rs. 250 per mensem. (Ranjit Singh visited Multan again in 1822, and again when he was returning from his campaign against Fattah Khan Khattak). Badan Hazari and Sawan Mal having quarrelled, Shujabad was shortly afterwards given on contract to the latter; Tulamba and Sarai Sidhu, which had been in jagir to Khushal Singh, were given to Prem Ram of Aghapura, and Sirdarpur was given in jagir to Inayat Khan Syal. In 1820 Badan Hazari failed in his accounts, was confined and removed: in 1848 Major Edwardes wrote of this man that he was then alive and well, performing very indifferently the exalted functions of Magazine Store-keeper in the fort of Lakhi in Marwat for the consideration of Re. 1 per diem. 'He is as mean a little man to look at as I ever saw: of neither rank, parts, courage nor education, and one might suppose he was put into the government of Multan as a joke.' His place was given to Metha Mal, Shikarpuria, Jamadar Raj Singh being left in the fort to look after him. Very soon afterwards one Sewa Mal was appointed, and finally in 1821 the contract was given to Diwan Sawan Mal. All these changes had led to a great deal of lawlessness and robbery, and the jagirdars became insubordinate. (Muhammad Latif's History, Punjab, 419, J.A.S.B. 1848, ii, 571, Edw. Year ii, 29).

With the appointment of *Diwan Sawan Mal* a new state of things arose. He stopped the raids of the Kathias in the east of the district. His naib, Daya Ram, a native of Gujranwala suddenly attacked and killed Sakhu Langrial, a noted free booter in the neighbourhood of Tulamba. The zamindars were made to pay revenue punctually, and the Diwan's remittances to Lahore were always complete. By degrees other ilakas were added to the Diwan's contract until he held the greater part of the Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Gazi Khan, Muzaffargarh and Jhang districts in his charge. The Sutlej territories, however, remained outside his province till 1831: these were at first left in the hands of the Daudputras, the nazrana was raised every year, and every year the money had to be

* For the various attacks on Multan see Muhammad Latif, p. 359, 362, 368, 372, 386, 398, 398, 407, 410, and 412; also Shahamat Ali, p. 158.

Chapter II.

History.

Pathan and Sikh rule.

realized by the Sikhs at the sword's point. At last in 1831 General Ventura* occupied the country, 'posting thanas and offices at the different towns to regulate the police and collect the revenue.' And after this the Satlej ilakas seem to have come within Diwan Sawan Mal's province. (Muhammad Larif 450. Sh. Ali, 206—7)

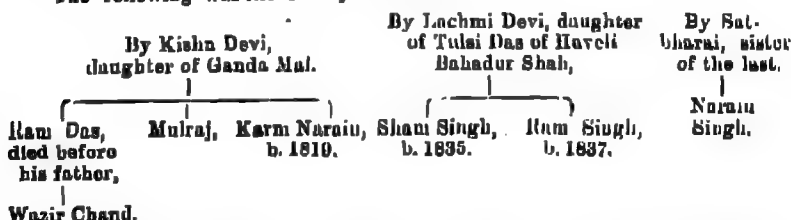
On Ranjit Singh's death in 1839, Diwan Sawan Mal was confirmed in the government of Multan, in spite of the hostility of the Jammu faction at Lahore. The Diwan was, however, summoned to Lahore by Kanwar Nao Nehal Singh. He obeyed the summons frankly and thereby not only saved his province from invasion, but obtained authority over the fort in Multan, which previously had been under a separate Governor. From this time forward he spent a good deal of money in strengthening the fort, and it is probable that he dreamed of throwing off allegiance to the Sikh darbar. (Edw. ii, 35—7).

The Diwan was assassinated in September 1844. Edwardes tells the story as follows:—'He had a good soldier who wanted to leave him, and whom he did not want to lose; so he put him off at first by soft words and promises, but at last when the soldier demanded his pay and discharge, he got up a law suit against him and threatened to put him in prison. The soldier remonstrated and reiterated his demand. Sawan Mal got angry and told his guards as usual to "seize the rascal and take away his sword and shield." The soldier called out to the guards to lay hands on him at their peril, but stand back and he would give up his arms. He then pulled off his sword and shield and surrendered them. The guards asked if they should take him off to prison. "No," said the Diwan, "let him sit at the door that I may see him and have a few last words with him as I go out" They were his last indeed. The soldier had retained under his scarf a loaded pistol; and burning with indignation at the shame that had been put on him after years of faithful service, he resolved to revenge himself if it cost his life; so he cocked the pistol under cover of the scarf over his breast and shoulder and awaited the Diwan's coming. At last the Darbar broke up and Sawan Mal, with a smile of gratified malice, stopped before the arrested soldier, and commenced taunting him with the folly of resistance. In the midst of the abuse the soldier pulled the trigger and the contents of his pistol were lodged in the Diwan's left breast above the heart. The soldier was, I believe, cut to pieces by the guard. His victim bore up for about 10 days, and was apparently recovering when the wound broke out again, and caused instant death.' (Edw., ii, 32—3).

The following was the family of Sawan Mal:—

By Kishn Devi, daughter of Ganda Mal.
- Ram Das, died before his father,
  - Wazir Chand.
- Mulraj,
- Karm Narain, b. 1819.

By Lachmi Devi, daughter of Tulsi Das of Haveli Bahadur Shah,
- Sham Singh, b. 1835.
- Ram Singh, b. 1837.

By Sat-bharai, sister of the last.
- Narain Singh.

During the Diwan's life-time Karm Narayan had been put in charge of Leiah, and Mulraj in Jhang; the former was popular, the latter not, and the saying was that Multan got Sawan (the summer rains), Leiah got Karam (kindness) and Jhang got only Mula (an insect that cuts the corn). On Sawan Mal's death *Diwan Mulraj* was confirmed on the same terms as his father, subject to a nazrana of 30 lakhs. He fell out with his family and divided with his brothers the private property left by his father, amounting to 90 lakhs of rupees. There was a delay about the payment of the nazrana and the Darbar on the mediation of the Governor-General's agent agreed in 1846 to reduce the amount due to 20 lakhs, on condition that Mulraj gave up all lands north of the Ravi and paid an increased revenue for the three years beginning with the Kharif of 1847. According to Sir John Lawrence, Mulraj

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* The General stayed some time in Multan itself, occupying a house on the site of which the present District Jail is built. The remains of a canal called the Venturawah are also visible in the Mailsi tahsil. The General is said to have criticised Sawan Mal's schemes for the fortification of Multan and though his advice was followed it made Sawan his enemy.

"faithfully fulfilled his pecuniary engagements, but rendered himself obnoxious for neglect in not attending to the requisitions of the Resident when called upon by him to redress the complaints of his people. In fact," says Lawrence, "Diwan Mulraj is a ruler of the old school, and so long as he had paid his revenue he considered the province as his own to make the most of. He proved himself to be grasping and avaricious, with none of the statesmanlike views of his father, and few of his conciliatory qualities. The traders and agriculturists of the province had been complaining of his exactions." (Edw. ii, 40).

The appeals made to the Resident against his conduct rendered Mulraj discontented, and he was also rendered anxious by the fact that certain dues paid by his zamindars had been abolished in the rest of the Punjab. He therefore tendered his resignation. This was ultimately accepted, and it was arranged that Sardar Kahn Singh should be appointed Nazim in his place, in co-operation with Mr. P. A. Vans Agnew of the Civil Service and Lieutenant W. A. Anderson of the 1st Bombay European Fusiliers.*

The Multan Campaign, 1848—9.

THE MULTAN CAMPAIGN, 1848—9.

The first Punjab war of 1845, though it led to the appointment of a Resident at Lahore and the despatch of officers to settle the revenue of various districts of the province, led at first to little or no change in the government of Multan, which continued as before under its Khatri ruler, Mulraj, the son of Sawan Mal. But when Mulraj determined to resign his charge and the English Officers sent to replace him were massacred by the populace at the Idgah in April 1848, Multan appeared at once in full revolt and the events of the next year are of the greatest interest. No one who cares about the local history should fail to read the entrancing account of this year which is given in the second volume of Sir Herbert Edwardes 'Year on the Punjab Frontier' or the clear description of the siege and campaign given in Gough and Innes' 'Sikhs and the Sikh Wars':† but for ordinary reference a brief abstract of the chief events will be found in the 'Chronicle' appended below. Roughly speaking, there were three phases in the campaign.

First, from 18th April 1848 to 18th August: during which Edwardes, Van Cortlandt and the Baháwalpur troops unaided by any British soldiers, drove in the Sikh forces from the south and practically confined Mulraj to the immediate vicinity of Multan: winning during the period two marked victories, one at Kineri in the Shujabad tahsil on June the 18th, and one at Siddhu Hisam, near the present Cantonment Railway Station on July 1st.

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* Some interesting notes by 'Z.N.' on the state of the district in Sikh times will be found in the *Pioneer* newspaper issues of July 25 and December 17 1897; August 17, September 2, September 10, 1898, and October 13, 1899.

† The map in the latter work should, especially, be consulted. Other works of interest in connection with the campaign are Hugo James' 'Scramble through Scinde;' Dunlop's Illustrated Account of the Siege of Multan, and Siddon's description of the siege in the Corps Papers of the Royal and East Indian Company's Engineers (Vol. i, 1849-50). See also the 'Punjab Blue Book (Vol. 41, 1849). There is also an interesting vernacular account of the campaign written by Pir Ibrahim Khan, the Baháwalpur agent. A local vernacular poem on the same subject is printed below as an appendix to this volume.

Chapter II.

History.

The Multan Campaign 1848—9.

Secondly, from August 18th to December 10th. During this time a small British force under General Whish arrived and sat down before the city, but, being deserted on September 14th by the Darbar troops under Sher Singh, had at once to raise the siege and wait for the arrival of an adequate besieging force.

Thirdly, from December 10th, 1848, to January 22nd, 1849. The reinforcement having arrived from Bombay, the siege was renewed on December 27th. On January 2nd and 3rd the city was captured : and after a severe bombardment the fort was about to be stormed on the 22nd, when Mulraj in the nick of time surrendered.

The revolt of Mulraj—his action, it may be noted, was treated throughout as a revolt against the Darbar—was no doubt at first unpremeditated. It was primarily a revolt of the Sikh soldiery in Multan against anticipated English interference, and it was actively assisted by all the Hindu element of the district, which so largely profited under nearly 30 years of Khatri rule. On the other hand the movement was neither a national Sikh movement nor was it in any sense a rising of the people. Sawan Mal and his sons had kept so much aloof from Lahore politics that, when the rebellion broke out, none of the Sikh Sirdars, however disaffected, gave it any appreciable active help, and when the real Sikh insurrection gathered head in the north of the province, its leaders pursued their own game, leaving Mulraj to defend himself as best he could. The people of the District, moreover, who were almost all Muhammadans, had little sympathy with the revolt, and the Pathan nobility, who had been brought very low under Sikh rule, deserted almost *en masse* to the British side and assisted most actively in the suppression of the rebellion.

As regards the conduct of the campaign there can be no two opinions as to the admirable services rendered by Edwardes, then a young Lieutenant in political employ. But on two points there was at the time a good deal of dispute.

In the first place it was questioned whether a large British force should not have been sent against Multan in June 1848, in order to take the city at once and prevent disaffection from spreading. Edwardes thought this should have been done, Lord Gough and Lord Dalhousie were against it ; and the *pros* and *cons* of the question will be found fully set forth in Gough and Innes' book above referred to.

Secondly, when the siege had been commenced, it was a good deal disputed whether the bombardment should be directed on the fort or on the city : and at various times different views were adopted on this point. Ultimately, both

city and fort were breached, but Mulraj's timely surrender made it unnecessary to scale the breaches in the Fort.

Chapter II.

History.

The Multan Campaign, 1848—9.

Chronicle.

18th April 1848. Messrs. Agnew and Anderson arrived at Multan and encamped at the Idgah. They had a Sikh escort of 1,400 men, 600 Gurkhas, 700 Cavalry and 6 guns. Mulraj who was living in the Am Khas less than a mile away, made two visits to the Idgah during the day, and it was arranged that he should make over the fort to the new Governor next morning.

19th April Major Edwardes gives the following account of the events of the day :—

"Early on the morning of the 19th of April the two British officers and Sirdar Kahn Singh accompanied Mulraj into the fort of Multan ; were shown all over it ; received the keys ; installed two companies of their own Goorkha infantry in possession ; planted their own sentries ; mustered the Diwan's garrison, who seemed angry at the prospect of being thrown out of employment ; allayed their fears with promises of service ; and prepared to return home * * The cavalcade passed forth and entered upon the bridge over the ditch. Two soldiers of Mulraj's were standing on the bridge. One of them, named Umeer Chand, gazed for a moment at the two unarmed Englishmen, who presumed to ride in and out of the great fortress Sawan Mal had made so strong ; and brooding, perchance, over his own long services and probable dismissal, impatiently struck the nearest with his spear, and knocked him off his horse. Agnew, who was ignorant of fear, jumped up, and struck his assailant with the riding stick in his hand. The ruffian threw away his spear, and rushing in with his sword inflicted two severer wounds. He would probably have killed Mr. Agnew on the spot, had he not been knocked into a ditch by a horseman of the escort.

"The scuffle was now known ; the crowd pressed round to see what was the matter ; news was carried back into the fort that swords were out and going on the bridge ; an uproar rose within, and in another moment the whole garrison would come pouring forth. Mulraj made no attempt to stem the tide, and rescue the Englishmen who had come down, at his invitation, to Multan. He either thought only of himself, or was not sorry for the outbreak ; and forcing his horse through the crowd, rode off to his garden-house at Am Khas. Nor was this all; his own personal sowars turned back half-way, and pursued Lieutenant Anderson, who had as yet escaped. Who can tell now who ordered them? * * What moved them we can never know ; but we know the fact that they sought out Anderson ; attacked and cut him down with swords, so that he fell fc dead upon the ground, where he was found afterwards by some of his own Goorkha soldiers, who put him on a litter, and carried him to the Idgah.*

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* For comparison with the above description is appended the account of the affair given by Mulraj's Judges in their written judgment :—

"About 7 o'clock on the morning of the 19th, the British Officers, Kahn Singh and Mulraj, visited the Fort. Mr. Agnew inspected the stores and magazines, harangued the troops of Mulraj who were to be retained or dismissed, and leaving the Fort in charge of two companies of the Goorkha Regiment prepared with the rest of the party to return home. The egress from the fort lay through an inner gate called Sikhi, and then an outer one Kumr Kotha. This last was connected with the glacis by a standing bridge over the deep fort ditch. At this point Mr. Agnew is said to have been riding on the extreme right, on his left was Mulraj, then Lieutenant Anderson, Kahn Singh being on the left flank. Somewhere near this bridge, for the spot is placed differently in different depositions, Mr. Agnew was struck with a spear by an assassin, fell from his horse and was wounded with three blows of a sword by the same man, who escaped by falling or getting into the deep ditch. Mulraj seeing what had taken place pushed on his horse. Lieutenant Anderson, too, rode off rapidly, while Kahn Singh stopped behind with Rang Ram, a relation of Mulraj by marriage, to take care of Mr. Agnew. From the bridge the distance to the city gate is less than the distance to the city gate (which has the name of Dowlut) from the Am Khas, the residence of Mulraj, and that is about 100

'Meanwhile Sirdar Kahn Singh, protected by the presence and assistance of Mulraj's brother-in-law, Rung Ram, whose honest deeds are the only witness worth a straw of the Diwan's good intentions, had extricated Mr. Agnew from the mob, lifted him on to his own elephant, and hurried away towards camp, rudely binding up Mr. Agnew's wounds as they rode along. The road lay properly by one end of Moolraj's garden, the Am Khas; but as soon as they emerged from the suburbs, between the fort and garden, a discharge of matchlocks from the latter warned them to come no closer; guns too were being dragged out of the garden gate; so they turned their elephant aside, and took another path; and as they went, a cannon shot from the guns behind them hissed over their heads. Mulraj who had gallopped on before, was in the garden at the time. * * * At last the two wounded Englishmen were brought back to the Idgah. A sad meeting for them, who had gone forth in the morning full of life and health, and zeal, to do their duty. The native doctor of the Goorkha regiment dressed their wounds. This done, Mr. Agnew proceeded to report these occurrences to the Resident at Lahore, and then addressed a letter to Diwan Mulraj expressing a generous disbelief in the Diwan's participation, but calling on him to justify this opinion by seizing the guilty parties, and coming himself to the Idgah. This was at 11 A. M. At 2 P. M. Mr. Agnew wrote off to General Cortlandt and myself for assistance. At 4 P. M. one of the Diwan's Chief officers, Hurzadah Toolsee Das, brought an answer from Mulraj briefly stating "that he could neither give up the guilty nor come himself; that he and Rung Ram had already tried to do so, been stopped by the soldiers, and Rung Ram severely wounded for advising the visit; that all the garrison, Hindu and Muhammadan, were in rebellion, and the British officers had better see to their own safety." Mr. Agnew seems to have behaved with consummate calmness and heroism at this trying moment. He pointed out to Toolsee Das how grave a matter was in hand, and how absolutely indispensable it was for Diwan Mulraj to call on him, if he wished to be thought innocent. Toolsee Das returned with the admonition, but Mulraj never came. Why should he? The ambassador found the master, who had sent him on a message of peace, now presiding in a war council of his chiefs. The Pathans of the garrison were setting their seals to an oath of allegiance in the Koran; the Hindus in the Shastars, the Sikhs in the Holy Granth. The Sikhs were fastening a war-bracelet on the wrist of Mulraj himself! * *

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paces, the road lying through a bazaar in the suburbs under the walls of the Am Khas to the Idgah, where Mr. Agnew was encamped. In taking, however, this the regular road, the elephant on which Mr. Agnew had been placed was compelled to go a bye-road to escape from the hostile demonstration of the soldiery, whose cantonment surrounds the Am Khas or rather with Mulraj's Palace composes it. Matchlocks were fired as if to warn the party from the direct route and guns were brought out of the cantonment. In the meantime Lieutenant Anderson had been severely wounded in his flight from the scene of the attack upon Agnew and was found beyond the Dowlut gate lying on the ground with seven wounds on himself and four on his horse. He was brought home by some of his own people, but the manner of his being cut down is not clear." Anderson apparently tried to get to the Idgah for help and was pursued by two sowars. It is said that, although he lost his way for a time, he out-distanced them and would have escaped if his horse had not fallen in attempting to jump a water-course somewhere between the Hazuri Bagh and the Idgah.

As regards the onslaught on Agnew the defence made at Mulraj's trial was that the soldier's spear accidentally ran into Agnew as the latter was riding past (p. 167, Trial). The Sikh proclamation of April 22, 1848, represents the assailant of Agnew as having acted without any sort of provocation (p. 150, Parly' Blue Book, Punjab, Vol. 41, 1849). Rumour however invented all sorts of stories, alleging provocation: one of these is given in the ballad reprinted at the end of this Gazetteer; another is [that Amira was angry at being called to by Mr. Agnew to get out of the way.

The site of the incident is a few yards to the west of the well which lies on the left of the pakka road which leads from the circular road to the Prahladpuri shrine.

The Multan Campaign 1848—9.

On the evening and night of the 19th April the whole of the carriage cattle of the officers and their escort, which were out at graze, were carried off, camels, bullocks, elephants, every beast of burden. Thus was flight cut off. It was necessary for the little camp at the Idgah to face the stern emergency, and prepare for open hostility on the morrow. That night, under Mr. Agnew's personal direction, the six guns which had come from Lahore were mounted in three batteries, and all the soldiers and camp-followers of that luckless expedition were called inside the walls."

20th April. Major Edwardes continues:

"Morning broke, and Mr. Agnew made one last effort to avert the coming tragedy. Having failed with Mulraj, he now forwarded to Mulraj's officers and chiefs the parwanas of the Maharaja, ordering them to make over the fort to Sirdar Kahn Singh, and obey all Mr. Agnew's orders.

"The messengers found Mulraj again in council with his chiefs, preparing proclamations to the people of the province to rise and join in the rebellion. They had just agreed, too, to remove their wives and families into the fort before opening the guns. The messengers presented the Maharaja's letters. The chiefs and officers replied that Mulraj was their master, and they would only obey him. The messengers returned and extinguished hope. Mr. Agnew wrote off to Peer Ibraheem Khan, the British Native Agent at Bahawalpur, to bring troops to his assistance, intending to hold out in the Idgah till the reinforcement could arrive.

"All disguise was now thrown aside. The guns of the fort opened on the Idgah as did also the guns at the Am Khas which were dragged on to a high mound hard by. One round alone was fired in return from the six guns in the Idgah, after which the Lahore artillerymen refused to serve the guns. The fire of the rebels never slacked.

"And now arrived an embassy from Mulraj in return for Mr. Agnew's. Mulraj invited the escort to desert the British officers, and promised to raise the pay of every soldier who came over. One Goolab Singh, Commandant of the Ghorchurrahs of the escort, led the way and went over to Mulraj, who tricked the traitor out with gold necklaces and bracelets, and sent him back as a decoy. In vain Mr. Agnew bestowed money on the troops to hold out for three days only. It was honest money. The troops went over,—horse, foot, artillery—all had deserted by the evening, except Sirdar Kahn Singh, some eight or ten faithful horsemen, the domestic servants of the British officers, and the Munshis of their office.

"Beneath the lofty centre dome of that empty hall (so strong and formidable that a very few stout hearts could have defended it), stood this miserable group around the beds of the two wounded Englishmen. All hope of resistance being at an end, Mr. Agnew had sent a party to Mulraj to sue for peace. A conference ensued, and "in the end" says the Diwan's judges, "it was agreed that the officers were to quit the country, and that the attack upon them was to cease.' Too late! The sun had gone down; twilight was closing in; and the rebel army had not tasted blood. An indistinct and distant murmur reached the ears of the few remaining inmates of the Idgah, who were listening for their fate. Louder and louder it grew, until it became a cry, the cry of a multitude for blood! On they came, from city, suburbs, fort; soldiers with their arms, citizens, young and old, and of all trades and callings with any weapon they could snatch.

"A company of Mulraj's Muzbees, or outcaste turned Sikhs, led on the mob. It was an appalling sight, and Sirdar Kahn Singh begged of Mr. Agnew to be allowed to wave a sheet and sue for mercy. Weak in body from loss of blood, Agnew's heart failed him not. He replied: 'The time for mercy is gone: let none be asked for. They can kill us two if they like; but we are not the last of the English; thousands of Englishmen will come down here when we are gone, and annihilate Mulraj, and his soldiers and his fort.' The crowd now rushed in with horrible shouts, made Kahn Singh prisoner, and pushing aside the servants with the butts of their muskets, surrounded the two wounded officers. Lieutenant Anderson from the first had been too much wounded even

Chapter II.

History.

The Multan Campaign, 1848–9.

to move: and now Mr. Agnew was sitting by his bedside holding his hands and talking in English. Doubtless they were bidding each other farewell for all time. Goodhar Singh, a Muzbee, so deformed and crippled with old wounds that he looked more like an imp than mortal man, stepped forth from the crowd with a drawn sword, and after insulting Mr. Agnew, with a few last indignities struck him twice upon the neck, and with a third blow cut off his head. Some other wretch discharged a musket into the lifeless body. Then Anderson was hacked to death with swords; and afterwards the two bodies were dragged outside, and slashed and insulted by the crowd, then left all night under the sky."

22nd April. The news of the outbreak reached Lieutenant Edwardes, the officer in charge of the Deraját, at Dera Fatteh Khan, 90 miles from Multan. He at once began to raise levies, and called for assistance from General Van Cortlandt at Dera Ghází Khan and from the Baháwalpur State.

May. The Government of India decided that no British force should be sent against Multan, but that five columns of troops, belonging to the Sikh Darbar and the Baháwalpur State, should be ordered to converge on the district. In pursuance of this arrangement Edwardes, who was to command the Deraját column, received orders on May 9th to retire and stand fast on the west of the Indus.

6th June. The three columns from the north having all been much delayed, Edwardes received permission to cross the Indus and join the Baháwalpur column which was marching towards Shujabad *viá* Jalálpur Pírwála.

17th June. The Baháwalpur column after a long halt at Jalalpur had advanced to Gawen, and the Sikh troops under Rang Ram were encamped across the high road, three miles south of Shujabad. In spite of orders to attack the Daudputras before they were joined by Edwardes, the Sikhs allowed Edwardes to reach the west bank of the Chenab opposite Panjani and only moved forward to Bagren on the evening of the 17th. Hearing of their intention Edwardes and the Daudputras agreed to converge at once towards the Kineri ferry which lay on the east bank of the Chenáb near Panjani.

18th June. Rang Ram finding the ferry occupied by the Daudputras took up a position at the abadi of Nunar, near some old salt pans, in the village area of Panjani. Edwardes himself crossed the river and reached the Daudputra camp about 8 A.M. in time to bring them into some sort of order. He sent orders for Van Cortlandt to cross with his guns as soon as possible, and spent the rest of the morning in waiting till this reinforcement should give him the necessary superiority. The forces were—Rang Ram, 8,000 to 10,000 trained troops: 10 guns. Daudputras, 8,500 troops: 11 guns. Edwardes, 5,000 irregular levies. Van Cortlandt, 1,500 trained troops: 15 guns.

By 2 p.m. the Daudputras had begun to retire and the enemy commenced moving after them. Edwardes, whose troops remained concealed among the jungle on the left of the line, tried to stave off the enemy by ordering a cavalry charge and about 3 p. m. the charge was successfully and gallantly carried out by his mounted levies under Faujdar Khan, Alizai. Before the enemy had recovered from the effect of this charge a considerable number of Cortlandt's troops and six of his guns arrived, and Edwardes at once pushed forward out of the jungle into the cultivation beyond. Then he came upon the enemy advancing through the 'long stalks of the sugar' (possibly jowar). Both forces at once commenced an artillery duel, and they were so close as to be able to use grape. As the enemy's fire slackened, one of Van Cortlandt's regiments charged to the front, followed by the whole line of infantry. The enemy retreated, but rallied again: and the battle was brought to a close by a wild rush on the part of the Pathan levies which sent the Sikh forces back in full retreat on Nunar. In this engagement (which Edwardes termed 'the Battle of Kineri'*) the enemy lost their whole camp and ammunition together with 8 out of their 10 guns

* The changes of the river have swept away all traces of the hamlet of Kineri. The Kineras are a tribe of weavers and hamlets called after them are not uncommon in the District. There is a Kaneriwala well close to the site of the battle.

Chapter II.

History.

The Multan Campaign, 1848—9.

(The story now told locally is that Mulraj's intention was to stand at Shujabad, but that the Habla money-lenders gave his commandant Jamiat Rai a large sum of money to move on so as to save their property near Shujabad. It is also said that the Pathans and indeed most of Mulraj's army, except the Gurkhas, were won over before the battle. and that they wore branches of tamarisk in their turbans to show they were friends. The actual hand to hand fighting was at the Ahmduwala well in village Panjani. A plan of the battle so far as it can be ascertained has been recently hung up in the Gawen rest-house).

22nd—25th June. The force encamped at Shujabad, a city which had given the rebels much encouragement. Edwardes writes: 'The chowdries, bankers and chief Kuthries (rebels to the backbone all of them) presented themselves and begged for kind treatment. This I readily promised though it is more than they deserve, for they have been supplying Mulraj largely with money, stores and encouragement from the Shastras. The rebellion indeed is a Bunyah rebellion, with a Sikh insurrection grafted on to it. One shroff alone of Shujabad, a mean looking little fellow, undertook to furish Diwan Mulraj with two months' pay for his army if he would only send them against the Nawab's troops, a circumstance I shall not forget when we are pressed for cash. Such moneyed men are invaluable in these times.'

26th June. The force advanced and took the fort of Sikandarabad.

27th June. The force reached Adibagh (village Taragarh).

28th June. March to Surajkund (village Kayanpur). Lieutenant Lake, in charge of the Baháwalpur troops, joined the camp this day.

1st July As Mulraj had broken down the bridge on the Wali Muhammad canal at Surajkund, the force moved up the west canal towards Abid Khan ka bagh (village Langrial) and encamped in Tibbi Masaupur. Meanwhile Mulraj, who had intended to attack at Surajkund, moved back his troops along the east side of the canal and having crossed them at the bridge south of the Lange Khan garden (the only bridge near the city then existing) marched them in the direction of the present cantonments. He took up a position round Siddhu-Hisam (called in the histories Saddosam), close to the place where the Cantonment Railway Station now is: and Edwardes' force turned out to oppose him. An artillery fire was kept up on both sides, but Edwardes had more guns than the Sikhs, and the latter had ultimately to turn and flee to the city, hotly pursued by Edwardes' troops. It is said that Mulraj having crossed the bridge over the canal with his artillery, planted two guns on it to stop his own soldiers from retreating. 'The majority of the enraged fugitives forced the barrier with some loss, but many of them tried to swim the nullah and were drowned.'

6th July. The Darba 's column under Sher Singh, which had marched from Lahore viâ Tulamba, Sirdarpur and Gagra, arrived and encamped at Surajkund. The fidelity of these troops was much suspected and Edwardes purposely arranged that he at Tibbi should be between them and the enemy.

10th July. Edwardes having asked for the immediate despatch of artillery to his aid, Sir F. Currie, the Resident at Lahore, decided on his own responsibility to send the required assistance, and orders were issued for the despatch of a division under General Whish containing two British regiments and a siege train. part were to go from Lahore by the Rávi and part from Ferozepore by the Sutlej.

16th August. Edwardes and Sher Singh exchanged encampments, the former moving to Surajkund, and the latter to Tibbi This move was made in order that Edwardes might be in touch with General Whish's force, which was to encamp to the east of Surajkund.

18th-19th August. The Rávi and Sutlej column of General Whish's force joined and encamped at Mari Sital and awaited the arrival of the siege train.

1st September. Edwardes' troops moved across the canal to take up a position nearer General Whish. They dislodged the enemy from the Khuda Yar and Kutti Bairagi gardens, from the Jog Maya temple and the village of Daira: and encamped 300 yards south of Jog Maya.

4th September. The siege train arrived from the Sutlej.

Chapter II.
History.
The Multan Campaign, 1848—9.

7th September. To prevent the enemy from flooding out the force by cutting the canal, steps had been taken by the Engineers to dam up the canal at its head, and this was completed by 7th September. On this day it was decided to attack the city from the S. E., and entrenchments were made between Katti Bairagi and the temple of Ram Tirath.*

9th September. A night attack was made on some gardens and houses in front of the entrenchments, but the attack was repulsed by Mulraj's troops.

12th September. General Whish made a general advance to clear his front. The troops under Van Cortlandt on the west assaulted and took the hamlet of Jamandon-ki-kiri, while the British troops on the east occupied a position known as the Dharmsala.† The capture of the latter made a great impression and is thus described by Edwardes; "Scarcely a man escaped to tell Mulraj how calmly the young English Engineer, Lieutenant Grindall, planted the scaling ladder in the grim faces of the defenders; how vainly they essayed to hurl it back; how madly rushed up the grenadiers of the 32nd; with what a yell the brave Irish of the 10th dropped down among them from the branches of the trees above; and how like the deadly conflict of the lion and the tiger in a forest den was the grapple of the pale English with the swarthy Sikh in that little walled space the rebels thought so strong. I myself, ten minutes afterwards, saw fully three hundred of Mulraj's soldiers in a heap in that enclosure."

14th September. Sher Singh, who had long been wavering, took over his troops *en masse* to the enemy. After this it was impossible for General Whish's force to continue the siege, and as the abandonment of our entrenchments left these works as cover for the enemy, it was decided to move the whole force to the west of the canal where it could guard the communications with Baháwalpur and the tracts which supplied food to the army. This change was executed on the 15th and 16th of September, the British troops encamping at Bakhar Arbi and Edwardes at Surajkund. Thus ended the first siege of Multan. During the siege Mulraj issued some rupees in gold which are now rather difficult to procure.

9th October. Sher Singh, who had been received with great distrust by Mulraj, determined to march away from Multan and join his father Chattar Singh, who was in open rebellion in the north. He accordingly left Multan, marching by Gagra and Sardarpur.

During the next three months both sides made strenuous preparations for the siege. The Diwan tried, in vain, to get assistance from outside. A British force assembled at Ferozpur to meet the main Punjab rebellion in the north and a Bombay army was ordered to advance to help in the siege of Multan.

7th November. The enemy having advanced in front of the British lines were attacked by Edwardes on the west, and General Markham on the east of the canal, and driven back with considerable loss.

10th December—21st. The Bombay column arrived. It included some British seamen who helped in working the guns.

25th-26th December. The Bengal force again encamped at Mari Sital: the Bombay troops between them and the canal: and Edwardes to the west of the canal. It was determined to attack the north-east angle of the Fort and as a preliminary to turn the enemy out of their positions along the eastern face of the city.

27th December. The real object of attack was the Am Khas and Sawan Mal's tomb and these were easily occupied by the right column, while two other columns were making serious diversions to the south. One of them after a struggle occupied the Mandi Ava, a large brickkiln standing on the left of the road from the Pak gate to Ram Tirath, and the other seized the Sidi

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* A prominent landmark still existing on the left of the railway between the Mailsi and Basti Malok roads.

† This building adjoins the Hindu burning ground, and is clearly seen from the railway train on the right as you approach Multan city from Lahore The marks of the bullets are still visible. I have been told that the defender were largely Gurkhas: these would be the remnants of the deserters who had formed Van Agnew's guard.

Chapter II.

History.

The Multan Campaign, 1848—9.

Lal Bhir, a high mound close by the present city railway station on the right of the road from the station to the city. These successes led General Whish to modify his previous plan and to direct batteries against the city walls as well as against the fort.

30th December. A shell from our batteries pierced the roof of the Jama Masjid in the fort which was used as a magazine and caused an enormous explosion, destroying 500 of the garrison and 40,000 lbs. of powder.

2nd January 1849. Breaches being reported practicable, a Bengal force was at 3 p.m. sent to attack the Delhi gate of the city, and a Bombay force to attack the Khuni Burj, or Bloody Bastion. The different fortunes of the attacking parties are thus described by Edwardes: "The storming party of the Delhi gate (which was led by a fine soldier, Captain Smyth of the Grenadier Company of Her Majesty's 32nd) had no sooner emerged from the suburbs than they found themselves on the edge of a deep intervening hollow; after crossing which under the heavy fire of matchlocks, they 'found to their surprise the city wall in front, about 30 feet in height, unbreached and totally impracticable,' which the hollow had hitherto concealed from both the breaching battery and the Engineers. They had the mortification therefore of retiring, but repaired at once to the breach at the Bloody Bastion to assist their more fortunate comrades in the city. The Bloody Bastion was assaulted by three companies of the 1st Bombay Fusiliers under Captain Leith. They found the breach easy to be surmounted, but it was retrenched inside and a most bloody struggle ensued for victory, in which the gallant Leith was severely wounded and carried off the field: but his place being taken by Lieutenant Gray, and Colour Sergeant John Bennet of the 1st Fusiliers having planted the colours of old England and stood beside it till the flag and staff were riddled with balls, the Fusiliers remembered the legends of their ancient corps, and closing with the rebels, soon made the city of Multan their own." All the southern gates were, in fact, occupied that same afternoon: and next morning the Delhi and Daulat gates were seized. Mulraj shut the gates of the fort, the streets of the city were occupied by the British, though not without resistance: and the remnants of the Sikh force scrambling over the western walls or issuing from the Lohari Gate, concealed themselves till night among the Afghan suburbs: then under cover of the darkness dispersed and fled, without gain or honour, to their distant homes.'

21st January. The siege of the fort having been continued with great vigour, two breaches were made, both of which are still clearly visible, one on the north-east near the tomb of Bahawal Haqq and the other on the south-west opposite the Husan Gahi. Orders were accordingly issued for these breaches to be stormed next morning.

22nd January. In a storm of wind and rain the troops prepared for the assault, but at 9 a.m. Mulraj surrendered at discretion; the entire garrison laid down their arms and became prisoners of war.*

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* There is a brass in the north transept of the cantonment church which commemorates the names of the various regiments engaged in the siege of Multan as follows:—

Bengal Division.

Bengal Artillery, 4 Troops, 1st Brigade, and 4 Troops, 3rd Brigade, Horse Artillery; 2nd Company 2nd Battalion, 3rd Company 3rd Battalion, 4th Company 3rd Battalion, and 6th Company 7th Battalion, Artillery; and 2nd class siege Train.

Bengal Engineers, Head-quarters; 1st, 2nd and 3rd Companies, Sappers; 2nd and 3rd Company Pioneers.

Her Majesty's 10th and 32nd Foot.

11th Regiment Light Cavalry and 7th and 11th Irregular Cavalry, 8th, 49th 51st, 52nd, and 72nd Native Infantry, and Queen's Own Corps of Guides.

Bombay Division.

Bombay Artillery, 3rd Troop 1st Brigade Horse Artillery; 2nd Company 1st Battalion, and 4th Company 2nd Battalion, European (Foot) Artillery; 1st and 2nd Companies, 4th Battalion, Native (Foot) Artillery

Bombay Engineers 1st and 2nd Company Sappers 1st. Her Majesty's 60th Rifles and 1st Bombay Fusiliers. 3rd, 4th, 9th and 19th Native Infantry. Indian Navy.

Baháwalpur Contingent.

Chapter II.

History.
British Rule.

Diwan Mulraj was 'taken to Lahore, charged with complicity in the murder of Agnew and Anderson, and found guilty but with extenuating circumstances.'* The view of the commission was that Mulraj had not procured by any overt act the attack on Agnew, but that in his subsequent conduct he was subject to no compulsion beyond the fear of a quarrel with some of his troops (Trial pp. 191—196). He spent in confinement the remainder of a life which was prolonged, only for a short time. He was taken to Calcutta and afterwards to Benares, where he died. His relations and descendants still live in the town of Akálgarh in the Gujránwála district and not a few have been in Government service.

British Rule.

Meantime possession of the district had been taken in the name of the British Government. Multan became the head-quarters both of a division and of a district.

The following account of the events of 1857 is taken from the Punjab Mutiny Report (pages 110—118) :—

At the head-quarters of the division much anxiety was caused to Major Hamilton, Commissioner, and all the residents, by the presence of two corps of Native Infantry, of whom one, the 69th, was known to be thoroughly bad. The post was an important one, as commanding the only outlet the Punjab at that time possessed for communication with England, Bombay and Calcutta, &c. The troops were providently disarmed in time, and no outbreak took place. The station of Multan commands the passage down the river from Lahore, and the only post road whereby the Punjab could communicate with the rest of the world.

At the time of the outbreak it was occupied by the 62nd and 69th Native Infantry, 1st Irregular Cavalry, a native troop of horse artillery, and a company of European Artillerymen. The 69th was strongly suspected. The other native troops were considered staunch, and subsequent events verified the supposition in every case. It was necessary to provide a refuge in case of any disturbance. The old fort, which had lain in a ruinous condition since it had been battered and dismantled by the British army in 1849, was put in a position of defence, provisioned, and garrisoned by some men of Captain Tronson's Kuttar Mukhi police battalion. As these arrangements occupied some days, and the temper of the native troops could not be trusted from hour to hour, Lieutenant Etheridge of the Indian Navy, who happened to be at Multan with his vessel, was requested to detain the steamer until the fort should have become defensible With this request Lieutenant Etheridge willingly complied, and the steamer lay off Multan until it was no longer requisite to trust to it as an asylum in case of need. In the early days of May a crowd of sepoys constantly thronged the Multan post office, eagerly asking 'for news,' and 'whether the mail had arrived,' and similar questions, in themselves unusual, and were accompanied by such language and demonstrations as were freely used tending to throw the whole establishment into bodily fear. Family remittances, which the soldiery had hitherto always made through the Government treasury, now ceased to be so made. The payments which the men had made on account of these remittances were boisterously demanded back in cash. The price of gold coin rose rapidly in the exchange markets, showing a large demand for portable wealth. Such symptoms of uneasiness (occurring too before any outbreak in the North-Western Provinces) could not but excite the gravest apprehensions in the minds of all European residents; they could not but lead to the conclusion that the soldiery were bent on some mischief, or, to say the least, that their confidence in our Government was gone, and they would rather trust their money in their own hand than in ours. When news of the outbreak in the North-Western Provinces reached Multan what had been inexplicable was at once explained, the mystery was revealed; these actions were seen to be part and parcel of a universal and determined design to subvert our rule

* See 'the Trial of Mulraj, late Nazim of Multan, from authentic documents printed at the *Delhi Gazette* Press, by Kunniah Lal.' The commission for the trial were Mr. Mansel, C. S., Mr. Montgomery, C.S., and Colonel Penny. Mr. L. Bowring appeared for the prosecution and Captain Hamilton for the defence.

Chapter II.

History.

British Rule.

Colonel Hicks, commanding at Multan, failed to discover in the conduct of the regiments of native infantry any thing which could justify him in taking from them their arms. The Chief Commissioner, however, sent peremptory orders that they were to be disarmed, and on the morning of June 10th the minds of European and native residents were relieved, commerce was re-established, and our authority vindicated by the most successful disarming of the 62nd and 69th Native Infantry by Major C. Chamberlain, commanding 1st Irregular Cavalry. The peculiar character of this excellent move was that the European troops were but 48 artillerymen. The other auxiliaries were all natives, and one regiment, the 1st Irregular Cavalry, was composed of Hindustanis. During the whole day the townspeople flocked to the Commissioner, Major Hamilton, expressing their hearty congratulations on the success of the measure, and their own relief at the prospect of immunity from rapine and slaughter. On the 19th and two following days of June the left wing Bombay Fusiliers came in, and about three weeks afterwards the right wing arrived. The imperious requirements of the service, however, forbade the authorities to keep these troops here, and they as well as the trusty Punjabi troops who arrived from time to time were pushed on towards Lahore or Delhi; so that with the exception of the 1st Irregulars the company of artillery, and the police battalion, Multan had absolutely no military standby to resist the two full regiments of Native Infantry which were located there. It was an anxious time. If proof of the ill-will of the 69th be required, it is afforded by the facts that the chief native officer of the regiment and 10 men were blown from guns by sentence of court-martial for sedition and intended mutiny; that just before their execution they boasted of their intent and reviled each other for the cowardice displayed in their own past inaction; that when the regiment was disarmed it was found that the artillery (native) had laid the guns, in anticipation of a struggle, directly on the 69th, avoiding the 62nd; and that the demeanour of the corps throughout was insolent and rebellious to the last degree. On the 11th August the horse artillery was disarmed as a precautionary measure. On the same date the enrolment of men for the new 11th Punjab Infantry was commenced by transferring to it men from other regiments. The Gugera insurrection broke out little more than a month afterwards. The new men at Multan were still undisciplined, and could hardly yet be relied on as a serviceable field force. Most of them were left to guard the station, while Major Chamberlain led out his regiment, the 1st Irregular Cavalry (Hindustanis), with some 200 men of the new levies, against the insurgents. Another cause of anxiety at Multan had been the conduct of the preventive service on the Sutlej. Very many of the men employed in it were Hindustanis. They bolted at the first rise in Hindustan, and went off in numbers to join their kindred by blood and by disposition who were enjoying a transient glory over the smouldering ruins of Hánsi and Hissar. Men to take their place were raised in the district, and no serious damage was done to the Government interest by their defection. Under the orders of the Chief Commissioner a camel train was organized, having one of its depots at Multan. It was designed for the conveyance of private parcels, munitions of war and merchandize between Sind and the Punjab, and proved most useful. The care of it constituted one of the many miscellaneous duties entailed on Major Voyle, Deputy Commissioner. The duty of preserving the safety of part of the road between Lahore and Multan, especially during and after the Kharral insurrection, was another most anxious charge for him. The number of widowed ladies, wounded officers, and other travellers who passed down this way, and who were incapable of protecting themselves, made it very needful that the road should be defended. To this end the Deputy Commissioners of Lahore, Gugera and Multan were desired to locate extra police both horse and foot, at every road police station. The arrangement was rigorously carried out, and after the end of September, when the road was re-opened, every European traveller was provided with a guard. The mail-carts were also defended in their passage; for until routes opened up through Baháwalpur and Jhang the Punjab was as regarded communication with other localities hermetically sealed.*

* An interesting account of the mutiny in Multan, with a plan showing how Major Chamberlain carried out the disarmament, will be found in Cooper's 'History of the Crisis in the Punjab'

In Appendix IA will be found a list of the Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners who have controlled the fortunes of the district since annexation. Of the early Deputy Commissioners those longest in the district were Major Voyle and General Van Cortlandt, who between them held the district nearly continuously for 12 years. Of those that followed the longest tenures fell to Major Lang (four years and seven months), Mr. O'Brien (two years and nine months), Colonel Hutchinson (three years and nine months), and Mr. Meredith (two years). Of the previous generations of Deputy Commissioners those best remembered in the district are probably Mr. O'Brien and Colonel Hutchinson : the former for his knowledge of the people and his criminal administration, and the latter for his successful management of the colonisation of the Sidhnai Canal.

Marriage and the position of women.

nún khallá' ('Grass for a horse, shoe-beating for a woman'), and 'Chor kún chatti, kutte kún gatti, ran kún chakki; A fine for a thief, a fetter for a dog and a millstone for a woman'). 'Ann di thaggi khándian torí; kapre dí thaggí handendian torí; ran dí thaggi sári mudd' ('Grain is only bad while you eat it; clothes only bad while you wear them; but a wife is bad for the whole of your life'). 'Ran milí kupatti ná márí gaí na satti. ghaib dí chatti' ('He got a bad wife and could neither beat her nor divorce: this is one of God's mysterious visitations'). The slatternly housewife comes in for her share of blame: 'Ayá welá sotá, te kuchajji kanna dhotá' ('It is time to go to bed, and the foolish woman begins to clean the cooking things'). 'Rotián pakáwe dún, angitián bhanne trae' ('To cook two loaves, she broke three cooking-grates'). The result of constant small extravagances is noted in: 'Haule aule chugge, sunj karende jhugge' ('Slow pecking brings down the house') The usefulness of marriage is indicated by the saying: 'Chhare kaman de tare, ap pakende rotian, ap bharendi gharre' ('The bachelor's lot is not a happy one: he has himself to cook the food, himself to lift the water-pots') There are also the time-honoured jests about a woman in her husband's absence: 'Paiá nahín ghar, bíbí kún káin dá dar' ('When he is not at home, who is the lady afraid of?'). If her husband displeases her, she has always her parents' house at hand: 'Ruthí kún pekián dá sanehá' ('The moment she gets angry, a message comes from her father's house to fetch her'). 'Jihn de peke nere, oh pairán nál kahere.' ('If her father's house is near, she is constantly running over there.') 'Dhandí paundí pekian di dar te.' ('She is constantly at her father's house'*). Her own relations alone receive any attention from her: 'Ayá zál dá sakká shatak unánú pakká; ayá mard dá sakka devis dharm da dhikka. ('When the wife's relation came, she at once cooked a loaf. When her husband's relation came, she said, "Push him out of the door.")

Games and amusements.

The games among children have a family resemblance to those known in other parts of the world, and girls have their dolls (gudian). Girls also amuse themselves with tossing up five bits of broken pottery off the back of the hand and recovering them again in the palm (fitián), and they take each other's hands and whirl 'round the mulberry bush' (chak chingal). They are fond of swings (pinhg). Boys play a kind of marbles (chidda) and also especially at night, a variety of hide-and-seek (akh di lukri or lukkan-chappan). There is also a game, like fox and geese, which is played with bricks or potsherds on squares drawn with the finger in the dust: this game is known as 'The Lion and the Goat' (shinh-bakri). There is also

* The proverb is applied to persons who come to see you so frequently as to become a nuisance.

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Games and amusements.

tip-cat or gítí-dandá. Cricket has also become popular in the larger towns. Both boys and men are excited over kite-flying (guddí bázi or patang-bázi), but not so much as in the Punjab; and amuse themselves in the hot weather by diving into water feet foremost and swimming about; and boys amuse themselves by splashing water about in a game called 'dhí dhí.' Except in the Rawa nearly every male in the district can swim, owing to the constant bathing in canals and watercourses, as well as in the river. Men also amuse themselves, especially at fairs and festivals, by a kind of prisoners' base (pir kaudí or kaudí-kabaddí; another kind is known as doda), or by a slow dance with clapping of hands round a tom-tom (jhummar), or by playing flutes and singing songs. There is also a game known as 'tallíán,' where one man presses his palm on the ground, and others try to pull away his hand from off the ground. At many of the fairs there is a rough kind of horse-racing (distance two to three hundred yards as a rule), and at a few there is tent-pegging: but this latter is not at all a popular form of sport. A few of the bigger men go in for sport as sport, but their ideas of what is fair shooting and what ought not to be shot differ somewhat from those of Englishmen.* Not a few of them get more amusement from having pigs netted, and then baited by dogs. In the towns there is a certain amount of cock and quail fighting; also ram-fights, which are said to be patronized mainly by dhobís, butchers, indigo-dyers, and so forth. Many of the idle and wealthier class, especially the Patháns, go in for pigeon flying (kabútar bází), the object being to join your flock with your adversary's and then to seduce as many as possible of your adversary's pigeons to your own roost. Wrestling by professionals for gate-money is also common, and the wrestling provided at the Sher Shah fair is said to be always good; wrestling is also carried on by young men throughout the district as a diversion of an evening, and some also exercise themselves with Indian clubs (munglíán). In the city, chess (shatranj) and chaupat are common pastimes, and so are cards (tásh): there are of course numerous varieties of the latter, such as pískot (a four-handed game), rang kí bází (a three-handed game), and so forth.

Fairs and festivals.

The number of fairs held in the district is very numerous. The most important are the following:—

* There is a kind of impression that sport is inconsistent with a respectable character. I once asked an old gentleman if he went in for shooting and he answered: 'No, main úbásh ádmí nahín hún.'

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Fairs and festivals.

List of the more important Fairs in the Multan District.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Tahsil.	Name of fair.	Where held.	Why held.	Date.	Duration of fair.	Estimated attendance.
Multan ...	Sher Sháh ...	Sher Sháh ...	In honour of the shrine.	14th Sudi, Chet ...	3 days ...	20,000
	Makhdúm Rashíd ...	Makhdum Rashíd ...	In honour of the shrine.	First Thursday after 15th Har.	7 days ...	5,000
	Budha Sant ...	Dugrana ...	To celebrate New Year's Day.	1st Chet ...	3 days ...	30,000
	Suraj Kund ...	Kayanpur ...	A pleasure fair ...	Magh and Bhadon ...	1 day, twice a year.	10,000
	Shams Tabrez ...	Outside Multan city	To celebrate the Id	On the Friday following the Id.	1 day, ...	1,000
Shujabad ...	Pír Kattál ...	Jalálpur Pírwala ...	In honour of the Pir	In Chet, on every Friday (March—April).	4 days ...	14,000
	Pír Jiwan Sultan ...	Rappar ...	Ditto ...	In Chet, on the last Friday.	3 days ...	12,000
Ledhrán ...	Pír Ayub-Kattál ...	Near Duniapur ...	Ditto ...	On 3rd Friday in Chet.	2 days ...	10,000

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Fairs and festivals.

List of the more important Fairs in the Multan District—concld.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Tahsil.	Name of fair.	Where held.	Why held.	Date.	Duration of fair.	Estimated attendance.
Mailsi ...	Abubakar Warák ...	Dhallu ..	In honour of the Pír	From last Saturday of Chet to the 3rd Baisakh.	8 days .	5,000
	Diwán Chauli Mashaikh.	Diwán Chauli Mashaikh.	Ditto ..	26th and 27th of Ramzan.	2 days . ..	1,000
Kabírwála ...	Ram Chautra ...	Ram Chautra ..	In honour of Raja Ram Chandar.	1st Baisakh ..	8 days ..	7,000
	Sháh Habíb ...	Baghdad ..	In honour of Sháh Habíb.	27th and 28th Sawan	8 days ...	5,000
	Abdul Hakím ...	Abdul Hakím ...	In honour of M. Abdul Hakím.	9th Har ...	4 days ..	4,000

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Fairs and festivals.

The fairs are mostly in connection with some shrine, and there are very few shrines of any importance to which some kind of fair is not attached. The guardians of the shrine generally receive some small offerings in cash or kind, but in most cases they also give out food, so that they retain little or no net income. In some cases the zamindars who own the land, or have influence in the neighbourhood, take a contribution either from the people at the fair or from the shopkeepers whom they allow to trade there. At some of the shrines the fair is a bathing fair (as at Ram Chautra, Ram Tírath, Suraj Kund, etc.); at others, as at Shahkot and Jagir Horián, the people have their children's hair cut: at others, as at Pír Ghaib in Halálwaja, the ailments of cattle are said to be cured. At Makhdúm Rashid the well, which is closed for the rest of the year, is opened, and the water, which has an aperient effect, is drunk by the people. At Jalálpur Pirwala devils are cast out of women. At Rappar, during the Moharram the people pass through two small doors in a small domed building, somewhat after the manner of the fair at Pákpattan; and the building is known as 'Bihisht.' Other fairs, too, have their own peculiarities: at Daud Jahánian's fair, for instance, in Mianpur, ulcers are cured, and at the Budha Sant fair in Dograna no flesh may be eaten.

Besides the fairs specially attached to shrines there are the ordinary seasonal fairs. The Baisakhi fair is celebrated with some circumstance at Rámpur near Multan and at Gwans near Mailsi, at Shahpur near Kahror, and at Paonta near Shujabad. The Dasehra or Ram Líla is observed in most large villages, and there are fine shows in Multan both in the cantonment and in the Dasehra ground near the Mandi Awa to the south-east of the city. There are fairs for the rainy season in Sawan, and several full moon fairs, as well as the ordinary Diwali and Holi. Among the Mahomedans there are great gatherings in large towns, and at centres of Shiism, during the Moharram for the carrying out of the Tazias. There are also gatherings at both the Ids, and the prayers at the Idgah in Multan are very numerously attended on the occasion of the Id uz Zuha. Except at the Id, the Mahomedans and Hindus join pretty freely in the festivals of each other's religion. This trait is unintentionally brought out in the common local proverb: 'Guzri' Holi Rahmat-ulla khede "The Holi is over, yet Rahmat-ulla goes on playing').

The fairs are chiefly for amusement, and the amusement is in the form of swings, merry-go-rounds, prisoners' base, juggling, wrestling, etc. At some of the fairs there is horse-racing and tent-pegging; and at the bigger ones there is dancing by professional dancers. At almost every fair, also, there are booths, where ordinary pedlars' wares and cloth are for sale, together with sweetmeats of various kinds. And at one or two of the gather-

Chapter III. B.

Social and Religious Life.

Fairs and festivals.

ings there is some real buying and selling done among the people; as, for instance, at Budha Sant, where mules and donkeys find a ready sale, and at Rappar and Dhallun, where young camels from Bikanir and Baháwalpur can be bought in large numbers. There is no cattle fair, and this is a serious want. A horse fair is held at Multan, under Government supervision, in the spring, and is very largely attended.

Hospitality.

Any sketch of the manners of the people would be incomplete without a refrence to the virtues of hospitality and liberality, which enter so largely into the ideal standard of a good life among the inhabitants of the district. Among the Hindus there is naturally less hospitality than among the Mahomedans and their charity is more carefully regulated; but from any ordinary standpoint, they, too, are extremely charitable, and during periods of drought, such as the years 1898 and 1899, their unostentatious contributions served largely to keep alive the numerous needy vagrants who wandered through the district. The hospitality of the Mahomedan, and his charity also, is on a more lavish and careless scale. The chief aim of the better class of zamindar is to be known as 'bará fayyáz,' or 'mahmán-nawáz,' and the more religious among them are nearly always the more generous. Rulers of a lavish character have a very solid renown, and few will be remembered longer in the Sutlej tract than the 'Sakhí Baháwal Khan,' of Baháwalpur. At the same time this profuseness—this *deredári* as it is expressively called—has brought many careless zamindars to ruin, and the virtue is apt to be carried to excess. There are also, no doubt, many zamindars, whose professions of liberality are louder than their acts, and many with whom liberality goes much against the grain; but the existence of his virtue on so large a scale, and the large part which it plays in the people's standard of excellence cannot be too carefully remembered.

Although, however, the people fully appreciate a hospitable and lavish neighbour, they have a keen eye for all sorts of pretence to a station out of keeping with the facts; 'Ghar topá, báhar hoká' ('Not a bushel of grain in the house; yet he proclaims a feast outside.') 'Ghar dáng na, te medí badúk chái áwin. (' Not a stick in the house, yet he cries ' Bring me my gun ') 'Dál mahori dí, dam pilao dá ' (' He has pulse of masar and blows on it as though it were a pilao '). ' Paisá na palle, te khísá pia halle ' (' Not a paisa in his purse, yet he keeps shaking his pocket.') ' Ushnák páolí, tab vichh narián ' (' The weaver sets up for a gentleman, yet his shuttles are sticking out of his pocket.") The grand names sometimes assumed come in also for their share of ridicule; ' Diddhun bhukkí, Daulat Bibí nán ' (' Hungry belly, and her name Daulat Bibí ') ; or ' Ghar vichh kutta nahín te nam Bahádur Khan ' (' Not a dog in his house,

Hospitality.

and he calls himself Bahádur Khan'); or 'Ghar vichh paisa nahin, te nán Lakhí Rám' ('Not a penny in the house and he calls himself Lakhí Rám'); or 'Do jhugge Mahtamán de, te nán Khairpur' ('Two Mahtam huts, and they are called Khairpur'). So, too, with those who pretend to a higher origin than they have: as in 'Má pinne, putr ghora ghinne' ('The mother begs; the son buys a horse'). 'Mán bhittiárí, putr akkar khan' ('The mother a baker, and the son walks like a grand duke'). 'Mán pihnáyat, putr Fattah Khan' ('The mother grinds corn, and her son calls himself Fattah Khan'). 'Mán mar gaí pále, dhí dá nán Razai' ('The mother died of cold and the daughter calls herself Rasaí'). 'Mán mari rukhá-wanen, dhi dá nán Chak-mak' ('The mother died of hunger, and the daughter is called Chak-mak'). The rise of a Hindu in the world is shown by the change in his name: 'Máyá ke tín nám' Parsú, Parsa, Pars Rám ('The world has three names—first Parsú, then Parsa, then Pars Rám').

Crime and litigation.

Crime in the Multan district takes the form chiefly of cattle-stealing and of burglary. The latter is a comparatively late development, but its attractions for the criminal classes seem to be increasing. Cattle-lifting, on the other hand, is a practice of long standing, and with a large section of the population it constitutes a pastime rather than a form of crime. Apart from the actual cattle-lifters the offence is fostered by a number of receivers, known as 'Rassagírs', who pass the cattle from one hand to another with considerable rapidity over large tracts of country. The chief offenders in the matter of crime are found among the Tahíms, Hirajs, Jo yas, Langriáls, Traggars, Sargánas, Pahors, Biloches, Ghallus, Lángs, Sanpáls, Káthias and Metlas; but the practice is confined to no particular tribe, and offenders are found in all classes. Usually the thieves are landowners or tenants, and the other landowners and tenants do what they can to shelter them. Apart from the offences above noted, the district is not noted for crime. Daring offences, such as murder and highway robbery, are not common; and there is no such animosity against the moneyed classes as is common in the central and northern Punjab. On the other hand, prosecutions for seduction of women are exceedingly common and show no signs of abating. Civil litigation is not serious, and revenue cases, other than suits for rent, are not numerous; but although litigation is ordinary, the fees of legal practitioners are high, owing to the number of large landowners whose means enable them to pay largely, and so to raise the standard.

On the subject of crime and criminal administration the proverbial philosophy of the people is not silent. Regarding excessive punishments for small offences, they say: 'Kharbúze de chor nún, lat muk káfi' ('For a man who steals a melon, a kick and a cuff are enough'); or 'Talí bádsháhán na jhalí'

Chapter III. B.

Social and Religious Life.

Crime and litigation.

('To pluck the ears of corn as you pass is a thing which even kings do not forbid'). On the subject of security, it is said: 'Na chikkiye káman, na pawiye záman' ('Draw not a bow and give not security'). The ways of witnesses are described in: 'Mámá gawáh te bhedán ápnián' ('He gets his uncle to bear witness, and the stolen sheep are proved to be his'); or 'Mulla chor te bánga gawáh' ('The múlla is the thief, and the muezzin is his witness'). So too: 'Cháchá chor bhatríjá kázi' ('The uncle the thief, the nephew the judge'). Men in authority are as great criminals as any; 'Nambardár da zor, dinh dá hákim rát dá chor' ('The lambardar's power is shown by his lording it by day, and thieving by night'). So with the sanctimonious: 'Munh mullah dá akkhín chor dián' ('The face is the face of a Mulla, the eyes are those of a thief'); or 'Tasbih phero, te jhugge here' ('He is fingering his rosary but at the same time he is spying out the houses to see where he can thieve'). Of which the Hindu equivalent is: 'Ram Rám japnán paráyá mál taknán' ('Muttering Rám Rám, eying other men's goods').

There are also sayings which illustrate the power of the local magnates and the hopelessness of contending against it; 'Chattí paí mahr te, to mahr paí shahr te' ('The squire was fined, so the squire fined the village'). 'Amir de aggon, te ghore de pichhon na lagiye' ('Go not in front of a great man, for fear he seize you for some forced labour; nor go behind a horse for fear it kicks you'). 'Jihn de hath vichh khalla, un dá jag vichh bhalá' ('He who has slipper in his hand, his is success in the world'). The great man's joke may cost the poor man much: 'Dádhe dá hása, gharib dá bhajje pásá' ('The great man laughs, and the poor man's rib is broken'). And the great men's variances among themselves involve the ruin of those about them; 'Larin sáhn, patíjin búte' ('The bulls fight, and the shrubs suffer').

Characteristics of the people.

As will be seen by the information given in the preceding paragraphs, the habits of the people of Multan differ in many respects from those of the inhabitants of the Central Punjab. The character of the people also has certain peculiarities, and it may be said generally that they are more self-centered and, at the same time, less alert and less industrious than the ordinary Punjabi; but these qualities are mixed with some strange inconsistencies, and they have also redeeming traits of which one should not lose sight.

The Multani peasant lives on a well and not in a large village, and he marries a neighbour and not a woman from a distant district. He never enlists, and sees nothing of any district but his own. He has therefore a distrust of strangers. The proverb says; 'Safar-i-Multan tá ba Idgah" or 'The Multani travels no further than the Idgah.' It is only with great diffi-

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Characteristics of the people.

culty that even the educated classes are persuaded to leave the district: a Government servant will often refuse a transfer in spite of great inducements in the way of promotion, and even the better class of zamindars are as bewildered and unhappy in Lahore as a Highlander of the eighteenth century in London. To the ordinary peasant the effect of his isolated life is that his address is less pleasing and his demeanour more unsociable than that of a Punjabi agriculturist. He wants to be left alone; and though among friends he is cheerful enough, he lacks the real social instinct. He has little public spirit, and seldom looks at any one's interests but his own. The poorer zamindar cares nothing, for instance, about the assessment of his village, but is keenly interested in the revenue of his own holding. The richer men have no idea of spending money on works of public utility, and with one or two notable exceptions, there is scarcely a man in the district who has voluntarily spent a rupee on any public building or institution. As friends, too, the Multánís have a bad reputation; disinterestedness is said to be unknown, and a variant of the proverb above quoted says: 'Dost-i-Multán tá ba Idgah', which is as much as to say that a Multáni friendship has a radius of about a mile.

So, too, there is a pervading air of slackness about the inhabitants of this district. Both nature and man have been too strong for the Multani peasant. No one who has seen the cher labourers at work will say that the Multani is incapable of hard work, but there can be little doubt that he has a great disinclination for it. The prostrating effects of the fierce summer heats; and the absolute hopelessness of the agriculture in years when floods are scarce, have broken the heart of the peasant, and the size of his holdings has taken away a great incentive of minute cultivation. The inhabitant of Multán, though capable of exertion for a time, is, as a rule, easily discouraged. His efforts are by fits and starts; long continued energy is unknown to him; and he has not the instincts of discipline which mark the Jat of the Central Punjab. Though he is incapable of discipline (or rather perhaps because he is incapable of discipline) the Multani, having been since history began under the heel of one foreign conqueror or another, is peculiarly insensible to any display of authority which is not accompanied by force. A man, for instance, who is asked in an ordinary tone to show the road, will say he does not know it; but if addressed fiercely, will comply at once. A man who is reminded in the ordinary way that his revenue is due, will pay no attention; but if he is threatened with insult or imprisonment, will pay it with alacrity. This same want of stamina has rendered the peasant of the district a ready prey to unscrupulous officials: he believes stolidly that nothing can be done without a bribe, and he is ready to bribe any one to do any thing, merely because it is the custom to do so, and without any of the desire to obtain a *quid pro quo*, which characterises the Jat of the Punjab proper.

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Characteristics of the people.

With all these drawbacks the native of the district is not without many good points. He has generally a strong, tall, well-nourished figure, and he is good natured and easy going to a degree. He is in his own careless way exceedingly hospitable. In his speech he is frank and outspoken, and his religious practices, as a rule, steer fairly clear both of indifference and bigotry. If he had more knowledge of outlying districts, more confidence in himself, and less distrust of his rulers; he would be a very favourable specimen of mankind.

Language

The languages spoken by the people are detailed in Statement No VIII.* None of them call for notice except the two,—Punjabi and Jatki or Multáni,—which are spoken by far the larger part of the population. The distinction between these two languages in the census returns is quite arbitrary, and the bulk of the people in the district speak a language which, though a variant of the Punjabi spoken in the central Punjab, has greater affinities with the language of the Sind-Sagar and Jach Doabs than with that of Lahore and Jullundur. The language of Kabírwála and Eastern Mailsi is more intelligible to the stranger from the central Punjab than that of the tracts further south, and the characteristics of the local dialect are most marked in the extreme south of the district near Jalalpur and Lodhran. There is some difference, too, in the vocabulary used by Hindus and by Mussalmans, more particularly among the women; and the pronunciation also differs somewhat, especially in the matter of the palatal *r*. The language, as a whole, is softer, and its inflections better adapted for poetry than those of the standard Punjabi; and several of the best known poets and ballad writers of the central Punjab have made free use of Multani words and inflections in their works. The name given to the language of Multan by experts used to be Jatki or Multani, but of late years, since its affinities with the language of the Dera Ismail Khan and Shahpur districts have been carefully investigated, it has become usual to talk of it as a form of 'Western Punjabi.' To an outsider accustomed to the orthodox Punjabi of the Manjha, the chief peculiarities of the Multan language would probably appear to be (i) the use of the future in *s* (*e. g.*, karesán for karúngá); (ii) the passive in *í* (*e. g.*, marínda hán for márá játá hún, and (iii) the use of the verb vanjan, 'to go,' in place of jáná both as an ordinary intransitive and as an auxiliary. There are of course, numerous other peculiarities, and the vocabulary is also very different, and contains a larger admixture of Persian and Arabic words. These latter are pronounced far more accurately than in the central Punjab.

* In the tenth century according to Istakhri most of the people of Multan spoke Persian and Sindhi (Ell. i, 28-9) In Akbar's time, the languages of Delhi, Multan and Sindh were unintelligible to each other (Aic. iii, 119.)

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Language.

The New Testament was printed at Serampur in the Multáni (or, as it is there called, the Uchhí) language as early as 1819; but the work must from the beginning have been of no value owing to its being printed in a particular form of shopkeeper's script, which would originally have been legible to very few, and is now becoming obsolete. Some rough notes on the 'Játake or Belochki Language' of Northern Sindh were put together by Sir Richard Burton, and published in the 'Transactions of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society' in 1851; and Mr. O'Brien, C.S., in 1880, published his admirable 'Glossary of the Multani Language,' which contains both a sketch of the grammar and a collection of the local sayings and proverbs prevalent in the Muzaffargarh and Multan districts. The Gospels also have been translated by the Rev. Dr. Jukes, of Dera Ghazi Khan, into a dialect closely resembling that of this district; and a series of detailed notes on the grammar of 'Western Punjabi' language were published by the Rev. Trevor Bomford, of Multan, in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal' for 1895. This was followed in 1898 by Mr. J. Wilson's 'Grammar and Dictionary of Western Punjabi as spoken in the Shahpur District,' and in 1900 by Dr. Jukes's 'Dictionary of the Jatki or Western Punjabi Language,' which is based mainly on experience of the Dera Gházi Khan district. It will be observed, therefore, that in the last few years a considerable interest has been taken in the class of dialects to which the Multan speech belongs; and it is to be hoped that further helps to the local student may shortly be forthcoming.

Of those who can read and write by far the greater number, whether Hindus or Muhammadans, write the Persian character. Hindus who know Sanskrit employ the Bháshá or Nagrí; while money-lenders and shop-keepers use the '*Bhábrí akhar*' or the 'Multani akhar,' Tákra or Lande, both of which are known as 'Hindi.' There are varieties of this character known as Sirí, Sákri, and Siddha. The Gurmukhi character is understood by a few Sikh devotees, but by no one else.

Shrines to saints.

The district is thickly dotted with shrines of various degrees both of age and of sanctity. The shrines of Multan, with that of Bahawal Hakk at their head, are described in detail in Chapter VI of this Gazetteer. Outside the city and its environs there are many others of more or less note, but the most renowned are those* connected with the celebrated shrine of Sayad Jalál at Uchh in Baháwalpur, namely, the shrines of Sher Shah and Jalálpur Pírwala. The former of these was built in honour of Shah Ali Mahomed Husain, who came from Meshed in A.H. 905 (A.D. 1499), and the latter in honour of Sultan Ahmad, Kattal, who, after converting the Lakhweras and Salderas of the Mailsi tahsil, came to Jalalpur in A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582). Both of these are fine buildings, and the latter is especially worth seeing on account of its remarkable coating of tile work.

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* Sayad Jalál is in some ways the premier saint in this part of the Punjab, and his miracles are proverbial. 'Dhai man khoti, te panj man bár, kyá karesí Sayad Jalál?' (If an ass can bear 2½ maunds only, and a load of 5 maunds is put on it, what can Sayad Jalál do? Even he cannot make the ass fit to bear 5 maunds.')

Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

Shrines to saints.

In the Kabírwála tahsil there is at *Rampur* a shrine of Jati Abdál, or Abdál the Chaste, a servant of Dara Shekoh. No women are admitted into the shrine, and the river has hitherto scrupulously avoided diluviating it. At *Aroti* is the tomb of Mian Rahmán, a saint of Aurangzeb's time, and at *Baghdád* is that of Sháh Habíb, a miracle worker of the days of Sháh Jahán. In *Abdul Hakím* is the shrine of the saint of that name, a charhoa or dhobi by caste, who died in 1732 A.D. : the tomb is revered by the rulers of Bikanir because of a miracle worked on the bitter Bikanir wells by some followers of the saint. Among the disciples of Abdul Hakím was a woman, a Nunari by caste, called *Mai Sapuran*, whose tomb is in the village of that name : she was able to spread out her prayer carpet on the waters of the Rávi and to kneel for prayer upon it, and both she and her descendants could cure the bites of mad dogs. At the large mound outside Tulamba, which Cunningham identifies with the 'strongly fortified position' taken by Alexander in this neighbourhood, is the shrine of *Mámán Sher*, who was martyred with Dátá Ganj Bakhsh at Lahore, but rode back without his head to the place where his body is now buried. Near *Sarai Siddhu* is the shrine of Arjan Sher, who rode on a tiger with a snake in his hand and destroyed a terrible jinn, who used to feed on the children of the neighbourhood. At *Sirdarpur* is a shrine in honour of Talib Sháh Bukhari, who came from Uchh some 500 years ago.

In the Multan tahsil there are, besides the shrines of Multan and that of Sher Sháh, four or five more or less well-known shrines. One is that of Sháh Ali Akbar at *Sura Miani*, which is described in Chapter VI below. Another is that of Isa and Musa at *Fatuhalpur* : this Musa was a wonder-worker from Delhi : when he shook hands with Sháh Ali Mahomed, of Sher Sháh, their hands stuck together. Besides the above, there is the tomb at *Shakot* of Zain-ul-abdin, father of Sakhi Sarwar : a tomb with some good tile-work and a handsome gateway, which is worth seeing ; also the shrine of Makhdúm Abdurrashid or *Makhdúm Rashid* on the Mailsi road. This saint was cousin of Baháwal Hakk ; and the actual shrine consists of a pillar of brickwork, some four feet high, surmounted by a long pole and set off by a picturesque background of jál trees, but the chief feature of the place is the brackish well outside the village site. Another curious shrine is that of Budhla Sant at *Dograna*, with its adjacent tank ; this saint was a Hindu weighman who wrought miracles, and finally disappeared into a jál tree, round which the present shrine is built.*

* This saint was one day weighing out the corn, and as he did so, he used the words 'Kul únwíá.' A passing fakír said : 'Does he mean Kul unwí' (19 in all) or does he mean 'Kul un wiá' ('Go also to HIM, *i.e.*, God ').

In the north of Shujabad tahsil are some small shrines, such as that of Pír Ghaib in Halalwaja, Mahomed Isa in Khánpur, and Sháh Rashid at the gate of Shujabad itself. The chief shrines are, however, towards the south of the tahsil. At *Lutfpur* is the chauki or the resting-place of Pír Daud Jahánian, a herdsman of the Muzaffargarh saint Makhdúm Jahánian ; this Pír Daud made a dead stick blossom in a shisham tree, and sand from his shrine, if warmed and applied to a boil, is a sovereign remedy. Near *Bahadarpur* is the roofless tomb of Pír Aulia Ghori, which is said to date from Humáyún's time, and in which used to grow a talking melon which spoke the words 'Salaam alekum' : this tomb is now a common resort for persons bitten by mad dogs and jackals. At *Nasrájabhutta* lie the bodies of Hásil and Wásil, two holy men who were martyred there : and at *Umarpur* lie the remains of Shaikh Ismail, a disciple of Baháwal Hakk, who appears in a dream to deter any one that tries to make his tomb 'pukka'. Lastly, there is the shrine of Shah Mihr Ali at *Darabpur,* a mud-built tomb of a saint who disappeared miraculously some three hundred years ago.

In Lodhrán there are a few fairly well known shrines. Among these are the Gardezi tomb at *Adamwáhan,* now falling into considerable disrepair, and the shrine of Pír Múla at *Mauliri Sikandar,* built in the time of the Emperor Mahomed Sháh. At *Lahori* rests the body of Pír Fattehulla : this saint lived some three hundred years ago. When a child he was found weeping at the thought of the grave, and received a promise that he would never be buried : accordingly when he died two coffins came down from heaven : they are both in the shrine and can be seen from outside, but no one knows in which of them the pír lies. At *Kahror* are the shrines of Ali Sarwar and Pír Burhán, which are described in Chapter VI below. At *Rappar* is the tomb of Pír Jívan Sultan, a saint of Shah Jahán's time, and in the middle of the desert east of *Dunyapur* is the khánkáh of Sultan Ayúb Kattál, the grandson of Makhdúm Rashid, a saint who was a special adherent of Khwája Khizr, and is said to have died in A.H. 766 (A.D. 1364.)

In Mailsi are one or two Hindu shrines of local celebrity : including that at *Nagarkot,* near Fadda,—a comparatively modern shrine of Devi, the vicinity of which is haunted, because some centuries ago two girls were at this place set upon by dacoits and killed. The mound of *Díwán Chawali Mashaikh* is named after one of the very early converts to Islam, and on this site there are several curiosities, *viz.,* the tomb of the Díwán and of his sister, the staff of the Díwán, the shrine of his Wazír Shekoh Sáhib, the jál tree from which the Díwán sprang out as a tiger, the well in which Bábá Farid hung head downwards for twelve years, the tombs of Bábá Farid's three sons, and, lastly, a shrine and Darbár Sáhib in commemoration of Bábá Nának. At *Dhallu* is the shrine

Chapter III, B.
Social and Religious Life.
Shrines to saints.

of Abubakar Warák, lately restored with considerable taste, a building of distinct beauty: this saint was connected with the Chishtís of Ajmir, and he was called Warák because he used every day to give his disciples a leaf of paper (wark), on which he wrote something and bade them take it to the river, where a mystic hand would be stretched out to take the 'wark' and give another 'wark' in exchange. This saint was a particular friend of Khawája Khizr; and lately when the shrine wanted repair, and no timber long enough for the roof could be found, the river brought down logs of the required size and deposited them near the tomb. Outside is a remarkable carved stone, evidently at one time a part of some Hindu temple, which is pointed out as the alms' bowl of the saint. At *Dhruharwahan* are the shrines of another Abu Bakar and his son and grandson: this Abu Bakar came here early in the fourteenth century; and hard by is the tomb of his brother Ahmad Sultán, where women who are possessed with devils get cured.

Ruined religious buildings.

The shrines above mentioned are all in more or less good repair; but there are three buildings worth noticing, which are now uncared for and in a state of comparative ruin. One of these is the fine tomb of Khálik bin Walíd, usually known as *Khálik Wali*, near Khattíchor in Kabírwála. Khálid is said to have been a Koreshi who came from Arabia in 1015 A.D.: the present shrine is said to have been built in the fourteenth century and to have been repaired by Sháh Jahán. This emperor also built a sarai here, and Khálik Wali appears in the old geographies under various disguises as one of the stages on the road between Multan and Lahore. Some camel-owners offended the saint, and no camel's milk will give butter in this neighbourhood. There is a white stone in the middle of the dome, which is said to be made of camels' butter: a drop is said to fall from time to time, and when the last drop falls the day of judgment will come.

Another and, perhaps, still more remarkable ruin is that of the incomplete mosque at *Malikwahan* in the Mailsi tahsil. The mosque is situated on a high mound picturesquely surrounded by trees, and it still bears considerable fragments of exquisite tile-work, including some in colours not ordinarily found elsewhere. These remains, like many others in the Mailsi tahsil (*e.g.*, at Shergarh, Lakhan, etc.), probably date from the flourishing days of the seventeenth century.

Another remarkable monument, of a different character, is the small tomb of *Sayad Kabir*, situated in a somewhat inaccessible position in the jungle west of Sarla on the eastern boundary of the Lodhrán tahsil. The design is a curious mixture of Saracenic and Hindu types, and there are inscriptions, moulded on the brick, both in Persian and in Nagri characters.

Chapter III. C.
Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.
Grave yards.

One of the proverbial characteristics of Multan city is the prevalence of graveyards; and in the district at large the graveyards (goristán or gustán) are a marked feature in the landscape. They are generally on ground too high for irrigation or cultivation, often on ruined 'bhirs', and are entered somewhat pathetically in the revenue records as 'makbúza ahl-i-Islám'. It is common to bury in the neighbourhood of some saint's grave, and in such cases the wood round the grave is allowed to grow, it being considered profanity to lay hands upon it. Though most of the graveyards are bare unlovely spots, there is a tendency, where possible, to find a shady place for graves. The grave is generally of mud; often a couple of bricks are set at the head, leaning against each other, to shelter the lamp ; or else a small chamber is built for this purpose, or else the lamp is left unsheltered. Sometimes there are small earthen ornaments at the four corners of the grave. Sometimes at the head or foot there is a coloured tile containing the words 'Yá Allah' or the name of the deceased. Women are buried in tombs of the same shape as the men's : pardah women have generally a special portion of the graveyard allotted to them, but otherwise men and women are buried indiscriminately. Children sometimes have separate graveyards (there is one such in the village of Wahí Channar in Lodhrán), and, in the villages at least, Hindu children are buried without objection in Mahomedan graveyards.

At the period of the Moharram it is the custom for surviving relatives to repair the tombs of their dead and to pour water over them ; and on the tenth day of that month it is the practice to spread branches of plam-trees or masúr over the graves.

For the grave of a pír or saint considerable outward reverence is shown : it is salaamed from a distance and shoes are taken off in its vicinity. But ordinary graveyards are treated without much sentiment. They are generally unfenced in any way. Dhobís find the graves convenient places for spreading out clothes to dry. I have even during the course of settlement measurements seen the measuring chain being taken through a graveyard and notches being cut in the graves to keep the chain level.

SECTION C.—TRIBES, CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

Statistics for tribes and castes.

Table No. IX gives the figures for the principal castes and tribes of the district, with details of sex and religion. Many of these are found over all the Punjab and most of them in many other districts, and their representatives in Multan are distinguished by no local peculiarities. Most of them are described in Chapter VI of the Census Report of 1881. In the census of 1881 the figures for tribes and castes were tabulated for the district

Chapter III, C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

Statistics for tribes and castes.

only, so that no information is available as to their distribution by tahsíls and villages in 1881, but in 1891 this information was tabulated, and is available on reference to the vernacular census tables of that census. On the other hand, the numerous sub-castes and clans returned were tabulated for the district in 1881, and the results were printed in divisional lists of tribes, etc., which are now somewhat hard to obtain; but in 1891 the names only and the localities (by districts) of these sub-castes and clans were tabulated, the number under each head being ignored, and the results of the tabulation are printed in a provincial list at the end of the 3rd volume of the report on that census. The sub-castes and clans are not of much importance in this district, except as regards some of the Jats, and as a certain number of sub-tribes of the Patháns, Bilochís, Jats and Rájpúts were fully tabulated in 1891 and 1901 we have figures for some of the Jat clans though not of all. The figures for the more numerous tribes by tahsíls were in 1901 :—

Caste.	Multan.	Shuja-bad.	Lodhran.	Mailsi.	Kabír-wala.	Total.
Aráíns ...	6,974	5,473	8,712	9,127	2,124	32,410
Arorás ..	30,468	14,330	17,699	11,064	15,426	88,987
Bilochís ..	6,265	6,420	6,298	2,804	2,701	24,488
Brahmans (including Muhiáls) ...	2,835	1,017	643	380	704	5,579
Chúhras ..	4,093	983	425	2,262	3,424	11,187
Dhobís ...	4,277	2,616	2,841	2,635	2,313	14,682
Jats ...	49,597	29,811	23,192	15,662	22,053	140,315
Juláhas ..	11,786	1,761	4,416	4,043	5,226	27,232
Khatrís ...	9,072	461	536	358	450	10,877
Khokhars ...	5,227	1,813	956	1,664	1,946	11,606
Kumhárs ...	4,309	2,765	2,647	3,514	5,592	18,827
Lohárs ...	1,173	538	605	562	896	3,774
Máchhís ...	2,606	981	1,364	3,312	4,166	12,429
Malláhs ..	1,916	2,842	1,052	200	1,736	7,745
Mochís ..	6,991	3,620	3,836	3,961	5,736	24,144
Náís ..	2,239	1,531	1,322	1,544	1,802	8,438
Patháns ...	4,564	1,507	836	767	577	8,251
Rájpúts .	19,133	12,968	9,348	20,997	29,050	91,516
Sayads ...	3,296	1,944	2,019	1,774	1,534	10,567
Sheikhs ...	3,022	1,141	517	654	1,492	6,826
Sunárs ...	841	393	476	551	560	2,821
Tarkháns ...	6,068	2,777	3,234	2,255	3,022	17,356

We may now proceed to notice such of the tribes as call for consideration; taking them in the following order—(i) Hindu castes, (ii) prominent Mahomedan tribes, and (iii) inferior and artisan tribes or castes.

Chapter III, C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

Hindu castes and tribes.

Among the Hindus four castes only are numerous, *viz.*, the Brahmans, the Khatris, the Aroras and the Bhátias.

The *Brahmans* are for the most part confined to the towns, and such landed property as they possess is owned generally in connection with shrines and dharmsálas of which they are the incumbents.

1881	...	4,163
1891	...	5,310
1901	...	5,571

The Brahmans held a city in the north of Kabírwála in Alexander's time (see Chapter II); and there is some temptation to connect that city with Tulamba, where the most prominent landholding families are still Brahmans. The Brahmans of the district are mainly Sársuts, but Pushkarna Brahmans are also not uncommon, especially in Shujabad, where they are the parohits of the Bhátias. They are commonly spoken of as 'pandits', and there are proverbs here, as elsewhere in India, at their expense; such as, 'Bhat, Brahman, Bakrí: vele mul na pakrí' ('The bard, the Brahman and the goat, at the right time are of no earthly use').

The *Khatris* are mainly confined to the town of Multan, and very few own any land. They are largely immigrants from the Punjab proper and often in Government service.

1881	...	9,798
1891	...	9,604
1901	...	10,873

The Khatrís of this district are chiefly Mihhotras, Khannas and Kapúrs. They include the family of Raizada Ram Chand Sahigal, Honorary Magistrate, Malik Rám Chand, Vijh, and one or two other prominent families, most of which attained their present status under the Sikh *régime*.

By far the largest number of Hindus in the district belong to the *Arora* caste; and there are more Aroras in Multan than in any other district of the Punjab.

1881	...	76,842
1891	...	82,331
1901	...	88,987

They are also called Karárs—a term which in this district is practically synonymous with Arora, though somewhat more derogatory in its application. They constitute the bulk of the trading, shop-keeping and money-lending element; they enter freely into Government service, and they possess in proprietary right, or on mortgage a vast amount of land. They are mainly of the Dakhna section, though Utrádhís and Dahras are not uncommon. The three sections do not intermarry, but the *gots* within each section are, as usual, exogamous. The most prominent families among the landowning Aroras are the Bajájs of Sikandarabad, the Jáwas of Traggar, the Munjals of Ubaora, the Batras of Khanpur, the Tanejas of Garhí Khiobían, the Talejas of Wahi Salamat Rai, the Chughs, Gands, and Relans of Tulamba.

The Karár being the peasant's creditor and natural enemy comes in for as much proverbial abuse as the attorney in England. 'Bhuke Karár wahían pharole' ('If a Karar is hard up, he turns over his account books (to fish up forgotten debts'): or 'Kan, Karar, kutte da, visáh na kija sutte da' ('A crow, a Karár and a dog should not be trusted even if asleep'), or 'Jat waddhe tán

Chapter III, C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

Hindu castes and tribes.

ráh baddhe, Karár waddhe tán Jat baddhe' ('If a Jat prospers, he blocks the road (by extending cultivation); If a Karár prospers, he blocks the Jat'); or 'Dhátá Karár te bhuká bhagiár' ('A Karár after his morning bath is as cross tempered as a hungry wolf'). Or again: 'Karár dandálí te Khoja pháwara' ('The Khoja is a hoe, but the Karár is a rake, *i.e.*, he destroys wholesale').

The chief clans of the Aroras in this district are:—*Dakhnas*, Bajáj, Taneja, Raheja, Batra, Gera, Sadána, Chopra, Kukar, Lulla, Munjál, Ghakkar, Saneja, Khaneja, Juneja, Doreja; Mehndiratta, Giddar; *Utrádhís*, Khorána, Cháwala, Nángpál, Thakrál, Sethí, Kukreja, Thareja; *Dahras*—Sachdev, Nángpál, Ichhaláni. The existence of what appear like totem clans (such as Kukar and Giddar, from which the villages of Kukar Hatta and Sabz Giddar obtain their names) may be marked.* The Aroras (especially in the villages) are not very orthodox, and remarriage of widows is not unknown among them.

1881	... 1,995
1891	... 1,476
1901	. 2,718

There remain the *Bhátias*, who, though one of the smaller Hindu tribes, are remarkable for the firm hold they have got on the land in the neighbourhood of Shujabad. They belong to the same tribe as the Bhátias of the lower Indus, and are believed to have been originally Rájpúts. This chief clan in this district is the Babla, which traces its origin to an ancestor of this name, and which had its original seat in this district at Mári Nún, a few miles east of Shujabad. The chief members of this clan made themselves exceedingly useful to the Multan Nawábs, and took full advantage of the opportunities which Sáwan Mal's *régime* gave to capitalists for the acquisition of land. The leading men among the Bablas and other Bhátia clans are known as Chaudhrís, and the Chaudhrís of Shujabad are renowned for their enterprise, business-like habits and successful agriculture. The Bhátias are rather strict Hindús, they eschew smoking and widow remarriage and abstain from meat and spirits.

Mussalman tribes.

Syads, Koreshis, etc.

1881	.. 8,908
1891	... 11,006
1901	... 10,567

The *Syads* are, properly speaking, the descendants of Ali, who married Bíbí Fátima, the daughter of the Prophet; but it is impossible to say how many of the persons claiming to be Syads can establish their descent. The Syads in this district mostly belong to the more important families—the Gilánís, Gardezís, and so forth, who are described further on in this chapter; but many are men of comparatively obscure position. In addition to the families there mentioned, there is a family of Syads now

* Other such clans are the Nángpál, Nangrú, Gahlar, Gera, Mehndiratta, Cháwala, Pahreja, Taneja and Kataria. The Kukars are said to avoid eating poultry, the Nángpáls to avoid killing snakes, the Mehndirattas, to avoid planting henna, and so forth: but these rules are by no means strictly observed.

Chapter III. C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

Syads, Koreshís, etc.

settled at Kotla Saadat in the Multan tahsil who, about the end of the seventeenth century emigrated to Multan from Kaniguram in the Mahsud country on account of a blood feud: the chief men of this family are at present Wazír Sháh and Lál Sháh. There are also several families in the neighbourhood of Kahror, who are called Jabli Syads, after some mountain (Jabl) in Arabia. The Syads are held in considerable reverence by the people, who salute them with respect and look up to them as pírs. They most of them own lands, but are seldom found actually handling the plough. Members of the sacred and semi-sacred tribes of this part of the Punjab generally have names ending in 'Sháh' (as 'Sher Sháh,' etc.); and though this practice is not uncommon among the Koreshis, Khaggas, Chishtís, etc., it is almost invariable among the Syads.

Closely allied to the Syads are the *Koreshís*, who numbered according to the census of 1881 some 6,100 souls and in 1901, 7,797; they were not separately tabulated in 1891, being included among Sheikhs. The Koreshís claim descent from the tribe to which the Prophet belonged, and the Koreshís of the district are confined mainly to the families of the Makhdúms of Baháwal Hakk in Multan, the guardians of the shrine at Makhdum Rashid, and their immediate connections. The *Shekhs*, who also claim Arab descent, are largely men of inferior status, and include a certain number of Hindu converts, who nearly always assume this appellation. Among the more prominent Shekh tribes are the Ansáris (1,539 in 1881), to whom several respectable families in Multan belong. There are also certain tribes claiming to be *Arabs*, such as the Arbís, who used to hold several villages in the Multan tahsil, but have now fallen into decay. The Arabs of the census return of 1891 are, however, mainly strangers,—Jews and others from Mesopotamia,—who assumed that title for the census night.* Among the tribes claiming an Arab or semi-sacred status are the *Háns*, *Khagga*, *Nekokára* and *Jhandír*, who have all been tabulated in the census as Shekhs. The Háns are found mainly on the Montgomery border; the Nekokára and Jhandír, though found also in Mailsi, are chiefly conspicuous in the direction of Jhang; the Khaggas own land both in the Multan and Mailsi tahsils, and in Pakka Háji Majíd, near Tulamba. All these tribes are looked on with a certain amount of respect. In the troublous days before Sáwan Mal, if any one was distressed he took refuge with a Khagga: and any marauder who entered a Khagga's house was miraculously struck blind.

Shekhs, including Kureshis.

Year		Number
1881	...	12,649
1891	...	12,234
1901	...	14,623

Arabs.

Year		Number
1881	...	475
1891	...	81
1901	...	...

Patháns.

The first settlement in the district of *Patháns* in any numbers took place during the reign of the Emperor Sháh Jahán, after the ineffectual efforts made by the Princes Aurangzeb and

Year		Number
1881	...	[illegible],067
1891	...	7,069
1901	...	8,251

* There were Jews in Multan in the 18th century (p. 31, Gentil's Memoires sur l' Indoustan, 1822).

Chapter III, C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

Pathans.

Dara Shekoh to recover Kandahar from Persia (A.D. 1649—53). The Pathan adherents of the empire then flocked in some numbers into India, and many of them were located by royal grants in this and the neighbouring districts. The position of the refugees was subsequently much improved by the accession of one of their number, Záhid Khan, to the post of Náib-Názim of Multan. From this time for more than a century and a half Afghán influence was predominant throughout the Multan province, and the members of the tribe largely profited by its political predominance. But when Multan fell before Ranjit Singh in 1818, their position became much altered. Naturally Muzaffar Khan had found his most devoted adherents among his own tribe, and these, equally naturally, were objects of special dislike to the Sikh agents who took over charge of the province. During the first two years, accordingly, of Sikh rule many Patháns left the district, finding their claims lightly regarded by the new rulers. Under Sáwan Mal, however, their position again improved. He enlisted them in large numbers into his army, and many who had left their estates after the fall of the city were encouraged to return. During the revolt of Diwan Mulraj they sided for the most part with the British power, and after annexation great efforts were made by them to become reinstated in their former position. The Multani Pathans, as might be expected from their history, belong mostly to clans of the Abdáli or Duráni stock, which, coming from the country round Kandahar and Hirát, are little known in the northern frontier districts. The Abdális are said to be divided into two branches with five main clans in each,* *viz.* :—

Popalzai branch.	*Panjpao branch.*
1. Popalzais.	6. Khákwánis.
2. Bádozais.	7. Alizais.
3. Bámozais.	8. Mákús.
4. Ismailzais.	9. Nurzais.
5. Saddozais (including Khudakkas).	10. Addozais.

Of the above, Nos. 1, 4, 8, 9 and 10 are not found in this district; but families of the remaining clans are fairly common. Besides the above, there are the Taríns, who are an older branch of the stock from which the Abdális are descended, and whose chief sub-clans in this district are the Mallezais and Jamunds : their chief habitat is the Pishin valley. Apart from either of the above are the Bábars, a clan of uncertain origin, but who are said to be Garghushti Pathans and not Afghans proper.

* The names differ from those given on page 205 of Ibbetson's Punjab Ethnography, and on page 96 of Volume II of Elphinstone's Caubul, but I give them as given to me by one of the Multani Pathans. It should be explained that in the Popalzai branch the eldest son is said to have always started a new sept of his own, while the younger sons continued the name of their father; *e.g.*, Bádo was the eldest son of Popal, Bamo of Bádo, and so on.

Pathans.

The Pathans of this district live very largely in Multan city or as fairly large landowners in the villages; they are seldom found following the plough. They alone of any Mahomedan tribe in the district show any taste for Government service, and a certain number are enlisted in Cureton's Multani Horse, the XVth Bengal Lancers. The bulk of that regiment has for some time past been recruited in Dera Ismail Khan and other districts,* but it maintains a certain hold on this district, where several retired native officers and men of the regiment are proprietors of land. Some of the more prominent officers have considerable grants, such as Abdulla Khan at Kot Abdulla in Kabírwála, Rabnawás Khan in the neighbourhood of Multan, Mahomed Nawáz Khán at Bibipur and Bákirpur near Multan, the sons of Nawáb Kale Khan at Bahádurpur in Shujabad, and so forth, while a fair number of the non-commissioned officers and men were recently provided for in a village on the Ráwan rajbaha, some six miles out of Multan. The Pathans in this district are, as a rule, men of gentlemanly manners, even if in a lower position in life, but many of them are reckless and extravagant, and they make, as a rule, poor managers of property. The people have a proverb: Pathán dá pút, kadáhin jinn kadáhin bhút ('A Pathan's son is sometimes a devil, sometimes a demon'), that is to say he is never anything but bad though some are worse than others. This saying is probably a reminiscence of the oppressions practised in the palmy days of Pathan supremacy: for the Pathan, as he now is, it seems a bit hard.

Besides the indigenous Pathans there are a certain number of immigrants, chiefly from the Ghazni direction who come every cold weather and wander about the district, either as builders of walls or as pedlars of fruit, cloth and indigo. They are looked on as excellent workmen, but are a bit turbulent in exacting their dues. They live on the proceeds of begging, and take away with them in the spring the whole of their earnings for the winter. They almost always leave their women behind them in "kirris" in the Derajat, and this accounts for the small proportion of Pathan women returned in the census.

* The composition of the XVth Bengal Lancers (Cureton's Multanis) was on 1st January 1900 as follows:—

		Multan.	*Other Cis Indus Districts.*	*Trans-Indus.*	*Total.*
Multani Pathans	...	21	14	61	96
Other Pathans	...	4	45	94	143
Bilochis	...	1	76	108	185
Miscellaneous	...	2	112	86	200
Total	...	28	247	349	624

The Multani Pathans were of the following clans—Alizais, Khákwánís, Bádozais, Bábars, Addozais, Jamunds, Khalils. Ismailzais, Bámozais, Nurzais, Tarins, Khajakzais, Saddozais, Popalzais and Khalafzais. No members of the eight clans last mentioned were inhabitants of the Multan district.

Chapter III C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

Pathans.

The Pathans in this district, even those of the ragged wall-building species, are commonly addressed by the people as 'Khán' or 'Khán Sáhib.' Of the settled Pathan families very few have any knowledge of Pashto, and they maintain little or no connection with their fellow-tribesmen on or beyond the border, having in most cases intermarried freely with the native races of the district.

Bilochis and Daudpotras.

The *Bilochis* first obtained a footing in the district during the latter half of the fifteenth century, when the Dodais and afterwards the Rinds made incursions into the district, in some cases enlisting as mercenaries under the Langáhs, and, in others, settling down as agriculturists. They are now found for the most part in the Lodhrán tahsil and its immediate neighbourhood; and though they own no very prominent men, they include several sturdy agricultural families of a good stamp in villages such as Wahi Jugguwala, Haveli Nasir Khan, Chauki Sobha Khan, etc. The Biloch villages in the east of Lodhrán are mostly called chaukis; the story being that the Bilochís were settled there as outposts in former days to protect the boundary of the neighbouring desert, which is still known as the Chit Dáin or Desert of Terror. The Bilochís of the district are chiefly Rinds and Korais. They have long been, for practical purposes, ordinary Jats, having forgotten their old language, disused their old costume and intermarried freely with the neigbouring population. They not uncommonly, however, still wear their hair long and among the Rinds the married women wear white clothes only.

1881	...	18,547
1891	...	21,603
1901	...	24,488

The *Daudpotras*, though claiming a separate origin, are commonly looked on as Bilcchís. They are of the same family as the Nawáb of Baháwalpur, and those found in this district are mainly descendants of men who obtained a footing in the Sutlej tahsils during the days of Baháwalpur supremacy. In appearance they resemble the Bilochís. They are mainly tenants and labourers, and own very little land.

1881	...	1,815
1891	...	942
1901	...	070

Moghals.

Of the so-called *Moghals* of the district but few are real Moghals: the assumption of Moghal clan names, such as Chughatta, etc., being a very common practice among the lower castes. The census figures regarding this tribe are therefore specially untrustworthy. Considering the enormous number of Moghal invasions from which the district has suffered, there are remarkably few families in Multan which can show Moghal or Turkish descent. There is a tribe called Kaum, near Mitru, which is said to have come from Central Asia, and at Wahind Sarmani, near Kahror, there are Aibaks: these Aibaks, however, say they are not Turks but Joyas. Possibly some of the innumerable so-called Jat tribes of the district may represent fragments of the

1881	...	4,601
1891	...	10,843
1901	...	8,038

Chapter III C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

Moghal invasions; but after five or six centuries of free inter-marriage, it would probably be difficult to find now many undoubted descendants of the Moghal invaders. Such few Moghals as there are among the peasantry look on themselves as merely a kind of Jats.

Aráíns and Kambohs.

The *Aráíns* of the central Punjab attribute their origin to Multan, and the Aráíns of Multan almost invariably say that they came from the central Punjab or from Hindustan, so that our knowledge of the origin of this tribe is obscure. Possibly both statements are true. They are often found in this district in their usual position of cultivators and market gardeners, but as proprietors they hold two main clusters of villages round Jalla in Mailsi and round Kabírpur in Multan, and are also prominent at Jalla in Lodhrán and elsewhere. As proprietors they are looked upon as fully the equals in rank of the other tribes. Their leading men are called *mullán*. Of the Aráín as a tenant, the people say: 'Aráín tama tain,' which signifies that the Aráín will stay with you as long as you satisfy his greed by advances of money, etc. The Aráíns of Jalla in Lodhrán have a character for high-handedness, which is represented in the local proverb: 'Jalle de Arain ápe chor ápe sain' ('The Arains of Jalla are thieves and judges in one'). The Aráíns are scarcely ever found in this district as sellers of vegetables or greengrocers, professions commonly adopted by them in the Punjab proper but monopolized here (except near Multan city) by Hindus.

1881	...	23,981
1891	...	28,582
1901	...	32,410

The *Kambohs* in this district are an unimportant tribe, with very little property. They often cultivate vegetables, and those so occupied are not uncommonly called Aráíns by the people.

1881	...	987
1891	...	1,318
1901	...	1,953

Jats and Rájpúts.

The *Jats* and *Rájpúts* of the district may conveniently be considered together. The term Jat is to a certain extent recognized as the name of caste or race as it is in the central Punjab, but it is also freely used to include all whose profession is agriculture or pasturage, and to distinguish indigenous tribes of this character from the immigrant Syads, Pathans, Koreshís and others of a similar social status. The word is also used as a common noun to signify a cultivator*; so that it will be readily understood how the tribe 'Jat' does not include a very definite body of men, and how the number recorded as Jats at the various censuses is subject to considerable variations. The term is often found to include on the one side menial or other lowly castes which have taken to agriculture, and, on the other, clans with

		Jats.	*Rájpúts.*
1881	...	102,952	59,627
1891	...	146,082	90,037
1901	...	140,315	91,510

* As when one asks at a well, 'Who is the owner? and who is the Jat?'

Chapter III, C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

Jats and Rájpúts.

pretended or undoubted Rájpút origin. There are no indigenous clans in the district who call themselves in common parlance Jat or Rajpút : each clan is known by its own name, and its classification as a Jat or Rájpút clan is a matter left for the mirási or other outsider to consider. The number of these petty clans is immense (368 such clans were returned in 1881 under the head of "Jat" alone), and attempts to classify them are almost hopeless, as by far the greater number of them are confined to one or two villages, and are quite unable to give any account of themselves or of their relations with any other clan. The chief of the Jat and Rajput clans in the district are—

Siáls,	Náns,
Thahíms,	Drigs,
Traggars,	Langáhs,
Wainees,	Joyas,
Bosans,	Mitrus,
Khokhars,	Khichís,
Marrals,	Langriáls,

and an account of these clans is given below.

Among the less distinguished Jat and Rájpút tribes we find in *Kabírwála* the Sahus, Khaks, Pahors, Dahas, and Pándas; in *Multan*, Kheras, Athangals, Metlas, Ruches, Mahotas, Chhajjras, Ráns, Kálrus, and Hammars; in *Shujabad*, Khákis, Jhakkars, Rids, Lángs, Ruks, Pannúhaus, Shajras, and Jais; in *Lodhrán*, Channars, Ghallus, Utherás, Kánjuns, and Kuliárs; in *Mailsi*, Dhudhis, Sandhals, and Wasirs.

The Jat is the backbone of the agriculture in the district and his boorish habits, his clannishness, his insolence in prosperity, all come in for their share of notice in the sayings of the people: 'Jat ke jánen rah?' ('What does a Jat know of roads? he cuts across country'). 'Jat názuk te sirdá tarorá' ('However particular a Jat may become, he still ties a blanket on his head as a pagri'). 'Jat bhukká kutta, te rajjiá súr'. ('If a Jat is empty, he is a dog; if full, a pig'). 'Jat te phat, baddha change' ('A Jat and a wound should be tied up'). 'Jat pinne te kandh kolon bí ghinne' ('If a Jat begs, he insists on getting something even from a brick wall'). Jat Jatán de sáleh, kar lainde ghála mále' ('All Jats are closely related to each other, and carry out deceitful practices to protect each other'). And yet, after all, a Jat wife is the best and most economical: 'Ran Jatti te hor sab chatti' ('A Jat wife for me: all the rest are a mere waste of money').

The *Siáls* with their various sub-divisions occupy nearly all the villages on both banks of the Rávi in the Kabírwála tahsil. The sub-divisions best known in the district are the Sargána, Hiráj, Thiráj, Sanpál, Dáduané, Duána, Kamlána, Panjuána, Sasráu,

1881	...	27,482
1891	...	30,999
1901	...	30,095

Chapter III, C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

Jats and Rájpúts.

Daulatána* and Mirálí. They all take their names from various descendants of the common ancestor, Seo or Siál, whose pedigree table is given in Appendix III of Sir Charles Roe's report of the second Regular Settlement. Siál is said to have been a son of Rai Shankar, a Panwár Rajpút. He migrated to the Punjab, and was converted to Islam by Bábá Farid of Pákpattan in the time of the Emperor Ala-ud-din Ghori, or about 1250 A.D. He married the daughter of Bahádur Khan, a local chief, and his sons established themselves in Chauntra, and then across the Chenáb in Jhang, which they ruled more or less independently down to the time of Ranjit Singh. Ahmad Khan, the then chief, was direct descendant and male representative of Siál; after repulsing one or two attacks, he was at length defeated by the Maharaja and his country annexed. He was, however, granted a jágír, and his descendants still reside and hold land in Jhang. During the period of the Siál supremacy and the breakdown of the Moghal power large bands of this tribe appear to have passed down southwards and to have settled in their present habitat along the banks of the Rávi. Amongst the Sargánas the leading men at present are Salábat of Kund Sargána and Ahmad of Bágar; there is also a branch of this clan settled in the Mailsi tahsil. Among the Hirájs there is the Chauki Muhan family described below, and the family of Nur Mahomed of Chauki Siág. The Siál clans of the Rávi above Tulamba (especially the Sanpáls and Panjuánas) have a bad name for cattle-lifting; they contain several zamindars who are possessed of energy and strong character, but none of any eminence.

1881 ...	2,821
1891 ...	4,300
1901 ...	4,540

The *Thahíms* appear from the Ain-i-Akbari to have been a common tribe in the district in the days of Akbar. The bulk of the present Thahíms, however, are said to have immigrated from Chiniot at the time of the Siál upheaval in the eighteenth century; and there are still Thahíms in Chiniot and its neighbourhood. The Thahíms claim Arabic descent, and they say that their immediate ancestor, Sámbhal Sháh, came to Multan seven hundred years ago, killed the local chief, and reigned in his stead for forty years. The tribe is now found mainly on the Chenáb in the south-west of the Kabírwála tahsil, where they have a bad name for crime. They are also found in other parts of the district especially in the tract between Lodhran and Kahror. The chief Thahím family in the district is that of Pír Bakhsh, of Mamdál. Among the remarkable men whom the tribe has produced are Sadullah Khan, the Prime Minister of the Emperor Sháh Jahán, and Shekh Jalál, one of the learned men of Agrá in the days of Humáyún. The tribe, therefore, was not always a purely agricultural one, and there may be something true in

* To be distinguished from the Joya Daulatánas of the Luddan tract in Mailsi.

Chapter III, C. — Tribes, Castes and Leading Families. Jats and Rájpúts.

their claims to Arabic extraction. The Báni Tamím are a large tribe in Arabia, and the Báni Taím are a Koreshi clan to which the first Caliph belonged.

The *Traggars* hold a few villages on the Chenáb next the Thahims. They say they are Bhatti Rájpúts, and take their name from their ancestral home at Traggar in Bikanír. They first immigrated to Jhang, but about one hundred and fifty years ago, on account of quarrels with the Siáls, they left that district and settled under their leaders, Hasta, Mulah and Salábat, on the banks of the Chenáb, where they hold a few villages both on the Multan and on the Muzaffargarh side of the river.

The *Vains* clan hold two villges on the extreme north of the Multan tahsil, and their leading man is Kádir Bakhsh, zaildar. They are also found in the north of the Shujabad tahsíl. They say they are Hajua Rájpúts, and that their ancestor Vains came to Multan from Sakesar in the days of Firoz Sháh. The *Bosans* headed by Núr Mahomed Khan Bosan, hold the villages south of the Vains; their ancestor is said to have come from Haidarabad in Sindh as a disciple of Baháwal Hakk, and to have received from his master some of the land which the latter obtained from the ruler of Multan.

The *Khokhars* of the district are not a very important clan, except for the one family described further on this chapter. The Khokhars are sometimes looked on as a distinct tribe, with Awán or with Arab origin, and sometimes as a clan of the Jats or Rájpúts. The figures in the margin included all the Khokhars returned at the census, but the large rise between 1881 and 1891 is not easily accounted for, unless it be due to the inclusion of menials under this name. The Khokhars themselves generally attribute their origin to one Kutb Sháh, who came from Ghazni to Sakesar with the conquerer Mahmud, and from whom the Awáns also are said to be descended. Writing on the census of 1891, Maulvi Mahomed Hussain notes as follows regarding another story of their origin :—' The author of the Jawáhir Farídi, a book written in 1016 by one of the descendants of Báwa Faríd, gives the Khokhars an Arab origin, but he gives us no detail. I think this authority cannot be relied on, because the descendants of Báwa Faríd took their wives out of the Khokhar families of Pákpattan; and this fact might have induced them to give an Arab origin to the Khokhars.' The Khokhars, from whatever origin descended, were a considerable power in the tract between Jhelum and Multan at the time of the invasion of Tamerlane; but their history has been somewhat obscured owing to their being constantly confused in the written records with the Ghakkars.

1881	...	8,895
1891	...	17,612
1901	...	11,606

Chapter III, C.
Tribes Castes and Leading Families.
Jats and Rájpúts.

The *Marrals*, like the Khokhars, are for the most part represented by a single family only. They are said to be by descent Rájpúts, and were the founders of the village of Kasba in the Multan tahsil. Abdul Nabi, Rai Baman and Rai Khair Mahomed are said to have come from Karnál some four hundred years ago. Their chiefs afterwards dropped the title of Rai, and are now spoken of as Chaudhri. Chaudhri Sultan Bakhsh, the grandfather of the present Chaudhri, Sher Bakhsh, was reckoned one of the greatest zamindars of the district, as he was able to afford to keep horses. Sher Bakhsh, the present head of the family, is a notorious spendthrift, and the race has of late much degenerated. In the time of Akbar the Marrals were the principal tribe of the Islampur and Ismailpur parganas, and there are still traces of their former power in many villages in the south of the Multan and the north of the Shujabad tahsil.

In the north of Shujabad the predominant clan is that of the *Núns*, who are said to be a sub-division of the Bhatti Rájpúts, and to have migrated from some place called Thánewáhan, which is said to have been in the direction of Delhi. The date of the immigration appears uncertain, but they say that their ancestor Rájwaddan was converted by Makhdúm Jahánian of Uchh, or, as others say, by Saiyad Jalál. They first settled at Bhangála in Shujabad, and afterwards extended over the greater part of the north of the tahsil, and their villages benefited greatly by the opening of canals in the times of the Nawábs. They are now somewhat decaying, but still hold a good deal of land. Rána Pallia, Rána Khudáyár, Rána Fatteh Mahomed and Rána Mahomed Ali are their chief men. The Núns are said to be connected with the Jais, Jhakkars and Uteras : Jai and Uterá being represented as brothers of Nún, and Jhakkar as son of Jai. The Jakkars, who live immediately north of the Núns in the Shujabad tahsil retain, like them, the old title of Rána. I have also seen a manuscript genealogy in which Utherá, Kánjun and Kuliár (the names of three well-known tribes in this district) are represented as the brothers of Nún and the sons of Rájwaddan above mentioned.*

The *Drigs*, who are found along the banks of the Chenáb, attribute their origin to 'Kech Makran', and like other tribes who came from the direction of Sindh they are known by the appellation of 'Jám.' They are thought to be Rájpúts from Sindh who were driven out from that country in the end of the fifteenth century by the oppression of the ruler of Thatta.

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* In the following rhyme the Channars also are added :—
Jhakkar Channar Kánjun Nún to Uterá,
Hin Ráne Shaitán de panje bújh bhará.
All five clans assume the title of Rána, and all five would seem to have given cause of offence to the maker of the couplet.

Chapter III C.

Tribes Castes and Leading Families.

Jats and Rájpúts.

1881	...	4,491
1891	...	2,402
1901	...	2,927

The *Langáhs* hold villages in various parts of the Shujabad tahsil, but are in chief strength towards the south. The figures given for this tribe in the various censuses differ a good ideal, possibly owing to their being confused with the Lángs, a smaller tribe of the same neighbourhood. The Langáhs, as has been noticed in Chapter II above, furnished a dynasty of rulers who were supreme in Multan for about eighty years, from 1445 to 1526 A.D. The Langáhs of that dynasty are said by Firishta to have come from Sibi, and he is quoted as ascribing to them an Afghan origin.* The people themselves, so far as they know about their original habitat, locate it at Delhi, and some persons throw doubt on the identity of the present Langáhs and those of the old reigning dynasty; but as Fírishta gives Rappri (a small village on the Chenáb in the south of the Shujabad tahsil) as the original home in this district of the Langáhs whom he mentions, and as the Langáhs now resident in the district own large areas of land, it seems only reasonable to suppose that the Langáhs, now extant and those of Fírishta are one and the same race.† In former times the Langáhs owned several villages which are now in other hands. It is not unlikely that the Langáhs were Rájpúts from Sindh, and some say that they were Panwárs, and that they are allied to the Bhuttas, Kharrals, Harrals and Laks. It is also stated by mírásís that Langáh, Bhutta, Dahar, Shajrá and Naich (all now represented by tribes in this district) were five sons of one Mahlí, and this may reflect some original connection between those various clans.‡ Some of them claim Arabic descent according to the fashion prevalent in this part of the Punjab (where Rájpút descent is thought of little account), and say that Shujaat Khan, who founded the village of Shujaatpur, came from Arabia six hundred years ago. The chief man of the tribe is now Lál Khan, who lives at Shujaatpur but Ghulám Mohamed, of Jahánpur, and Yáran Khan, of Rukanbatti, are also well to do, and respectable members of the tribe. The chief Langáh clans are Sanpál, Raizáda, Jore,

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* The Lucknow edition of Fírishta describes Rai Sahra as 'Sardár-i-jumá'at-i-Afghán Langáh'; but there seems to be some doubt about this. The Langáhs ordinarily have names ending in Khán, like the Pathans of this part of the Punjab.

† The following rhyme, recited by a mírásí of Rukanbatti, can scarcely refer to any one but Husain Khan, Langáh :—

Khán Husain takht baithá, kabr that chauchakk,
Hikk dháwaní Multan gioso nál súm sarakk.
Takár Tátár dharm mánge: líkkadi nakk
Khán Husain pái vaddi bhág bakhatt.

'Khan Husain sat on the throne and wide was his fame; he went with one dash to Multan in great wrath; he took an oath from the Turks (?) and Tartars: they drew a line in the dust with their noses: Khan Husain obtained great rank and fortune.'

‡ The verse runs :—

Sagli jihándı dí [illegible], Sodí jihán dí ma.
Mahlí jái panj putr—Dahr, Bhutta, Langáh, Naich, Shajrá.

Chapter III C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

Jats and Rajpúts.

Jabuje and Jahankhánia. There are also some families of Langáhs at Rath Mammar in the Mailsi bár: these men are fakírs and do medicine work, and are said to have no connection with the other Langáhs.

1881	...	5,532
1891	...	5,649
1901	...	7,212

The *Joyas* hold most of the land along the Sutlej in the Mailsi tahsil. Cunningham would identify them with the Yaudhias, who are thought to have been in the same tract of country before the Christian era. The Joyas themselves say that they are Rájputs from Bikanir, and Mr. Morris, the Settlement Officer of 1858, states that they came from Sindh. They are said to have been converted by Rukn-i-Alam in the fourteenth century, but their own account places their conversion earlier. They say that eight hundred years ago Rai Jalál-ud-din and Rai Kamál-ud-din, two brothers, and Fatteh Khan were sent by the Delhi emperor against Khar, a Bhatti chief then ruling in Kahror, and that after defeating Khar they held his land in farm from the Delhi sovereign. As noted in the description of Kahror in Chapter VI, below, there is reason to believe that this Khar or Kahr lived not earlier than the fourteenth century, and the first immigration of the Joyas probably dates from then. Jalál-ud-din remained at Kahror, while Fatteh Khan settled at Fattehpur. In the time of Akbar the Joyas were the predominant tribe of the Mailsi and Lodhran tahsils. Then, or soon after, probably, the four brothers—Jágan, Mangan, Luddan and Lál—colonized the country round Luddan; and, as time went on, fresh bands came over the Sutlej. In the latter days of the empire the Joyas were a turbulent element in the population, but were kept somewhat in order by the Daudpotras. They contain a vast number of sub-clans, of which at present the Daulatanas, the Salderas and the Lakhweras are the most prominent. The chief family among the Joyas was, till lately, that of Dín Mahomed Khan, of Kahror: but Dín Mahomed died in 1891, leaving two young sons, who are still minors, and the widow has allowed the family property and position to decay. The chief men, among the Joyas at present are Ghulám Mahomed, of Luddan, and his only son, Ghulám Kádir, who are held in great respect throughout the tahsil on account of their energy and liberality. There is also a fairly well-to-do family at Saldera formerly headed by Fatteh Khan, but the family has decreased in importance under Fatteh Khan's son, Ghulám Mahomed Saldera.

1881	...	3,046
1891	...	1,269
1901	...	1,558

The *Khichis* are a branch of the Chauháns and are said to be descended from one Khichi Khan, who was ruler in Ajmir, and afterwards obtained possession of Delhi, from which he was driven out by the Mahomedans. His descendants, Sísan and Vadan, migrated to Multan in the time of the Moghal

Chapter III C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

Jats and Rájpúts

sovereigns: Sisan founded Faddah and Vadan Shergarh. They fought with the Joyas, then paramount in this direction, and the names of Rai Lúna Khichi, of Sakhi Dalel and of Ali Khan are still remembered among them. There is a tale, too, to the effect that the Bilochis of Khai having in Moghal times become rebellious, the Khichis were sent against them under two brothers, Husain Khan and Háji Fatteh; but there is no indication of the date of this event. The Khichís fought also against the Sikhs under Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh, and were discomfited. The tribe still holds several villages round Mailsi: their chief men are Núr Mahomed, of Fadda, and Azam Khan, of Aliwah. The variations in the numbers returned at the various censuses are due probably to the Khichís being in some cases classed as Chauháns, and in others separately enumerated.

The *Mitrús* own a small circle of villages to the north of Mailsi. They say they are Bhatti Rájpúts, and that their ancestor Mitrú came from Bikanír two hundred years ago and founded the village of Tibba. When this village decayed about a century later, one Saran set forth and founded Mitru. The chief man among the Mitrús at present is Nasír Bakhsh.

The *Langriáls*, who inhabit the whole of the eastern bár country, are a comparatively new tribe in the district. The tribe is found in Ráwalpindi and Siálkot also, where they claim a Solar Rájpút descent. It is sometimes stated that the Multan Langriáls claim descent from a Brahman of Bikanír, but an inspection of their *kursi náma*, shows that it is only their mírásí who claims this descent: the Langriáls themselves, like many other converted tribes, say they are from Arabia and are Koreshís; and that they held power for some time in Tatta in Sindh under one Ghiás-ud-din, who from the extent of his public kitchen (langar), obtained the clan name of Langriál. Ghiás-ud-din is said to have been a contemporary of Shaháb-ud-din Ghori, and to have gone with him to Delhi; after which the tribe is found wandering *via* Kashmir to Sháhpur, and then driven from Sháhpur to Gariála in Jhang. From this they went to the Kamália iláka in Montgomery, from which they removed in the time of Shuja Khan to their present habitat in the country formerly held by the Háns tribe round Kamánd. Their two chiefs were Wága and Rahmán. Máchhia, the descendant of Wága, lives at Kamánd and Bákir, the descendant of Rahmán, at Sharaf. Both hold jágirs in return for services in 1857 against the Káthias and the mutinous Multan regiments. The Langriáls are by nature nomads, and by habit cattle-lifters; but they are by degrees settling down to more stable and reputable means of living.

1881	...	...
1891	...	2,375
1901	...	3,174

Chapter III C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

The inferior tribes.

Of the more lowly castes which are sometimes found engaged in agricultural pursuits, those mentioned in the margin are the most prominent.

	1881.	1891.	1901.
Jhabels ...	1,868	1,154	2,954
Kehals ...	232	27	78
Labánas ..	307	175	222
Mahtams ..	1,193	3,802	5,127
Ods ...	3,450	2,362	3,782
Pakhiwáras ...	727	866	1,053

The *Jhabels* and *Kehals* are fishing tribes who live by the bank of the river. They both say they came from Sindh, and the Kehals are said to be given to polygamy on a large scale. The *Labánas* in this district are vagrants, who make ropes and mats, and who are usually spoken of (with some contempt) as 'Sikhs,' without further designation; being as a rule Moná Sikhs and not Mahomedans. The *Mahtams*, who are found in larger, numbers, are both Mussalman and Hindu the former being mainly cultivators (and good ones); the latter clearers of jungle, hunters of pig and so forth. They have a dark complexion, say they came from Sindh, and claim a Rájpút origin. Some of the Mahtams near Multan city are said to be really Jats, who were called Mahtams from having settled on the homes and lands of an old Mahtam colony. The Mahtams are looked down upon, and the local proverb says: 'Do jhugge Mahtamán de te nán Khairpur' ('Two Mahtam huts and the village called Khairpur'). A village in Kabírwála was known for many generations by the name of Mahtamán; but when the Sidhnai canal was extended to it, and it was colonized by Dabs from Jhang, the name of the village was by special request altered to Khan Bahádurgarh. The *Ods* are wandering caste, mostly Hindus, living by earthwork and carrying their grass huts and other belongings with them on donkeys from place to place. Occasionally (as in Dera Buddhu Malik near Multan) they are found in settled houses. The *Pakhiwáras* are also vagrants: Mussalman by religion and owing their name to the *Pakhis* or reed huts in which they dwell. A wandering tribe of somewhat thievish propensities, called Márath, is also found, mainly in the northern part of the district.

Chapter III. C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

The menial castes.

The figures for the menial castes as returned at the censuses are shown in the margin. The workers in leather are in this district entirely Mussalmans and are known as *Mochís*, not as Chamárs. The scavengers also are mainly Mussalmans and are spoken of as *Kotánas*, Kurtánas or Mussallís. In the same way, the washermen are known as *Charhoas* and the weavers as *Paolís*, and both these castes are also almost entirely Mussalman. The remaining menial castes are much as the central Punjab. Oil-seeds not being plentifully grown *Telís* are fewer than in the centre and east of the province; but, as might be expected, Malláhs and Kassábs are much more common. Generally speaking, the distinction between the menial and agricultural castes is far less marked in this part of the province than in the centre and in the east. Owing to the lack of village sites, the menials are very often found as tenants or farm-servants, and are in such circumstances spoken of and treated as ordinary Jats. With certain restrictions, too, the intermarriage of menials with the agricultural tribes is comparatively common. The Kotánas are distinguished from the other menial castes by their catholicity in the matter of food; they eat anything clean or unclean; (always excepting snakes, rats, spiders jackals and pigs); but in other respects are outwardly Mahomedans, going to the mosques, being married by nikáh and burying their dead. They very commonly call themselves Khokhars, just as the Náís commonly call themselves Bhattís. The sweeper in bad years is a humble individual, but when his wants are satisfied there is no holding him! 'Palli vichh dáne kuddan kutáne' ("Grain in bin; the Kutána leaps in his

	1881.	1891.	1901.
Chamárs and Mochís (leather-workers) ...	16,542	15,864	24,894
Chúhras (sweepers) ...	29,489	32,026	*37,720
Charhoas (washermen) ...	11,875	9,399	†14,082
Kassábs (butchers) ...	5,914	4,978	3,817
Kumhárs (potters) ...	13,716	12,478	18,823
Paolís (weavers) ...	23,753	28,545	27,232
Lohárs (ironsmiths) ...	2,768	2,553	3,774
Machhís and Jhínwars (watermen)	9,913	9,989	13,287
Malláhs or Mohánas (boatmen)	6,011	5,916	7,746
Mírásís (bards) ...	7,510	7,699	10,767
Náís (barbers) ...	6,035	6,149	8,436
Tarkháns (carpenters) ...	11,915	10,427	17,356
Telís (oilmen)	484	1,228	1,119

* Including Kutánas.

† Returned as Dhobi.

The tribes as landowners.

pride'). He is indispensable for winnowing, and the winnowing-fan is, as it were, the emblem of his race: 'Chuhre kún chhaj di vadáí' ('The winnowing-fan is the sweeper's boast'). He also makes ropes, especially for wells.

The following figures show the area in acres held by each main caste or tribe at the Settlement of 1873—1880 :—

Tribes.	Multán.	Shujabad.	Lodhrán.	Mailsi.	Kabírwala.	Total.
I.—Hindus.						
Brahmans, Karárs and Gosáíns	2,155	2,623	4,596	5,403	1,382	16,159
Rájpúts	67	..	...	...	...	67
Khatris	8,308	} 67,497	{ 4,395	} 95,924	{ 672	} 309,997
Kirárs and Sunárs ...	36,793		91,842		2,566	
Other Hindus	50	532	378	23	..	983
Total Hindus ..	47,373	72,652	101,211	101,350	4,620	327,206
II.—Mahomedans.						
Syads and Koreshís .	65,867	12,364	37,403	60,165	37,759	213,548
Pathans	32,548	} 3,918	{ 5,079	} 51,824	953	124,185
Bilúchis...	78		19,735			
Rájpúts	199	...	.	...	..	199
Jats	193,747	96,222	242,189	391,605	106,859	1,030,622
Other Mahomedans ...	1,224	716	3,466	...	1,837	7,243
Total Mahomedans ..	293,663	113,210	317,872	503,594	147,408	1,375,747
III.—Village Servants	2,815	1,983	5,066	1,803	342	12,011
IV.—Miscellaneous.						
(i.e., Government, Companies, Europeans) ..	38,606	3,889	15,767	10,010	74,063	142,335
Grand Total ...	382,457	191,734	439,918	616,757	226,433	1,857,299

Similar figures were not compiled in the recent Settlement, but the percentage of area held by each of the more prominent groups in each tahsil is noticed in the Assessment Reports. Of the whole proprietary area 26 per cent. is now held by Hindus, most of whom are Karárs; and 74 per cent. is held by Mahomedans, the majority of whom are Jats, to whom, however, the Syads and Pathans bear a good proportion. The holdings of the Karárs and Syads are scattered all over the district; so, too, are the Pathans and Bilochis, who, however, are most numerous in Mailsi and Lodhrán, and very few in Kabirwála. The localities of the Mahomedan Jats are very distinctly marked.

Chapter III, C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

The tribes as landowners.

The banks of the Rávi are held by the Siáls, including their sub-divisions of Hirájs, Sargánas, Daduánas, Panjuánas, etc. Along the Chenáb to the borders of the Multan tahsil the villages belong mainly to Thahíms and Traggars. In Multan the predominance of any one tribe of Jats is not so clearly marked; but in Shujabad, the Khokhars, Núns, Khákhís, Làngs, Kachálas, and Langáhs are found in more or less solid groups. In Lodhrán again the groups are not so very well marked; but in Mailsi the Joyas, with their sub-divisions, hold almost all the Sutlej lands. Behind these come extensive groups of Khichís, Aráíns, Syads, Pathans and Mitrus, whilst the *bár*, as far as it is habitable, is occupied mainly by Langriáls.

In each of the assessment reports of the recent Settlement there is a map showing roughly the distribution of these various landowning tribes.

History of tribal immigrations.

If the history of the various tribes is investigated, it will be found that there is scarcely a single important tribe now found in the district which has not immigrated within the last five or six hundred years. The whole population for many centuries has been in a state of constant flux, and it is of very little use trying to discover who the original inhabitants or the inhabitants in pre-Mahomedan times can have been. In Kabírwála the Khaks, Pándas, Pahors and Sahús have locally the reputation of being the four most ancient tribes in the tahsil; but there are traditions that the Khaks came from Jammu in the seventeenth century, and we find the Sahús still immigrating from Márwár in Akbar's time and the Pahors still immigating from Bikanír in the time of Jahángír. The earliest landmark in the immigrations of the district is the arrival of the Gardezi Syads in the twelfth century, when they received large grants along the old Rávi in the Kabírwála and Multan tahsils. In the thirteenth century came the Koreshís, and their proselytizing movements throw some further light on the tribal arrangements of the day. The Dhudhís, for instance, were at that time established in the extreme east of the Mailsi tahsil; and the Aráíns of the Multan tahsil appear to have begun immigrating about this time from Lahore. The Kheras, north of Multan, would seem to have arrived about this time from the direction of the Lakhi jungle. In Tamerlane's time we find the Khokhars in considerable power in the north of Kabírwála, but their settlement in their present habitat dates from the time of Humáyún. Shortly after this we find the Langahs, who had arrived from Sivi, in sufficient power to start a local dynasty, and during the time of Langáh supremacy began the incursions of the Bilochís from the south.

When the Ain-i-Akbari was written the Sahús held the country round Tulamba, and Sandas already occupied the present mouth of the Rávi near Khatpur Sanda. Over a good deal of the Multan

Chapter III, C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

History of tribal immigrations.

tahsíl, and in other parts of the district also Thahíms were then in force; but this tribe is now mainly confined to a group of villages on the Chenáb north of Multán, and the colonization of those villages probably dates from a later period than that of Akbar. The country immediately south of Multán was in the hands of the Marrals. The Ghallus and Channars were in much the same area as they now occupy in the south-west corner of the district; and the Joyas were in considerable force all along the Sutlej. The Utherás, too, were settled round Dunyapur, and the Khichís were in possession of their present haunts north of Mailsi.

According to tradition, it is to Akbar's time that we must ascribe the arrival of Tángras and Dheds to the neighbourhood of Sirdárpur, and of the Drigs from Kech Makran to Amanullapur and Bet Kech, and of the Lángs to the banks of the old Biás in the centre of the Shujabad tahsíl. About this time, too, apparently the Núns settled down in the north of Shujabad, and in the time of Jehángír the Khákís from Bhatner settled between the Núns and the Chenáb river. In Moghal times, also came the Khádals and Athangals from Jammu to the north of the Multán tahsíl, the Jánglas of Wán Chatta from Jhang, the Ráns of Ran Labidarya from Delhi, the Vainses from Sakesar, the Mahotas of Ináyatpur from Umarkot, the Ganwens of central Shujabad from Delhi, the Kánjuns from Delhi, the Panrúhans of southern Shujabad from the south, the Mitrús from Bikanír and the Arains of Lodhrán and Mailsi from Lahore. In the same period came the Arbis,—it is said from Arabia,—who were treated with consideration and given several villages round Multán, on which they have now to a large extent lost their hold. But the chief feature of this period is the large colonisation scheme carried out by Shahzáda Murád Bakhsh, who was governor of Multán in the time of Shah Jahán. It appears that for some reason or other—a change in the course of a river or the extirpation of some rebellious tribe—a large tract between the old Rávi and the Chenáb north of Multán was then available for settlement, and under the supervision of the State a number of foreign tribes were introduced into this tract: the Kálrú employés of Shah Jahán's army were rewarded with the land where Nawábpur and other Kálrú villages now stand; Mahe pilgrims from Jammu were given the site of Sharífpur, Saleh Mahe and Bahádurpur; Metlas from the north country settled at Basti Raza Khán; Sandílas from Delhi acquired Binda Sandíla; Buches got Buch Mubárik, and Suras from Delhi founded Alamdi Sura and Tindni.

In the reign of Aurangzeb arrived the Pathán refugees from Kandahár, who were afterwards so largely to affect the fortunes of the district; and with the break up of the empire in the early part of the eighteenth century still greater changes commenced. The upheaval of the Siáls in Jhang drove a

Chapter III, C

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

History of tribal immigrations.

body of Thabíms from Chiniot into the west of the Kabirwala tahsíl, and an influential family of Syads from the same place to the tract north of the Rávi. These were followed later by the Siáls themselves, who established themselves firmly along the Sidhnai reach. About the middle of the century the Daúdpotras crossed the Sutlej and occupied the Mailsi and Lodhrán tahsíls; and with the drying up of the Biás and the starting of the new canal systems, a good deal of local shifting took place among the tribes of the district, more especially among the Khichís and other tribes formerly dependant on the Biás for their livelihood. The wars of the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries gave a further impetus to change, and amid the devastation which overtook the district (and more particularly that part of it between Multán and Tulamba, which was so constantly crossed by the Pathán and Sikh armies), tribes were constantly leaving the desolated areas for new homes in safer tracts; and at the close of this period occurred the last great tribal immigation—that of the Langrials from Kamália to the eastern *bár* of Mailsi.

After the advent of the Sikh power there was no marked immigration from outside; but the colonization of the Diwánwáh and the constant grants of property to Hindu capitalists gave rise to a great deal of local shifting. Under the British rule the chief changes in the local population have been due to the starting of the three great canals—the Durána Langána, the Hájíwáh and the Sidhnai. The Durána Langána, which was formerly a comparatively small cut, was greatly enlarged and extended so as to colonize a large part of the western Rawa of the Multán tahsíl. The Hájiwáh, constructed by the Khákwáni Pathans, resulted in the attraction of a large number of tenants especially from the Rávi, to the irrigated areas of Mailsi. And finally the Sidhnai canal has caused the immigration, not only of owners and tenants from a radius of 100 miles around, but also of Sikh and other settlers from the central Punjab, such as the Kambohs and Nain Jats from Chunián, Badheches from Amritsar and Batala, and Rájpúts from Jullundur. Of late years, however, the attractions of the Sidhnai have had to compete with those of the Chenáb canal; and it is probable that in time a large number of the inhabitants of the Rávi riverain will permanently immigrate to the happier areas of stable irrigation.

Honorary titles.

In connection with the tribal constitution of the district, it is of some interest to note the honorary titles of respect affixed by the people to the names of the more prominent men. The Ballas of Shujabad and some of the Aroras are spoken of as *Chaudhri*. Aroras of position, especially in the east of the district, are called *Mahta*; Brahmans are known as *Pandit* or *Misr*; traders from Shikarpur, etc., as *Seth* or *Bhai*; and there are Khatri families in Multán which are addressed as *Malik* or *Raizáda*.

Chapter III C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

Honorary titles.

Among Mahomedans the term *Malik* is applied to the chief men among the Khokhars, Vainses and some other clans. The Hirájs are called *Mahr*; the Marrals, *Chaudhri*; and the Aráíns, *Mullán*. The Núns, Utherás and Jakkhars retain the old Hindu title of *Ràna*, and the Drigs, Lárs, Samejas and Mohánas the title of *Jám*. Patháns and Daúdpotrás are spoken of as *Khán Sáhib*, and Syads as *Sháh Sáhib*. Syads are also called *Pír*, and the Bhutta family of Khairpur is addressed as *Pírzáda*. The title *Nawáb* is applied sometimes by the people to members of prominent Pathán families, such as the Khákwánís and Bádozais; but the only persons connected with the district who are entitled to this appellation are Nawáb Alladád Khan Saddozai and Nawáb Rabnawáz Khan Alizai, both of whom live in Dera Ismail Khan. The title *Makhdúm* is applied to the actual guardians of the shrines of Bahávval Hakk, Sher Shah, Shah Yusaf Gardezi, Sultán Ahmad Kattál and Músa Pák Shahíd, and it is sometimes extended to one or two of their immediate relations. The title is one of considerable honour, and its use is jealously reserved by those who are traditionally authorized to enjoy it.

Darbáris.

The following is a list of the Raises in the district who in June 1902 had places assigned to them in the Provincial or Divisional Darbárs :—

Provincial Darbaris of the Multan district.

1. Makhdúm Hassan Bakhsh, Koreshi of Multán.
2. Mahomed Yár Khan, Khákwáni, Pathán of Multan.
3. Makhdúm Sadr-ud-dín Shah, Syad of Multán.
4. Ashik Mahomed Khan, Badozai, Pathán of Multán.
5. Haidar Shah Gardezi, Syad of Salárwáhan.
6. Diwán Sultan Ahmad of Jalálpur Pírwála.

The following being Honorary Magistrates were entitled to a seat in the Lieutenant-Governor's Darbár by virtue of their office :—

1. Lala Netsi Das.
2. Makhdúm Shekh Rájú.
3. Lala Shiva Rám.
4. Mahomed Yár Khan.
5. Raizáda Ram Chand.
6. Syad Hassan Bakhsh, Gardezi, Khan Bahádur.

} Multán City.

7. Makhdúm Hassan Bakhsh.
8. Lala Tola Rám.
9. Syad Ghulám Rasúl Shah, Kuranga.
10. Shekh Riáz Hussain, Honorary Extra Assistant Commissioner.
11. Mahar Allayár, Honorary Magistrate.
12. Khan Bahádur Rabnawáz Khan, Multán.
13. Diwán Sultán Ahmad, Jalálpur, Pírwála.

Chapter III C.

Tribes Castes and Leading Families.

Leading families.

The following were entitled to a seat in Divisional Darbárs :—

Divisional Darbáris.

1. Shekh Riáz Husain, Koreshi of Multán.
2. Makhdúm Shekh Rájú, Gardezi of Multán.
3. Syad Hámid Shah, Gardezi, Syad of Multán (dead).
4. Rabnawáz Khan, Khakwáni of Multán.
5. Khan Bahadur Hassan Bakhsh, Gardezi Syad, of Multán.
6. Munshi Asa Nand, Bagai of Multán, retired Extra Assistant Commissioner.
7. Zulfikár Shah, Gardezi of Multán.
8. Núr Mahomed Khán, Khuddaka Pathán, of Multán.
9. Mahomed Afzal Khan, Khákwáni Pathán, of Multán.
10. Diwán Sultán Ahmad, Syad of Jalálpur.
11. Mubárak Ali Shah, Syad of Sher Shah.
12. Faizullah Shah, Koreshi of Ghauspur.
13. Syad Habibullah Shah, Syad of Baghdád
14. Ghulám Rasúl, Bhutta of Khairpur.
15. Mahomed Bakhsh, Bhutta of Khairpur.
16. Risáldar Ghulám Haidar Khán, Bábar Pathán of Multán.
17. Máchra, Langrial of Kamánd.
18. Mahar Allah Yar Hiráj of Chauki Mahan.
19. Lál Khán, Langah of Shujaátpur.
20. Seth Tek Chand, Shikarpuri of Multán.
21. Chándhri Asa Nand of Shujabad.
22. Ghulám Rasúl Shah, Syad of Kuranga.
23. Ináyat Khan Sargána of Kund Sargána.
24. Karm Khán, Daha of Khanewál.
25. Malik Faiz Bakhsh, Khokhar.
26. Sirdár Sháh of Ghauspur

The following have been approved by the Commissioner as entitled to the courtesy of a chair :—

Kursi Nashins.

1. Seth Gopál Sahai of Multán.
2. Ghulám Mahomed Khán, Daulatána of Luddan.
3. Seth Hákim Rai, Tálwar of Multan.
4. Maulvi Shams-ud-din, Koreshi of Multán.
5. Mahomed Makhúl, Bhutta of Khairpur.
6. Dost Mahomed Khan, Khákwáni, Durpur.
7. Chaudhri Shám Singh, Chawla, of Shujabad.
8. Khálikdád Khán, Pathán of Núrgarh.
9. Chaudhri Ram Kishán, of Sikandrabad.
10. Taj Mahmúd, Záildar of Borána.

Chapter III, C.

Tribes Castes and Leading Families.

11. Ghulám Kádar Khan, Daulatána, Zaildár of Luddan
12. Chaudhri Narain Singh of Shujabad.
13. Mahmúd Shah of Thath Ghalwán.

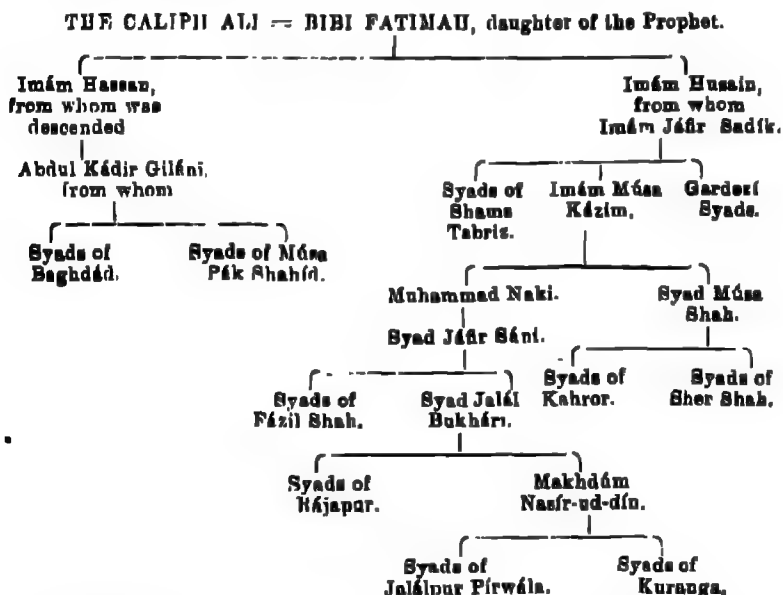
Leading families

It is impossible to give an account of all the persons included in the above lists. Below, however, will be found a brief description of the more prominent of these, as well as some other families well known in the district. The families described are :—

The Syads.	The Hirá s of Chauki Multan.
The Koreshís.	The Khokhars.
The Bhuttas of Khairpur.	The Babla Chaudhrís of Shujabad.
The Patháns.	

The Syad families.

The traditional genealogical connection of the chief Syad families of the district is shown in the following table :—

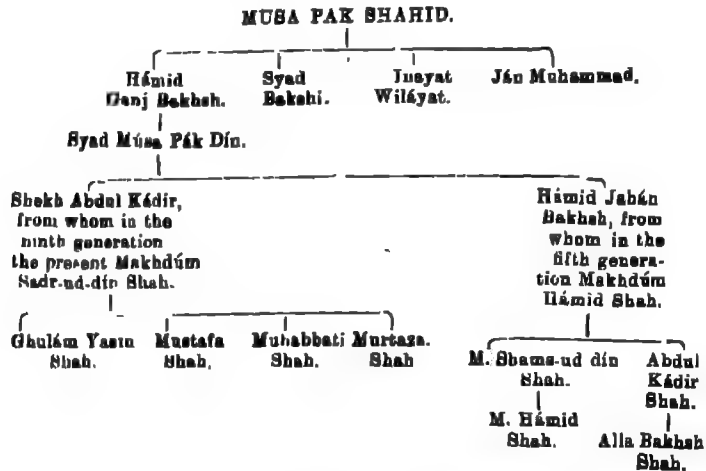
THE CALIPH ALI = BIBI FATIMAH, daughter of the Prophet.

The above table includes ten separate families, some of whom possess considerable wealth, while others have little income beyond the precarious offerings of their disciples. In the following account they are taken in their genealogical order :—

i.—*The Baghdád Syads.*—The immediate ancestor of this branch was Sháh Habíb, who is said to have immigrated from Baghdád some three hundred years ago, and to have founded the village of Baghdád at the commencement of the Sidhnai reach in Kabírwala, where his shrine is still extant and forms the centre of a considerable fair in the month of August. His descendants once possessed considerable jágírs, but those were

Chapter III, C.
—
Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

resumed in the Nawábs' time, and they now hold only a small grant in their own village, outside of which they are little known. Their present representative, Syad Habíbulla Sháh, retains, however, a right to a seat as a Divisional Darbárí.

The Syad families.

ii.—*The Syads of Músa Pák Shahíd.*—This family, like that above described, is known as Husan Hussainí or Gíláni. The latter name is derived from Gílán, the province in Persiá from which their ancestor Abdul Kádir, otherwise known as Pírán Pír, sprung; and although some point to the common use of the title Shekh among their ancestors and deny their claims to be Syads, they are generally looked upon and addressed as Syads in this district. Shekh Jahán Bakhsh *alias* Shekh Muhammad Ghaus, tenth in descent from Abdul Kádir, migrated from Baghdád to Uchh in the middle of the fifteenth century, and his son was the Músa Pák Shahíd, of whom an account has been given in Chapter VI, below. The descent of the family is shown in the following table :—

There is considerable dispute between the two branches of the family, as to whether Shekh Abdul Kádir or Hámid Jahán Bakhsh was the elder son of Músa Pák Dín. The former branch of the family is in possession of the main shrine, but both branches hold jágírs—the former in Háfizwala and the latter in Lár, Chak, Mubárikpur and Gáwen. Makhdúm Sadr-úd-dín Shah, the head of the former branch, is a Provincial Darbárí. In this branch of the family the Makhdúms take in succession the three n . . .es of Hámid Ganj Bakhsh, Muhammad Abdul Kádir and M . . .ummad Ghaus; the present Makhdúm's official title is Makhdúm Muhammad Ghaus.

iii.—*The Syads of Shams Tabriz.*—The origin of this family is traced to the saint Shams Tabriz, whose blue-domed shrine lies outside the city of Multán near the tahsíl. An account of the saint and his shrine is given in Chapter VI below. His descendants are the custodians of the shrine: they are Shías, and their present head is Isan Shah.

iv.—*The Syads of Fázil Shah.*—This branch of the family, like the last, is not of any great consequence. Their immediate ancestor, Hisám-ud-dín, came from Bokhára to Uchh, where he is buried. His son Násir-ud-dín immigrated to Nawábpur in the Multán tahsíl, and the family lived there for some time: in fact, some of his descendants still live there and in the villages near. His great-grandsons, Fázil Shah and Dost Muhammad, came from Nawabpur to the Kabírwala tahsíl, where they founded the villages of Fázil Shah and Muhammad Shah. Fázil Shah became a fakír and a disciple of the Syad of Kot Adu in Muzaffargarh, but his shrine is in his own village. His disciples are numerous, but the family hold no jágírs. The late lambardár of Fázil Shah, Rájan Bakhsh, was a well-behaved and influential landowner.

v.—*The Syads of Rájapur.*—These, like the Syads of Jalálpur and Kuranga, trace their descent to Syad Jalál Bukhari, who is said to have come from Bukhára to Uchh in A. D. 1235 and to have died in A. D. 1283. Mírán Syad Ghulám Ali, a descendant of his eldest son, migrated to Rájapur near Lodhrán, where his descendants have lived in obscurity ever since. Amir Haidar Shah, the present representative of the family, was once a zaildár, but his conduct necessitated his retirement into private life.

vi.—*The Syads of Jalálpur Pirwala.*—These are descended, like the last, from Syad Jalál Bukhári, but their immediate ancestor was Syad Sultán Ahmad Kattal, of whom an account has been given in the description of the town of Jalálpur in Chapter VI below. He left three sons, Syad Ibn-ud-din, Shekh Alam Pír and Diwán Shah Ismail. The eldest settled at Alipur, near Jalálpur, and his descendant, Abdul Hádi Shah, died as lately as 1900 A.D. The other two brothers remained in Jalalpur, and the elder called the younger his Diwán. The younger branch has become extinct in the male line, but the daughter of the last Diwán married the representative of the elder branch. Their son was Shekh Muhammad Ghaus, who died in 1898, and who called himself Díwán Muhammad Ghaus to commemorate the union of the two branches of the family. His son Díwan Sultán Ahmad, a comparatively young man, is the present head of the family, and has married into the family of Diwan Abdul Hádí, so that he practically represents all the three sons of the original Sultán Ahmad Kattál. The members of the

Chapter III C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

The Syad families.

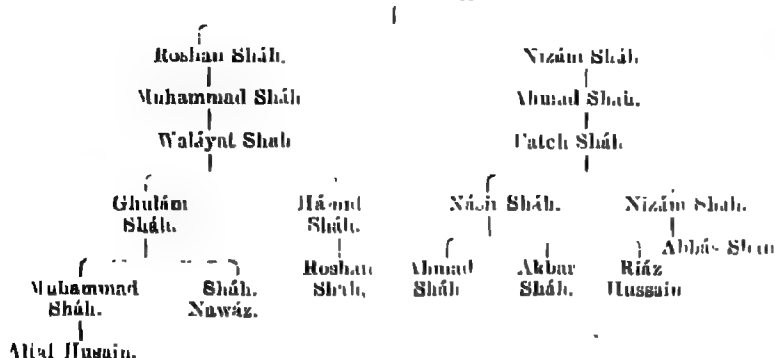
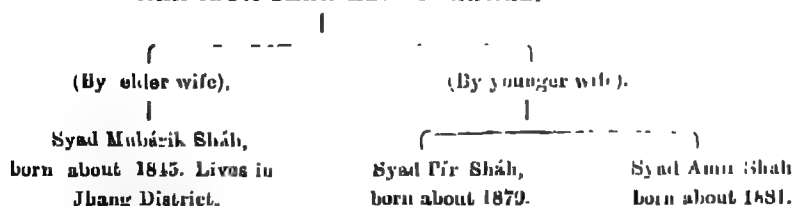
family are the hereditary guardians of the Jalálpur shrine, and assume in alternate generations the name of Muhammad Ghaus and Sultán Ahmad. They are held in considerable respect in the neighbourhood on account of their saintly descent, and have a good deal of influence in Muzaffargarh and Baháwalpur, as well as in this district. Sultán Ahmad holds no jagírs in this district, but is a zaildár both in Multán and in Muzaffargarh and is a Provincial Darbari and Honorary Magistrate.

SULTAN AHMAD KATTAL.

vii.—*The Syads of Kuranga.*—The family are descended from Syad Ismail, who immigrated from Uchh to Chiniot. His descendants subsequently entered the country immediately north of the Rávi, and, after halting for some time at Pír Mahal, settled at Katálpur and Kuranga in the north-west corner of the district. Mehr Shah, a man of great influence, owned considerable tracts of land in the north of the tahsil, and was succeeded some twelve years ago by his son Pír Ghulám Rasúl Sháh, who is a zaildár and an Honorary Magistrate. He holds a grant of land on the Chenáb canal, considerable grants on the Sidhnai system, and half of a lease near Tulamba, as well as a good deal of property scattered through the Rávi tract.

viii.—*The Syads of Kahror.*—This family is descended from a branch of the Syads who lived for a long time at Mashhad. It is said that a dispute arose between two brothers, Háji Fakír-ud-dín and Syad Muhammad Shah, regarding the possession of certain relics of the Prophet, which were then carefully preserved in a chest, and it was agreed that whoever could open the chest should take them. Háji Fakír-ud-dín succeeded in doing so, and from this his descendants have taken the name of Kufálís (sc. Kuflális). Fearing the enmity of his brother, he left Mashhad and came to Multán, where he is buried near the Bohar Gate. Five generations after this, his descendant, Syad Muhammad Zinda Pír accompanied the great Rukn-i-Alam on an 'itineration' to Kahror, where they converted the Joyas. The descendants of Zinda Pír have a certain amount of landed property in the neighbourhood of Kahror, and are at present represented by Syad Násir Shah, who is zaildár, and member of the

The Syad families.

District Board. The following shows the present members of the family:—

ix.—*The Syads of Sher Sháh.*—This family, like the last, had its origin in Mashhad, from which its immediate ancestor, Sháh Ali Muhammad, migrated in 1533 A.D. to Uchh, where he enrolled himself as a disciple of Makhdúm Muhammad Ghaus, father of Músa Pák Shahíd. He afterwards moved on to the present village of Sher Sháh, then called Ratanwáhan and held by the Hammar Jats. His shrine is at Sher Sháh, the residence of the present Makhdúm. It is well endowed with jágírs, and has a large annual fair in its honour in the month of Chet. The late Makhdúm who died in 1901 had held that position ever since annexation, and was an old man of exceedingly refined appearance and gentlemanly manners. He had, however, suffered a good deal from family dissensions, and his expensive tastes had led to his estate being brought under the Court of Wards. His family is as follows:—

The question of the succession to the '*gaddi*' is still (June 1902) in dispute between Mubárik Sháh and Pír Sháh.

x.—*The Gardezi Syads.*—The Gardezi Syads were once the most wealthy and influential in the district, and owned nearly the whole of the part of the Kabírwála tahsil through

Chapter III, C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

The Syad families.

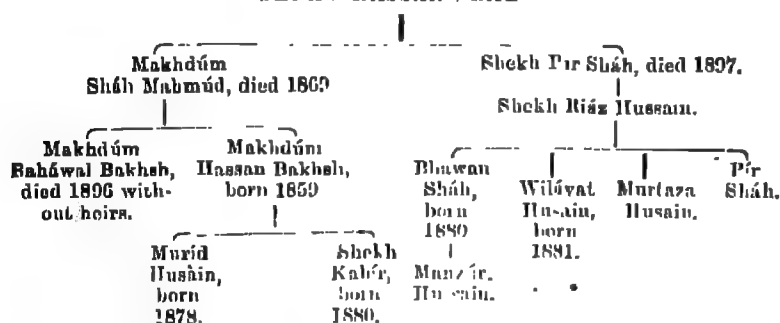
which the Lahore road now passes. The comparative ruin of that part of the country, owing to the change in the course of the Rávi, has led to their decay, but they still possess a very considerable influence and position. They are also known as Husainis, from their descent from Imám Husain and their attachment to the Shiah faith. The family formerly lived at Baghdád, and they were then known as 'Baghdádi.' Their immediate ancestor was Syad Muhammad Dibal, great-great-grandson of Imám Husain. It was his son, Syad Muhammad Ali, who migrated from their original home at Medina to Baghdád. His great-grandson, Abdullah, removed from Baghdád to Gardez, and his great-grandson again, Shekh Muhammad Yusaf, who was born at Gardez in A.H. 450 (A.D. 1058), made a further move to Multán in A.H. 481 (A.D. 1088). He immediately acquired great reputation for sanctity and miracles, and received large grants of land. He died in A.H. 531 (1137 A.D.) Shekh Muhammad Yusaf the Second, eighth in descent from his namesake, died without male issue, and his daughter married Makhdúm Syad Muziz-ud-dín, a descendant of Zaid Shahíd, another grandson of the Imám Husain. Hence the family are sometimes called Zaidis. Most of the Gardezi jágírs were resumed by the Sikhs, but large estates are still held by various branches of the family. The chief of these branches are the following:—(*a*) In Multán the family of Makhdúm Shekh Rájú, the head of the family, who is an Honorary Magistrate, and much respected in the city for his uprightness and generosity. His brother, Amír Haidar Sháh, lives a good deal in Amírpur in the Kabírwála tahsil, where he is held in considerable esteem : he is a careful and intelligent agriculturist. (*b*) In Korai Biloch, in the Kabírwála tahsil, there is a group, of whom the most important member was Murád Sháh, at one time Chief Judge of Baháwalpur. Murád Sháh died some years ago, and his son, Hassan Bakhsh, resides in Multan, where he is an Honorary Magistrate, and has been Vice-President of the Municipal Committee : he is a Khan Bahádur and has a seat in the Divisional Darbár. Hassan Bakhsh is a gentleman of considerable education, literary tastes and good manners, and he has travelled a good deal in Persia and elsewhere. (*c*) In Salárwáhan Kohna in Kabírwála there is a branch of the Gardezis headed by Haidar Sháh, an old and much respected zaildar. (*d*) In Multan there is another family, at one time represented by Hámid Sháh, a portentous spendthrift, who in the course of his life absolutely ruined a magnificent series of estates, most of which fell into the hands of Rai Mela Rám, contractor, of Lahore. Hámid Sháh died without male issue in August 1900, and his brother, Fatteh Sháh, now represents this branch of the family. (*e*) At Adamwáhan there is another branch, in somewhat reduced circumstances, now represented by Ahmad Sháh, son of Muhammad Sháh, late zaildar. (*f*) There is also a small branch at Murádpur, between Kahror and Mailsi,

headed by Mustafa Sháh, a man who has known better days and was once zaildar, but is now an ordinary zamindar. Most of the Gardezi families are Shiahs.

Koreshi families.

There are two Koreshi families of repute in the district, that of the Makhdúm of the Baháwal Hakk shrine in Multan and that of Ghauspur in Kabírwála. They are both descended from the saint Bahawal Hakk, of whom an account has been given in Chapter VI below. In the sixth generation from the saint the family split into two branches: from the elder of these branches (which was founded by Shekh Yusaf, who was ruler of Multan in A.D. 1453-55), sprang the original race of Makhdúms, and also (from a subsequent division) the Koreshís of Baghdád. From the younger of the branches sprang the present Makhdúms, who succeeded to the gaddi by marriage on the failure of heirs in the original line in the first part of the nineteenth century. A full history of the family is given in Massy's "Punjab Chiefs"

The following table shows the relationships in the family of the present Makhdúms:—

SHEKH HASSAN SHAH

The present Makhdúm, Hassan Bakhsh, has precedence of all other unofficial Viceregal Darbárís in the district, and is thus the 'premier peer' of Multan. He possesses land in various parts of the district, especially at Hitháran on the Sidhnai canal, and also has a grant on the Chenáb canal; but is unfortunately a good deal involved in debt. His cousin, Shekh Riáz Husain, is an Honorary Extra Assistant Commissioner, who has done good service both in Multan and on the frontier: he has land in Kotla Abulfatteh, at Lohárwala, at Riázabad on the Sidhnai, and elsewhere. The family is much respected in the south-west of the Punjab and in Sindh as descendants of, and guardians of the shrine of, the saint Baháwal Hakk. The shrine enjoys considerable grants of revenue in Jalil, Fatuhalpur, Lábar, and many other villages in this district.

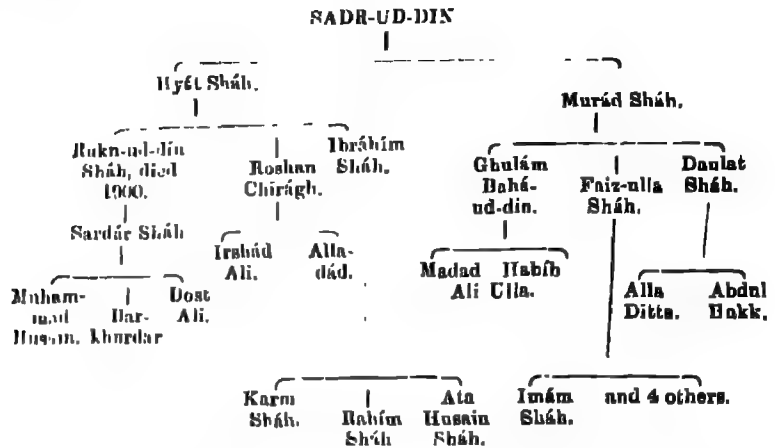
Chapter III. C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

Koreshi families.

The Ghauspur branch of the family is shown in the following table :—

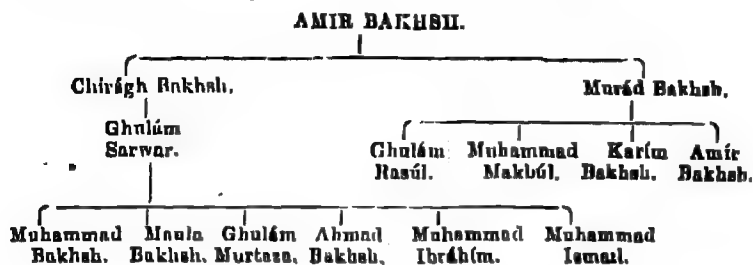
SADR-UD-DIN

- Hyát Sháh.
  - Rukn-ud-din Sháh, died 1900.
    - Sardár Sháh
      - Muhammad Husain.
      - Bar-khurdar
      - Dost Ali.
  - Roshan Chirágh.
    - Irshád Ali.
    - Alla-dád.
      - Karm Sháh.
      - Rahím Sháh
      - Ata Hussain Sháh.
  - Ibráhím Sháh.
- Murád Sháh.
  - Ghulám Bahá-ud-din.
    - Madad Ali
    - Habíb Ulla.
  - Faiz-ulla Sháh.
    - Imám Sháh.
    - and 4 others.
  - Daulat Sháh.
    - Alla Ditta.
    - Abdul Bakk.

Both Hyát Sháh and Murád Sháh rendered valuable assistance to Government in 1857 and received suitable rewards. This branch of the family consists of fairly well-to-do, but not wealthy, zamindars, and its members do not affect the style or habits of raises.

The Bhuttas.

At Khairpur near the Multan cantonment, there is a family of Bhuttas who may, perhaps, be said to be in the transition stage towards becoming Syads. They came originally from the Chiniot tahsil of the Jhang district, and settled about a century ago in the neighbourhood of Muhammadpur Ghota, where the elder branch of the family, represented by Muhammad Bakhsh, now mainly reside. Amír Bakhsh, however, and after him his son Murád Bakhsh obtained other lands also by sale and by grant from Government, and gradually accumulated a fine property in the village of Khairpur. Murád Bakhsh did good service in 1849 and 1857, and was generously rewarded. He was a pushing man, and dropped the appellation of Bhutta, substituting that of Pírzáda. He left a family of four sons, two (Ghulám Rásul and Muhammad Makbúl) by one wife, and two (Karim Bakhsh and Amír Bakhsh) by another. They are all intelligent and masterful men and good thrifty zamindars; but the two sets of brothers have not always got on well with each other. Ghulám Rasúl is a zaildar at Nurabba in Mailsi, where he has acquired a fair property, and he is a Divisional Darbári ; while Muhammad Makbul is a zaildar in Multan and entitled to a chair. Their cousin, Muhammad Bakhsh, is also a zaildar and

The Bhuttas.

Darbári, and the family, generally speaking, has provided well for itself. The relationships are shown as follows :—

The Pathan families.

There are three well-known families of Pathans—the Khudakkas, the Bádozais and the Khákwánís—residing in the district, together with others of less note among the Bábars, Taríns and Bámozais. And there are certain other well-known families who, though not residing in Multan, own or used to own land or jágírs in the district, and are thus frequently brought to the notice of the District authorities, *viz.*, the descendants of the Saddozai Nawábs of Multan, the Nawábs of Dera, the Alizai family of Nawáb Faujdár Khan, the family of Nawáb Kalle Khan, the Saddozai family of Alla Bakhsh Khan of Dera Ghází Khan, and the Jáfir family of Khwája Alla Bakhsh of Taunsa.

Khudakkas.

The Khudakkas.—The ancestor of the Khudakkas was Khuda Dád Khan, the son of Khizar Khan, ancestor of the Khizar Khel, and the grandson of Saddu Khan, the founder of the Saddozai family. His descendant, Sultan Haiát Khan, being defeated by the Shah of Persia, came to Multan to obtain the help of the Emperor of Delhi. He was promised assistance and received a jágír of Rs. 15,000. He lived near the Shísh Mahal in Multan. He died in A.H. 1114 (A.D. 1702), and was succeeded by his son Bákar Khan, who died in A.H. 1173 (A.D. 1759). Bákar Khan was first succeeded by his brother Abdul Aziz Khan, whose descendants live in Dera Ismail Khan. On the death of Abdul Aziz Khan the succession reverted to Muhammad Sharif Khan, son of Bákar Khan, who died in A.H. 1189 (A.D. 1775), and was succeeded by his son Dín Muhammad. Dín Muhammad restored Sultán Haiát's house, and made the family garden, which is still kept up. He died in A.H. 1221 (A.D. 1806), and was succeeded by his son Ali Muhammad Khan, an educated and cultivated man, who held a jagír of Rs. 3,000 in Multan and Rs. 2,000 in Dera Ghází Khan. His property was plundered on the taking of Multan, but Ranjít Singh gave him a jágír of Rs. 1,800 and a pension of Rs. 1,200 He died in A.H. 1256 (A.D. 1840), and was succeeded by his eldest son, Muhammad Bairám Khan, who was confirmed in his father's

Chapter III, C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

The Pathan families.

jagirs. On annexation half of the jágírs were resumed, and the remaining half converted into a cash pension; but Bairám Khan was taken into Government service and he was Tahsildar and Superintendent at the Regular Settlement. He made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and built a fine mosque at Multan. At the end of 1876 he divided his property amongst his sons and retired to Mecca for good. He was a man of very high character, but he kept rather himself in the background from the feeling that the fortune of the family was hardly equal to its descent. The family owns some land in Sadarpur in tahsil Multan and elsewhere. The only member of the family now holding a public position is Núr Muhammad Khan, who is Sub-Registrar in Multan city.

Badozais.

The Bádozai family.—So full an account of the family is given in "Punjab Chiefs" that it is only necessary to mention here the most prominent facts in its history. The first of its members to permanently settle in Multan was Muhabbat, whose father, Bai Khan, accompanied Nádir Sháh in his expedition of A.D. 1738. His great-grandson, Sháh Muhammad Khan, greatly distinguished himself in A.D. 1772 and 1779 in the service of the Nawábs of Multan, for which he was rewarded with a jagir in Dera Dinpanáh and Dera Gházi Khan. He was succeeded by his son, Muhammad Sarfaráz Khan, who was soon afterwards killed in battle, and left no issue. He, however, left two brothers, Abdul Samad Khan and Háfiz Muhammad Sarbuland Khan, who immediately began to quarrel about their inheritance. The ruler of Kabul, to whom they appealed, directed that it should be divided equally, but Sarbuland Khan could only succeed in obtaining the Multan estates. Sarbuland Khan was a faithful servant to the Multan Nawábs and afterwards of the Sikh Governor, and he was active and loyal throughout the campaign of 1848-49. He died in A.D. 1853, and was succeeded by his son, Sadik Muhammad Khan. Sadik Muhammad Khan was born in 1814, and was employed at an early age in important duties by Diwán Sáwan Mal. On the breaking out of Mulraj's rebellion, he distinguished himself by refusing the oath of allegiance to him, and he rendered signal service throughout the campaign, at the close of which he retired on a pension of Rs. 2,000 a year, besides receiving other substantial marks of Government's favour. He again came forward in A.D. 1857, and after the close of disturbances re-entered for a time Government service, acting as Tahsildar in the different tahsils of the Multan district. After he retired his pension was exchanged for a jágír, the most valuable portion of which was the village of Lutfabad, about eight miles from Multan. Sádik Muhammad Khan died in February 1883, and one-half of his jágír was continued for life to his second son, Ashik Muhammad Khan, as being the most worthy representative of the family. Ashik Muhammad Khan (who in popular parlance

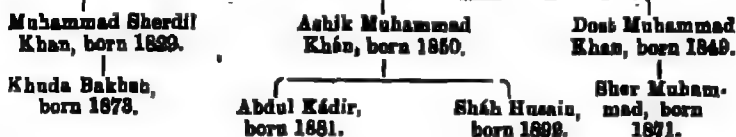
often receives the title of Nawáb) is a discreet, well educated man of literary tastes. He served for a time as a Naib Tahsildar but has for some time past lived a quiet life mainly in the city of Multan. He is a Provincial Darbári, being fifth on the district list. The members of the present family are shown below :—

Chapter III, C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

The Pathan families:

SADIK MUHAMMAD KHAN, died 1883.

- Muhammad Sherdil Khan, born 1829.
  - Khuda Bakhsh, born 1873.
- Ashik Muhammad Khán, born 1850.
  - Abdul Kádir, born 1881.
  - Sháh Husain, born 1892.
- Dost Muhammad Khan, born 1849.
  - Sher Muhammad, born 1871.

(*See also* pp. 90—99, Volume II, Griffin's "Punjab Chiefs," new edition).

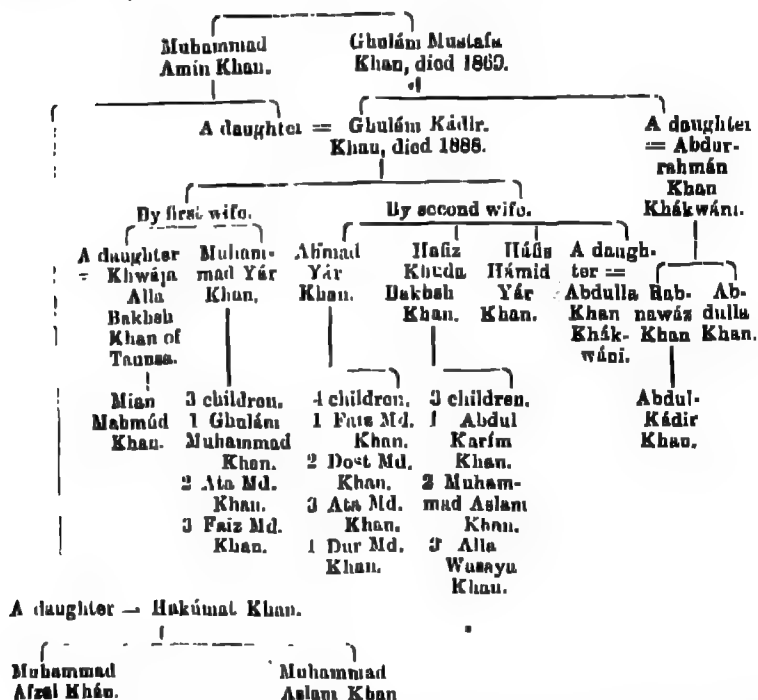
Khákwánís.

The Khákwáni family.—The Khákwánis say that they derive their name from Khákán, a village in the neighbourhood of Hirat*; others derive it from an incident connected with the hunting of the boar (khok). The first branch of the family to appear in Multan was that of Malik Sháh Pal, who with his brothers accompanied Hamáyún some four hundred years ago. His descendant, Ali Muhammad Khan, served under Ahmad Shah Abdáli, and was made Subadár of Multan, a post which he held till A.H. 1181 (A.D. 1767). It was he who constructed the Wali Muhammad canal. He was dismissed for oppression, but he refused the order deposing him, and seized and imprisoned Nawáb Shuja Khan, who had been appointed to succeed him : for this he was put to death by Ahmad Sháh. There are no descendants of this branch in Multan. The ancestor of the present Khákwánís was Lál Khan, who came from Ghazni some three hundred years ago. His son, Háji Ali Muhammad Khan, was Governor of Sikandarabad under Nawáb Muzaffar Khan. Mustafa Khan, the son of Háji Ali commenced his career in the Baháwalpur State, but he soon became one of Sáwan Mal's Kardárs, and on Mulraj's rebellion he took the side of the English and supported it to the utmost of his power. He again did good service in 1857, when he was Tahsildar of Mailsi. For this he received considerable grants of land and other rewards.

He died in 1869, and was succeeded by his son, Ghulám Kádir Khan, who followed in his father's footsteps as a loyal adherent of Government. Ghulám Kádir Khan completed the Hajiwah canal, which had been begun by his father, and in 1880 he was granted an area of 60,000 acres in proprietary right, subject to certain conditions which were embodied in a formal deed of grant executed in 1886. At his death in 1888, he left

* Elphinstone (Caubul ii, 99) speaks of the Khákwánís as a small clan living partly at Kandahar and partly mixed with the Nurzais.

Chapter III, C.
Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.
The Pathan families.
Khákwánis.

four sons—one, Muhammad Yár Khan by one mother, and the remaining three, Ahmad Yár Khan, Khuda Bakhsh Khan and Hámid Yar Khan, by another. The two sets of brothers immediately began to quarrel among themselves, and the canal was taken over by Government. All the brothers live in Multan, and enjoy very considerable wealth. Muhammad Yár Khan, the eldest, is a Provincial Darbári, and he has throughout the troubles about the canal looked to Government for protection from his brothers. He is a man of somewhat retired habits, with no taste for business. His younger brother, Ahmad Yár Khan, on the other hand, is a man of considerable intelligence who is fully alive to his own interests, and has spent considerable sums in suing Government for reparation in connection with the assumption of control over the canal. The genealogy of the family is shown below :—

Considerable areas on the Hájiwáh canal were bestowed by gift on his relations by Ghulám Kádir Khan ; and are now held by Mián Mahmúd Khan and Muhammad Afzal Khan.

A second cousin of Ghulám Kádir Khan, named Ata Muhammad Khan, owned lands at Durpur near Tibba in the Mailsi tahsil. His son, Dost Muhammad Khan, is zaildar in this tract and lives the life of an ordinary landowner. He is a man of considerable energy and intelligence, and enjoys

the privilege of a chair. This branch of the Khakwanis are Shias: the Hájiwáh branch being Sunnis.

The Pathan families

Another member of the same family, Muhammad Rabnawáz Khan (shown in the above table), has, along with his brother, considerable landed property in Jhok Gámun near Kasba in the Multan tahsil.

Bábars

The Bábar families.—Amongst the Afghans of lesser note are four families of the Bábar clan. (i) The first is that now represented by Fattehulla Khan. His grandfather, Muhammad Yár Khan, took service under Nawáb Sarfaráz Khan, but on the capture of Multan by the Sikhs retired to Mánkera and entered the service of the Nawáb of that place. Muhammad Yár Khan's son, Ghulám Haidar Khan, on the taking of Dera Ismail Khan, first went to Sindh, but eventually took service under Sáwan Mal, on whose death he went to Baháwalpur. On annexation he joined a cavalry regiment as jamadar, and was promoted to rasáldár for his services in 1857. On his retirement he soon afterwards received a pension of Rs. 300 a year and a lease of five hundred acres near Chauki Sobha Khan in Mailsi. He died at a ripe old age in 1900. His son, Fattehulla Khan, is somewhat afflicted in mind, and his grandson Habibulla, is not likely to maintain the prestige of the family. (ii) Another branch, represented by Khalikdád Khan, Tagga Khan and others, lives at Khangarh in the Muzaffargarh district, but also owns land at Nurgarh near Tibba. Their ancestor, Abdul Karim Khan, came with Ahmad Shah and acquired considerable estates in Multan and Muzaffargarh, which they lost at the Sikh conquest but partially recovered under British rule. (iii) Another branch, now represented by Khan Bahadur Rabnawaz Khan, came to Multan in the time of Shuja Khan, and, like the branch above described, owns most of its land in Muzaffargarh. Haknawaz Khan was a rasáldár in the 5th Bengal Lancers, and his son, Rabnawaz Khan, after serving in the same regiment and doing excellent political work on the Turkistan border, was made Assistant Political Agent in Chitral, and retired in 1898 covered with wounds and decorations. He was in 1900 granted one hundred and thirty acres of land on the Sidhnai canal, and now resides in Multan, where he is an Honorary Magistrate.

Tarins.

There are a few families of the *Tarin* tribe, but none of them are of any great mark. One of them is that of three brothers—Habib-ulla Khan, Hyát-ulla Khan and Faujdár Khan—who own land in Akbarpur and Umarpur of tahsil Multan and Hyátpur of tahsil Kabirwála; their ancestor came to Multan from Kandahar as a merchant in the time of Ahmad Shah. The other is that of Ahmad Yár Khan, of Wahi Daúd Khan in Lodhrán. Another Tarin family lives at Siddha near Gelewála in Lodhran, and another at Chahán Mirán Khan in Shujabad. The only remaining Afghan family of any position is that of Rahmat-ulla Khan *Bámozai*. His ancestor, Abdul

Bamozais

Chapter III C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

The Pathan families:

Bámozais.

Karím Khan, came from Khorasan in the time of Ahmad Shah; two of his sons settled in Dera Ismail Khan, and the third, the ancestor of Rahmat-ulla Khan, in Multan. The Multan branch prospered, and is said to have acquired ten villages in Multan and fifteen in Muzaffargarh, but it lost them all at the Sikh conquest, and at annexation it only succeeded in recovering in Multan the villages of Kachur and Basti Nau. The lands in Basti Nau have been since lost.

Outside Pathan families:

Nawábs of Multan.

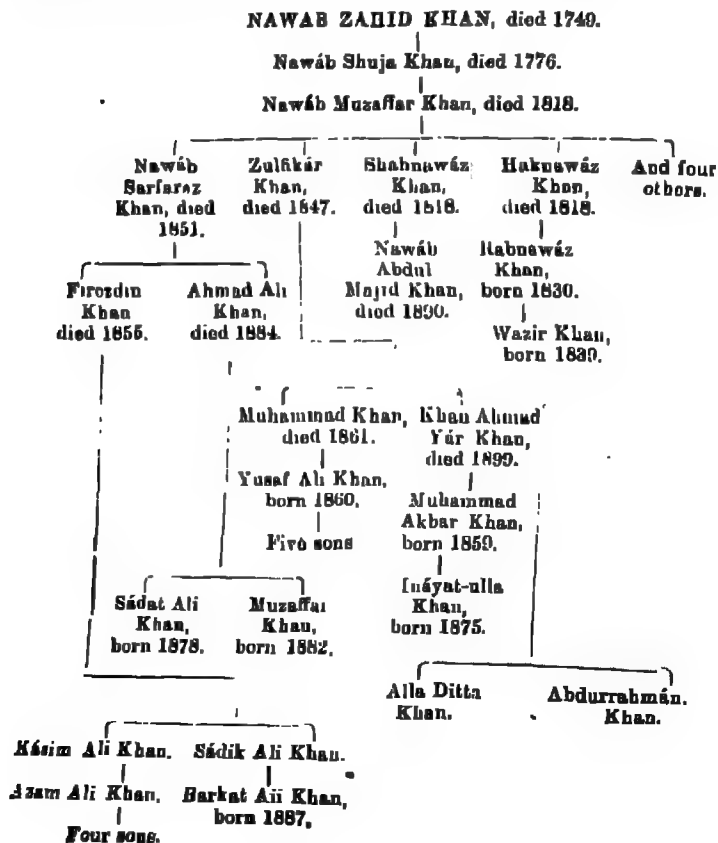
In addition to the families resident in the district, there are, as above noted, certain Pathan families connected, historically or otherwise, with Multan, of whom a short notice here may be useful, *viz.*, (i) the family of the Nawábs of Multan, (ii) the Nawábs of Dera, and (iii) the family of Nawáb Faujdár Khan.

The family of the Saddozai Nawábs of Multan have now no connection, direct or indirect, with the district, and they live mainly in Lahore, to which the family retired after the catastrophe of A.D. 1818 (see Chapter II, above). The genealogy of the present members is:—

Chapter III C.

Tribes Castes and Leading Families.

Outside Pathan families:

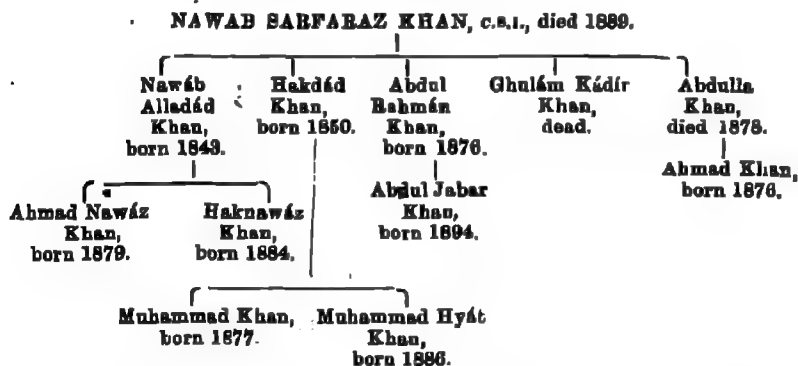
Nawábs of Multan.

Of the above, Nawáb Abdul Majíd Khan, C.S.I, was a much respected and loyal gentleman, who served for some time as Vice-President of the Lahore Municipal Committee. Several members of the family draw political pensions from Government, and some from the Baháwalpur State, where some branches of the family reside. A few have studied in the Chiefs' College at Lahore. and one Ináyat-ulla Khan, is Názir in the Commissioner's office at Lahore. (A full account of this family will be found at page 73 *seqq.* of Griffin's "Punjab Chiefs" new edition, Volume I).

Nawábs of Dera.

The family of Nawáb Alladád Khan, Saddozai, is decended from a cousin of Nawáb Muzaffar Khan of Multan, and this family held the whole country round Dera Ismail Khan until Sikh times. Nawáb Sarfaráz Khan rendered many useful services to Government on the frontier, and his son Alladád Khan, the present head of the family, was for many years an Extra Assistant Commissioner. This family own large jagirs in Firozpur, Jakkharpur and other villages of the Multan tahsil. The following are the present members:—

NAWAB SARFARAZ KHAN, C.S.I., died 1889.

- Nawáb Alladád Khan, born 1843.
  - Ahmad Nawáz Khan, born 1879.
  - Haknawáz Khan, born 1884.
- Hakdád Khan, born 1850.
  - Muhammad Khan, born 1877.
  - Muhammad Hyát Khan, born 1886.
- Abdul Rahmán Khan, born 1876.
  - Abdul Jabar Khan, born 1894.
- Ghulám Kádir Khan, dead.
- Abdulla Khan, died 1878.
  - Ahmad Khan, born 1876.

Family of Faujdár Khan.

The Alizai family owes its present position to the excellent services rendered by Nawáb Faujdár Khan as Assistant to Major Edwards in the war of 1848 and as our representative at Kabul during the mutiny. The present Nawáb, Rabnawáz Khan, served during the mutiny in the Multani Horse, and afterwards held the posts of Inspector and Assistant District Superintendent of Police. His brother, Muhammad Nawáz Khan, a risáldár in the XVth Bengal Lancers, was appointed in 1900 to serve as our representative at Kabul. The family has jágírs and property in Bákirpur, Bibípur and elsewhere in the Multan tahsil; but with the exception of Muhammad Nawáz Khan they are a good deal involved in debt. Muizz-ud-din Khan, son of Nawáb Kalle Khan, who is a risáldár in the XVth Bengal Lancers, and holds part of a grant of land in Bahádurpur in

Chapter III, C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

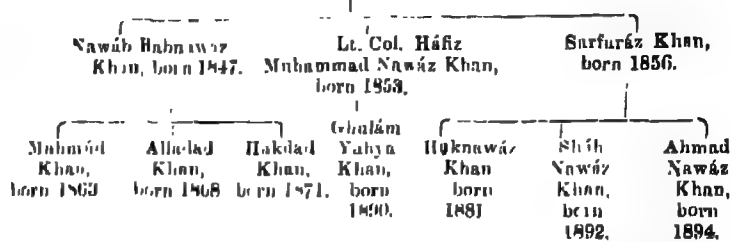
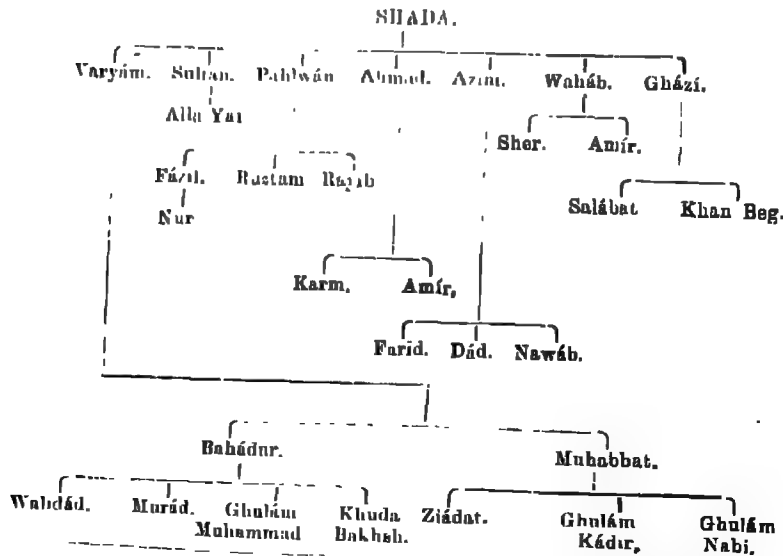
Outside Pathan families.

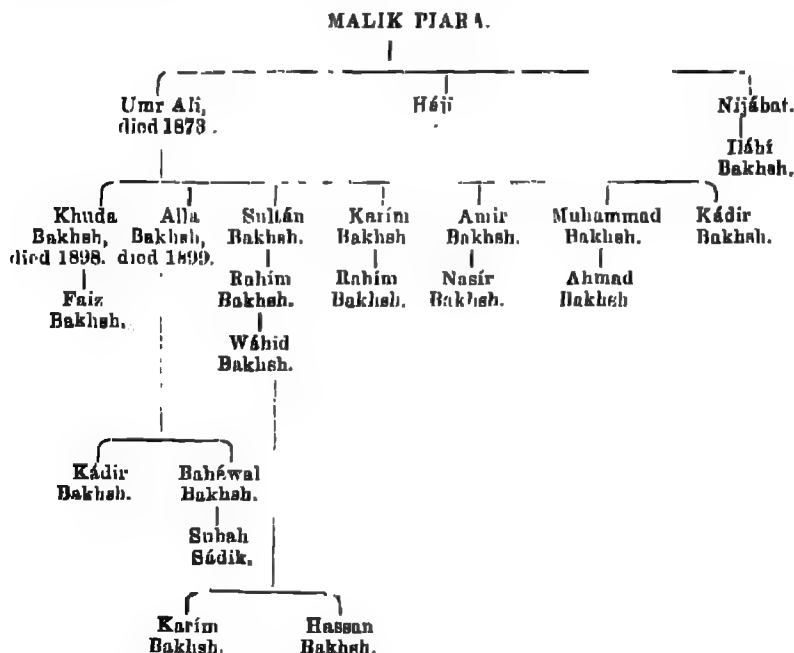
Family of Faujdár Khan.

tahsil Shujabad, is nearly connected with this family. The following table shows the present descendants of Nawáb Faujdár Khan* :—

NAWAB FAUJDAR KHAN, died 1875.

- Nawáb Rabnawaz Khan, born 1847.
  - Mahmúd Khan, born 1863.
  - Allahdad Khan, born 1868.
  - Hakdad Khan, born 1871.
- Lt.-Col. Háfiz Muhammad Nawáz Khan, born 1853.
  - Ghulám Yahya Khan, born 1890.
- Sarfaráz Khan, born 1856.
  - Huknawáz Khan, born 1881.
  - Sháh Nawáz Khan, born 1892.
  - Ahmad Nawáz Khan, born 1894.

The Hirájs of Chauki Múhan.

The Hirájs of Chauki Múhan, an offshoot of the Siáls, came into prominence under Sultán Hiráj, a zaildar and large cattle owner of the last generation. Sultan gave good assistance to Government in connection with the transport required for the Afghan war of 1879-80, and was liberally rewarded with grants of land. He has been succeeded by his son Alla Yár, who during the famine of 1899-1900 held an honorary post under Government in the Hissár district and is now an Honorary Magistrate. The family is a large one, and there are sometimes disputes between the members, which the following table may help to elucidate. Bahádur, the senior representative is a wealthy land and cattle-owner and a member of the District Board.

* For a more detailed account of the Saddozai and Alizai families, see pp. 551—571 of Massy's "Chiefs and Families of note in the Punjab" (1890).

The first of the Khokhar family to come into Multan was Básí, who founded Balel in the time of Hamáyun, and subsequently other villages in its neighbourhood. Under the Moghals the family extended their estates very considerably, but they lost them nearly all under the Pathán Nawábs. In the time of Ranjít Singh, Malik Piára, father of Malik Umr Ali, by giving through Sardár Hari Singh, Nárua, a nazrana of Rs. 8,000 and two horses, obtained an order for the restoration of all the villages the Khokhars had held under the Moghals, and in accordance with it he recovered several estates. But it was pointed out by the local officers that if the orders were fully carried out it would create a revolution; consequently an amended order was passed that the Khokhars were to retain the estates they had already recovered, but that the work of restoration was to go no further. They thus retained the villages they still hold. The descent of the family from Malik Piara is as follows:—

Umr Ali was a man of energy and intelligence, and rendered good services both in 1849 and in 1857. His sons were by three wives—the eldest three by the first wife, Karím Bakhsh and Amír Bakhsh by the second and the two youngest by the third. At the Settlement of 1880 Khuda Bakhsh, Alla Bakhsh Karím Bakhsh and Iláhi Bakhsh were all made zaildars, the villages of the south of the Multan and the north of the Shujabad tahsil being parcelled out among them. The only zaildar in the family now is Karím Bakhsh. Khuda

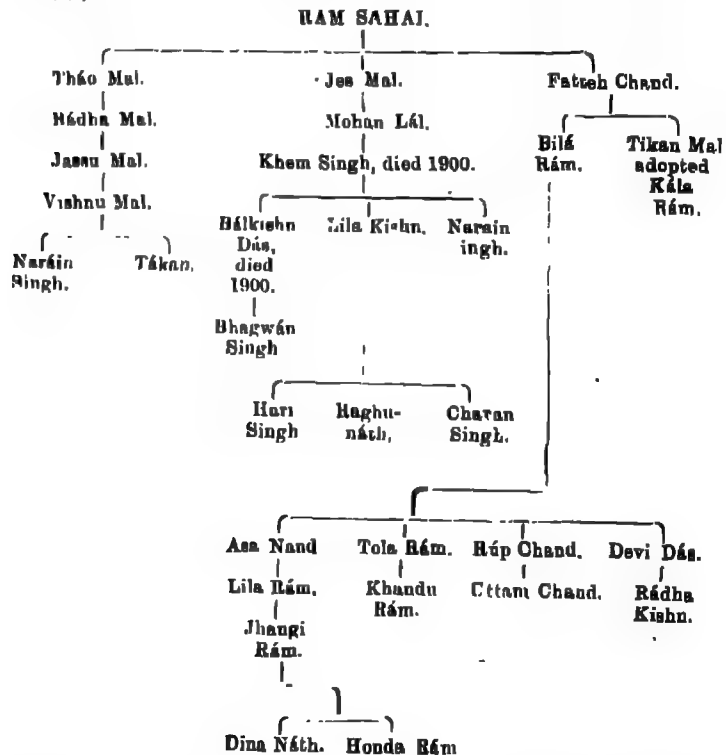
Chapter III, C.

Tribes, Castes and Leading Families.

The Khokhars

Bakhsh received from Government a special inám of Rs. 270 per annum, of which Rs. 200 have been continued to Faiz Bakhsh. Iláhi Bakhsh also holds a small inám in consideration of the reduction of his zail in 1900. The members of this family are for the most part intelligent, prosperous men, and good zamindars, and they are very frequently under the notice of district officers. Unfortunately there is a good deal of smouldering dissension among them, which every now and then breaks out into open quarrelling.

The Babla Chaudhris

The chief Hindu family of the district is that of the Babla Chaudhris of Shujabad. Their late genealogy runs as follows:—

This family owns a large amount of landed property, chiefly in the north of Shujabad, and its members are, for the most part, shrewd, intelligent and exacting landlords. The late head of the family, Chaudhri Khem Singh, was a Provincial Darbári and enjoyed a special inám of Rs. 200 per annum which has been continued to his grandson Bhagwán Singh. The most prominent members of the family after Khem Singh are Asa Nand and Hoa Rám, of whom the former is comparatively nearly related to Khem Singh, and the latter is a more distant connection.

Chapter IV. B.

Occupations Industries and Commerce.

The following note on the special industries of the district was furnished for the first edition of this Gazetteer by Mr. Lockwood Kipling, then Principal of the Lahore School of Art, and the account therein given has been brought up to date by Mr. Percy Brown, the present Principal:-

Glazed pottery.

The industries for which the town of Multan is noted are glazed pottery, vitrous enamel, ornaments in silver, cotton and woollen carpets, silk fabrics, mixed textures of cotton and silk, cotton printing in colour (formerly more extensively practised than now), wood painting and metal-work.

The glazed faience is a relic of the time when mosques and tombs were covered with this beautiful material. There are many such buildings at Multan and Muzaffargarh, as elsewhere in the province. Until a comparatively recent period, the work was exclusively architectural, and consisted of tiles painted in dark and light blue with large geometrical patterns for wall surfaces, finials for the tops of domes, the Mahomedan profession of faith painted in bold Arabic characters for tombs, and panels of various sizes for lintels, door jambs and the like. There is here no ornamentation of earthern vessels for domestic use (except perhaps of the *hookah* and *chillum* as at Peshâwar. The European demand has developed a trade in flower-pots, large plateaux for decorative purposes, and many varieties of the comprehensive word 'vase.' The work differs technically from the pottery of Sindh, which had the same origin; in that its decoration consists solely in painting in two or three colours on the glaze or enamel, the use of coloured or white "slips," which gives a raised appearance to the patterns on Sindh ware, being unknown or at least not practised. The colours used are a dark blue from cobalt, and a very fine turqoise from copper. A manganese violet and a green with other colours have been recently tried, but with no great success. The "biscuit" and "glost" firing are done at one operation, *i. e.*, the article is made in clay, sun-dried, covered with glaze, and painted at once. The green glaze is said to require that preliminary burning of the clay which is invariably given in European practice. The demand for this ware is greater than the supply, and it is to be regretted that more enterprise and intelligence are not brought to bear on a craft which has to begin with first-rate materials and good traditions. Architectural objects are still better understood, and more satisfactorily treated, than are the vases and other wares made for the European mantelpiece. No more suitable material for internal wall-decoration could be devised, but little use has been made of it for this purpose. A tomb by one of the potters now practising at Multan, and copied from an original in the neighbourhood, occupies a place of honour in the National Ceramic Museum at Sevres.

The glaze which is used now is said to be not so durable as that of the old work, some of the recent productions being very brittle and easily washed off with soda-water. The present method of making the glaze is as follows:—One part of powdered limestone and two parts of powdered soda are mixed with water and made into balls. These are dried for fifteen or twenty days in the sun. They are then burnt in an earthen vessel in a smokeless fire till they become quite white. Again it is melted in a strong fire for twenty-four hours and put into cold water to set. When required for use it is powdered in a mill and mixed with water to the required consistency. It is not applied with a brush, but is poured over the article, which is kept on the move until the whole surface is covered.

Enamel.

The enamel on silver of Multan probably owes its preservation to the continued use of vitrified colour in the local pottery. The dark and light blues of the tiles are as identical in their nature with, as they are similar in appearance to, the colouring of a Multan brooch or necklace. Black, red, and yellow, the difficulties of the potter all the world over, are easier to manage in the small scale on which the silversmith works. But they are not nearly so good in Multan enamel as the blues. In larger objects, such as cups and some forms of bracelets, the work might be described as *champlevé* enamel. The ground on which the colour is laid is graven out precisely as in Europe, but in the case of the studs, solitaires, brooches and other objects which form the staple of the trade, a more expeditious and mechanical plan is adopted. The threadlike lines of silver which

Enamel.

bound the pattern are engraven on a steel or bronze die or *thappa* into which the silver is beaten. The result is a meagre and mechanical raised line within which the enamel is laid. Copper is added to the silver to the extent of nearly half its weight to enable it, so the workmen say, the better to resist the heat of the fire. The ordinary price varies from Re 1 to Rs. 2 per *tola*; to which, for enamel in two colours, 4 annas per rupee is added for workmanship. When three or four colours are introduced, a rupee per *tola* is added. The reason for the enhanced price is the additional firing requisite to bring up reds and yellows to the proper tone. There is no contrivance at all resembling the muffle kiln used by enamellers in Europe and elsewhere, and the work is practically roasted in an open charcoal fire, protected by shards or by a wire cage. Rough as this process may appear, and deficient in design as much of the Multan enamel work is when compared with the best of which India is capable, it is undeniable that it is growing in popularity, and that it compares very favourably with the Algerian, Parisian and Syrian articles of the same class which are extensively sold in Paris. There are several good workmen who can be trusted to produce excellent work at a fair price. The prices of the articles rise very rapidly with their size, as the difficulty of evenly firing a piece six inches in height is very much greater than in the case of buttons, studs, etc. The Multanis, unlike the Kashmíris, have a notion that enamel cannot well be applied to any other metal than their modified silver, and have no inclination to work on brass or copper, cheaper materials which might doubtless be largely brought into use. The largest objects to which enamel is applied in the district are the *mokabbas* or covered dishes that come from Baháwalpur, where the practice is similar to that of Multan, excepting that in addition to the opaque enamels, a semi-translucent sea green and dark blue are applied, while the silver is frequently heavily gilded. These are both points of superiority. Mr. B. H. Baden Powell in his Handbook of Punjab Manufactures quotes a local legend, 'that the first maker was one Nantu, who worked four hundred years ago, and that since then the art so increased in excellence that Multan enamelled ware was highly esteemed and exported to other districts.

Woollen carpets.

Multan is probably the only town in the province which can claim woollen carpet-weaving as an independent, if not absolutely indigenous, manufacture. It seems likely that rugs and carpets brought over from Turkestan in the course of its large and long-established Pawindah trade may have served as the original inspiration. The patterns have a decidedly Tartar air. They are excessively bold and yet not clear in detail. The unusual size of the stitch, together with a peculiar brightness in the white, and their rather violent red and yellow, give them a somewhat aggressive and quite distinctive quality of colour. The cost ranges from one rupee per yard upwards; and, though looser in texture than good jail carpets, they are durable and serviceable. The larger sizes are always, to European eyes, disproportionately long for their width, a peculiarity noticeable in all carpets that come from countries like Persia and Turkistan, where wood for roofing timber is small, and apartments in consequence are long and narrow.

[The competition of Amritsar and Lahore, where huge carpet factories under European supervision have of late years sprung up, has had a deleterious effect on the woollen carpet weaving of Multan, so that this industry has very much decayed. The weavers now principally live by making foot-mats for carriages and Hindu prayer-carpets.]

Cotton rule carpets.

The cotton rugs and carpets are sometimes parti-coloured like the woollen ones, but the typical Multan cotton carpet is an exceedingly strong and substantial fabric coloured entirely in a bright blueish white and blue. There would seem, indeed, to be a sort of unity in local treatment of pottery, enamels and rugs. They are sometimes made in large sizes, but always, unless specially ordered, long in proportion to their width. The colouring is vivid, but not unpleasant, in effect: and the texture, notwithstanding its large stitch, is substantial and serviceable. The Multan carpets, on the whole, are very respectable productions; and although the original *motif* of the pattern has been merged by dint of many repetitions in vague masses of colour, its fabric remains stout and good; forming in this respect a strong contrast with the Mirzapore rug, another survival which has not only lost its pattern, but become flimsy and loose in workmanship.

Chapter IV, B.

Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

Silks.

The traveller Vigne, quoted by Mr. Baden-Powell in his Handbook, wrote :—'Seven hundred maunds of raw silk are brought to Multan every year by the Lohánis, chiefly from Bokhára and Turkistan; these are manufactured in one hundred and fifty workshops. One man will finish an ordinary *khes* or silk scarf in six days, perhaps three yards long and a foot and a half wide, taking eight days previously for the arrangement of the weaving apparatus. A very handsome *khes* is finished in sixteen days. That of the red colour is most valuable; it is dyed with cochineal, which is brought from either Bombay or Bokhára; that from Bombay is a rupee a ser—about a shilling a pound.' The trade still continues, and Multan silk-weaving is probably the best in the province. At Amritsar and Delhi there is a more varied use of the staple, and at Lahore there is perhaps more variety in the European style of pattern; but the Multan *daryai*, plain self-coloured silk, the *dhúpchhán* or shot silk, and the *khes*, a sort of checked, damasked fabric are better finished and more agreeably coloured. All Indian silks are deficient in lustre to European eyes, but those of Multan are decidedly less "cottony" in appearance than others. These fabrics are chiefly worn by native ladies, and are therefore little known to Europeans. The combination of cotton with silk to make the latter lawful for Muhammadan wear (*Musaffa*, pure), has given the name of Sufi to a mixture of a cotton warp with a silk weft, which is very well made at Multan. *Shuja' khání* is another name for these mingled goods, for which Bahawalpur is perhaps better known than Multan, where, however, they can be produced in equal perfection. Gold thread is frequently worked into the variegated stripes for these cloths, and it is also wrought into the borders and ends of the *lungis*, turbans, *khes* and *iklais*. One of the best features of this manufacture is the great durability and wearing power of the fabric. The fashions of the zanána do not change, and their inmates are keen and accomplished critics, who would quickly detect the presence of jute or any other adulteration.

[The fashion of wearing silk fabrics is rapidly dying out, and now both native ladies and gentlemen wear chiefly European-made cloths, so that this trade has decreased considerably; the chief articles now being made are *pattas* with gold edges, which are exported in fairly large numbers.]

Cotton printing.

Cotton-printing, though it is well done at Multan, can scarcely be called a flourishing industry, for the brighter and cheaper wares of Manchester have here, as elsewhere, seriously depressed a once extensive trade. The staple article of to-day is the *abrá*, a piece of cotton cloth usually 6 feet long and 5 feet wide, printed with a broad border all round, and a centre field of a different colour. It is used for the *razái* or cotton-stuffed quilt, which forms at once a cloak and bed-cover during the cold months. Large floor-cloths elaborately printed were formerly more extensively made than now, in response to the Hindu preference for cotton. A Rája or Sardar will often cover a rich woollen carpet with a cotton print. This is said to be the invariable practice at the Kashmiri court. Besides the *jázam* or floor-cloth, the *diwár gir*, "wall veil" or continuous lengths of print about 3 feet 6 inches wide for wall lining, and a variety of *rumals* (handkerchiefs) and dopattás (scarves) were formerly much more largely made than now. It is noticeable, too, in examining a cotton-printer's graven blocks, that but few have the appearance of being newly cut. If there is a peculiarity in the Multan prints, it is an almost lake-like depth in the red derived from madder, which contrasts strongly with the brick-red in inferior work from other places. The greens, light blues and light yellows are not fast colours. Good cotton prints are made at Tulamba, which, indeed, is often spoken of as the best place for these fabrics.

[English chintzes have now entirely superseded the once famous ones made at Multan, and this industry is practically extinct. A few *abrás* are still made for quilts for the country people, as they wear better than the English cloth. Susis and tiliás of cotton are made in quantities for the poorer class of people who cannot afford silk. They are made in imitation of the silk articles.]

Ivory.

In addition to the handicrafts of common life practised at Multan as in every Indian town of its size, is a peculiarly local one of turned ivory *churis* or bangles. These are merely large rings, sometimes coloured red, and in no way artistic, interesting or commercially important. The price of ivory has everywhere risen,

Chapter IV, B.

Occupations Industries and Commerce.

so rapidly that it was at one time thought that this use of the material, to which it is not particularly applicable, must shortly cease. The increased demand, however, for ivory bangles in preference to gold and silver ornaments has caused the ivory industry to become quite a flourishing one at Multan, so that the supply falls short of the demand.

Wood-painting.

[The trade in wood painting is practically extinct, only a few bowls and charpoy legs being turned out.

Metal-work.

Within the last ten years one or two tinsmiths from Karachi have settled in Multan and have introduced the manufacture of cash-boxes and despatch-cases. This industry is rapidly growing.]

CHAPTER VI.

TOWNS, MUNICIPALITIES AND CANTONMENTS.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

At the census of 1901 all municipalities and cantonments and all continuous collections of houses, possessing urban characteristics and inhabited by not less than 5,000 persons, were classed as towns. Under this rule the following places were returned as towns in the Multan district :—

TAHSIL.	TOWN.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Multán	Multán	87,394	40,328	38,066
Shujabad ...	Shujabad ...	5,880	3,236	2,644
	Jalálpur	5,149	2,704	2,445
Lodhrán ...	Kahror	5,552	2,878	2,674
	Dunyapur ...	2,150	1,012	1,184
Kabírwála... ...	Tulamba... ...	2,526	1,272	1,254

The distribution by religion of the population of the towns and the number of houses in each town are shown in Table No. XLIII, while particulars regarding births and deaths in towns are given in Table No. XLIV. The remainder of this chapter consists of a detailed description of each town, with a notice of its history, the increase and decrease of the population, its manufactures, commerce, municipal government, institutions, public buildings, and so forth.

Multan City.

History: Foundation.

The date of the founding of the city of Multan is unknown. It is only probable, but not historically established, that Multan was the city of the Malli which Alexander stormed, and where Alexander was wounded*; and the first real appearance of the town in history is in the middle of the 7th century A.D., when it was seized by the Chach Dynasty of Sindh.

Name.

The original form of the name is difficult to discover. Hiuen Tsang, who was in the city in 741 A. D., calls it 'Mu-lo-san-pu-lu,' which is said to be a transliteration o[f]

* Natives interested in history will sometimes mention Alexander's atta[c]k on Multan; but there is no separate tradition. They have merely picke[d u]p the somewhat loose speculations of Europeans on the subject.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan-Name.

'Múla-thánapura.' Albirúni, writing in the beginning of the 11th century, quotes (as will be seen below) a Kashmirian author, who calls the town, apparently, Múla-tána; and Munshi Hukm Chand, in his vernacular History, says that an early name of the town was Múla-tráng or Múlatáran. In present conventional Sanskrit usage both Múla-trána and Múlaisthána seem to be used.

In this uncertainty as to the original form of the name, it is perhaps superfluous to inquire into its meaning. Writers of all kinds have, however, leapt into the breach; and we are told (a) that Múla represents the Malli, the tribe which fought Alexander; or (b) that Múla means 'origin,' and Multan means 'the original abode'; or (c) that Múla means 'centre,' and Multan 'the centre of the world'; or (d) that Múla is an equivalent of another word, and that other word is an equivalent of the sun · so that Multan is 'the place of the sun-god.'*

Albirúni quotes from Utpala, a native of Kashmir, who in his commentary on Viráhamihra's Sanhita is said to write 'The names of countries change, and particularly in the yugas. So Multan was originally called Kasyapapura, then Hansapura, then Bágapura, then Sámbhapura, and then Múlasthána, i.e., the original place, for múla means root, origin, and tána means place.' (Sach. Alb., i. 298) † The same legend is reproduced in a couplet known among the pandits of the city, which runs:—

Hanspur; Bhágpur; Shámpur; chautha par Multán;
Pánchwan pur pahájkar thísi Arepur Sultán

Hanspur is said to have been outside the Bohar gate, and Bhágpur near Bíbí Pákdáman, south of the city railway station; while Arepur, or the City on the High Ground, which is ultimately to be the Ruler, is said to represent the present cantonments

The Arabs had further stories as to the city and its name. Ibn Khurdadba (died 912 A.D.) says Multan was called 'the Farj of the house of gold'; and Masúdi (died 956 A D) writes that the word Multan means 'the boundary of gold'. (Ell. Hist, i. 14, 21). 'Farj', according to Dowson, is here used in the sense of 'frontier'; but Raverty reads 'Farkh' or temple (J. B. A. S., 1892, p. 190) The references to gold are explained by the account of the old temple given below.

Visits of European travellers.

The general history of Multan city is much the same as that of the district at large (see Chapter II above). The city was from time to time visited by European travellers, and it is of some interest to read their various descriptions:—

Still and Crowther, who were here on 22nd May, 1614, say that Multan 'is a great and ancient citie within three course (kos) of Indus, but poore; for which cause they detain the caravans there divers dayes, eight, ten or twelve to benefit the citie.'

De Laet's description in his compilation is as follows:—' Multan provincia amplissima est et imprimis fertilis et mercimoniis valde opportuna, ob tria flumina quae illam rigant, et haud longe a metropoli confluunt. Metropolis

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* These guesses are noted in Hukm Chand, p. 42, and Cunningham's Anc. Geog., pp. 233-4.

† Cunningham has an explanation for all these names, see his Anc. Geog., pp. 232-3. On the strength of the name Kasyapapura, he even goes so far as to identify Multan with the Kaspapuros of Hekataeus, the Kaspaturos of Herodotus and the Kaspeira of Ptolemy (Arch. Repts, v., 129. cf. Dr. M. L. Stein in J. A. S. B. 1899., 'Anc. Geog. of Kashmír,' pp. 9—12.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

Visits of European travellers.

illius est Multhan, sive Moltan, quae distat à regia urbe Lohore centum et viginti coss, per illam iter est mercatoribus, qui e Persia per Kandahar in provincias Indiae descendunt. Tria ista flumina sunt Ravee, Bahat sive Bebat, et denique Sind sive Indus, quae rapido cursu hanc provinciam secant. Precipuae hujus provinciae merces sunt saccharum, quod magna copia secundo flumine Indo versus Tattam navibus deportatur; atque adeo adversus Lahorem. Item gallae et opium, sulfur quoque et magna copia pannorum lineorum et gossypinorum; plurimi denique hic aluntur cameli, et industria incolarum in arcubus conficiendis imprimis celebratur.*—(India Vera., p. 90.)

Tavernier in his Travels (Vol. ii., p. 57, ed. 1676) gives the following description of the place:—'Multan est une ville ou il se fait quantité de toiles et on les transportoit toutes à Tata avant que les sables eussent gaté l'embouchure de la riviere: mais depuis que le passage a esté fermé pour les grands vaisseaux on les porte à Agra, et d' Agra à Surate, de même qu 'une partie des marchandises qui se font à Lahor. Comme cette voi ure est fort chere il va maintenant peu de marchands faire des empletes tant à Multan qu'à Lahor, et même plusieurs ouvriers ont deserté, ce qui fait que les revenus du Roy sont aussi beaucoup diminuez en ces Provinces. Multan est le lieu où sortent tous les Banianes qui viennent negocier dans la Perse, ou ils font le même métier des Juifs comme j 'ay dit ailliers, et l'encherissent sur eux par leurs usures. Ils ont une loy particuliere qui leur permet en certains jours de l'année de manger des poules, et de ne prendre qu 'une femme entre deux ou trois freres dont l'ainé est censé le pere des enfans. Il sort encore de cette ville—là quantité de baladins et de baladines qui s'epandent en divers lieux de la Perse.'

Thevenot in his Travels (Part iii, 1687, p. 55) describes Multan as follows:—'Multan is watered with many rivers that make it fertile. The capital town, which is also called Multan, was heretofore a place of very great Trade, because it is not far from the river Indus; but seeing at present Vessels cannot go up so far, because the channel of that river is spoilt in some places, and the mouth of it full of shelves, the Traffick is much lessened, by reason that the charge of Land carriage is too great: However the Province yields plenty of Cotton, of which vast numbers of Cloaths are made. It also yields Sugar, Opium, Brimstone Galls and store of Camels, which are transported into Persia by Ghasna or Candahar or into the Indies themselves by Lahore; but whereas the commodities went heretofore down the Indus at small charges, to Tatta, where the merchants, of several Countries came and bought them up, they must now be carried by land as far as Surrat, if they expect a considerable price for them.

'The town of Multan is by some Geographers attributed to Sinde, though it makes a Province by itself. It lies in twenty-nine degrees forty minutes North Latitude, and hath many good towns in its dependance, as Coadar or Cordar Candavil, Sandur and others. It furnishes Hindustan with the finest Bows that, are to be seen in it, and the nimblest Dancers. The Commanders and Officers of these Towns are Mussulmans; and by consequence, it may be said that most of the inhabitants are of the same Religion: But it contains a great many Banians also, for Multan is their chief rendezvous for trading into Persia, where they do what the Jews do in other places; but they are far more cunning, for nothing escapes them and they let slip no occasion of getting the penny, however small it be . . . . . . The richest merchants of the Indies are of them and such I have met in all places where I have been in that country. They are commonly very Jealous of their wives, who at Multan are fairer than the Men, but still of a very brown complexion, and love to Paint.

'At Moltán there is another sort of Gentiles whom they call Catry. That town is properly their country, and from thence they spread all over the Indies; but we shall treat of them when we come to speak of the other sects; both the two have in Multan a Pagod of great consideration because of the affluence of people that come there to perform their devotion after their way; and from all places of Multan, Lahore and other countries they come thither in pilgrimage. I know not the name of the idol that is worshipped there: the face is black, and it is cloathed in red leather; it hath two pearls in place of eyes; and the Emir or Governor of the country takes the offerings that are presented to it. To conclude, the town of Multan is but of small extent for a Capital, but it is

* There is a quarter of the city still well known as the Mohalla Kamángran.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

pretty well fortified; and is very considerable to the Mogul, when the Persians are masters of Candahar as they are at present.

'What the Great Mogul receives yearly from this Province amounts to seventeen millions five hundred thousand livres.'

Visits of European travellers.

Elphinstone, who arrived here with his Kabul Mission on the 11th December 1808, writes :—'The city of Multan stands about four miles from the left bank of the Chenab or Acesines. It is above four miles and a half in circumference. It is surrounded with a high wall, between forty and fifty feet high, with towers at regular distances. It has also a citadel on a rising ground and several fine tombs, especially two with very high cupolas, ornamented with the painted and glazed tiles already noticed. The tombs are seen from a great distance all round the town. Multan is famous for its silks, and for a sort of carpet, much inferior to those of Persia. The country immediately round the city was very pleasing, fertile, well cultivated, and well watered from wells. The people were like those at Baháwalpur, except that there were more men, who looked like Persians, mixed with them; these, however, were individuals and chiefly horsemen.

'The mission remained for nineteen days in the neighbourhood of Multan, and as most of the party were out almost every day from seven or eight to three or four, shooting, hunting or hawking, we had good opportunities of observing the country. The land was flat and the soil excellent, but a large proportion of the villages were in ruins, and there were other signs of a well cultivated country going to decay; about a half was still cultivated and most abundantly watered by Persian wheels; the produce was wheat, millet, cotton, turnips, carrots, and indigo. The trees were chiefly neem and date, with here and there a peepul tree. The uncultivated country near the river was covered with a thick copse wood of tamarisk, mixed with a tree like a willow, about 20 feet high; at a distance from the river it was bare, except for scattered tufts of long grass, and here and there a date tree. The country abounded in game of all kinds. The weather was delightful during our stay: the thermometer, when at the lowest, was at 28 at sunrise, there were slight frosts in the night, but the days were rather warm.'—(Caubul i, 27-8).

Elphinstone's description of his meeting with the Nawáb has been already quoted in Chapter II above.

Masson, who was here twice in about 1827 A.D., writes (Travels, i, 394):—'It cannot be less than three miles in circumference and is walled in. Its bazars are large, but inconveniently narrow, and, I thought did not exhibit that bustle or activity which might be expected in a place of much reputed commerce. The citadel, if not a place of extreme strength, is one on which more attention seems to have been bestowed than is usual, and is more regular than any fortress I have seen, not constructed by European Engineers. It is well secured by a deep trench, neatly faced with masonry; and the defences of the gateway, which is approached by a drawbridge, are rather elaborate. The casualties of the siege it endured have not been made good by the Sikhs, consequently it has become much dilapidated since that period. It can scarcely be said to have a garrison, a weak party of soldiers being merely stationed as gurads at the entrance. Within the citadel are the only buildings of the city worth seeing—the battered palace of the late Khan and the Mahomedan shrine of Bahawal Hak. The latter,* with its lofty gumat or cupola, is the principal ornament of the place.

'Multan is said to have decreased in trade since it fell into the hands of the Sikhs, yet its bazars continued well and reasonably supplied with all articles of traffic and consumption. There are still numerous bankers, and manufacturers of silk and cotton goods. Its fabrics of shawls and lunghis are deservedly esteemed, and its brocades and tissues compete with those of Bahawalpur. It still supplies a portion of its fabrics to the Lohani merchants of Afghanistan, and has an extensive foreign trade with the regions west of the Indus.

* This refers evidently to the shrine of Ruku-i-Alam.

Chapter VI.

Towns. Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

Visits of European travellers.

'The ruins around the city spread over a large space ; and there is an amazing number of old Musalman graves, tombs, masjids and shrines ; and, as all of them are held sacred, they would seem to justify the popular belief that one lakh or one hundred thousand saints lie interred within the hallowed vicinity. Many of these are substantial edifices, and, if not held to establish the saintly pretensions of the city, may be accepted as testimonies of its prosperity under the sway of the Mahomedan dynasties of India. North of the city is the magnificent and well preserved shrine of Shams Tabrezi. . . . . . . The gardens of Multan are abundant and well stocked with fruit trees, as mangos, oranges, citrons, limes, &c. Its date groves also yield much fruit, and vegetables are grown in great plenty. The inundations of the Ravi extend to the city, but it * is three miles distant, and has what is called a bunder, or port, in this instance expressive of a boat station, whence there is communication with the Indus, and, consequently, with the sea.

'The area enclosed within the walls being compactly built over, the city may be supposed to contain not less than eight or nine thousand houses, or from forty to forty-five thousand souls. At present a Brahman, Soband Mal,† resides at Multan as governor for Ranjit Singh, with the title of Subahdar ; and his jurisdiction is extensive, comprising the southern parts of the Sikh kingdom from the Sutlej to the Indus. He has at his command a force of eight hundred Sikhs, under Gandar Singh, besides the governors sprinkled over the country. He is a popular ruler ; and many anecdotes are related of his liberality and indulgence, even on matters connected with religion. The Sikh authority over the conquered provinces held by the Subahdar being firmly established, the administration is mild, owing partly, perhaps, to his personal character : and two Sikhs are located at every village and hamlet on the part of the Government. The peasantry make over a third of the produce of their lands ; neither do they complain.'

Masson again halted at Multan on his way back from Lahore to Sindh : halting 'near the ziarat of Shams Tabrezi.'

Multan was visited on the 15th June 1831, by Lieutenant Alexander Burnes, who gives the following account of his visit (Travels in Bokhara, etc., i, 94-8):—'On the 15th we came in sight of the domes of Multan, which look well at a distance ; and alighted in the evening at the Hoozooree Bagh, a spacious garden enclosed by a thin wall of mud, a mile distant from the city. The ground is laid out in the usual native style : two spacious walks cross each other at right angles, and are shaded by large fruit trees of the richest foliage. In a bungalow at the end of one of these walks, we took up our quarters, and were received by the authorities of the city in the same hospitable manner as at Shoojuabad. They brought a purse of 2,500 rupees, with 100 vessels of sweetmeats, and an abundant supply of fruit ; we felt happy and gratified at the change of scene and civilities of the people.

'The city of Multan is described in Mr. Elphinstone's work on Cabool, and it may appear foreign to my purpose to mention it ; but his mission was received here with great jealousy, and not permitted to view the interior of the town, or the fort. I do not hesitate, therefore, to add the following particulars drawn up after a week's residence. The city of Multan is upwards of three miles in circumference, surrounded by a dilapidated wall, and overlooked on the north by a fortress of strength. It contains a population of about 60,000 souls, one-third of whom may be Hindus : the rest of the population is Mahomedan, for though it is subject to the Seiks, their number is confined to the garrison, which does not exceed 500 men. The Afghans have left the country since they ceased to govern. Many of the houses evidently stand on the ruins of others ; they are built of burnt brick, and have flat roofs : they sometimes rise to the height of six stories, and their loftiness gives a gloomy appearance to the narrow streets. The inhabitants are chiefly weavers and dyers of cloth. The silk manufacture of Multan is "kais," and may be had of all colours, and from the value of 20 to 120 rupees per piece ; it is less delicate in texture than the "loongees" of Bhawulpoor. Ranjit Singh has with much propriety en-

* This refers doubtless to the Chenab.

† The Khatri Sáwan Mal is evidently intended.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

Visits of European travellers.

couraged this manufacture since he captured the city; and by giving no other cloths at his court, has greatly increased their consumption; they are worn as sashes and scarfs by all the Seik Sardars. They are also exported to Khorasan and India, and the duties levied are moderate. To the latter country, the route by Jaysulmeer and Beecaneer is chosen in preference to that by Sinde, from the trade being on a more equitable footing. The trade of Multan is much the same as at Bhawulpoor, but is on a larger scale, for it has forty shroffs (money-changers), chiefly natives of Shikarpoor. The tombs of Multan are celebrated: one of them, that of Bawulhuq, who flourished upwards of 500 years ago, and was a contemporary of Sadee, the Persian poet, and is considered very holy; but its architecture is surpassed by that of his grandson, Rookn-i-Allum, who reposes under a massy dome sixty feet in height, which was erected in the year 1323 by the Emperor Tooghluck as his own tomb. Its foundation stands on higher ground than the summit of the fort wall; there is also a Hindoo temple of high antiquity, called Pyladpooree, mentioned by Thevenot in 1665.

'The fortress of Multan merits a more particular description; it stands on a mound of earth, and is an irregular figure of six sides, the longest of which, towards the north-west, extends for about 400 yards. The wall has upwards of thirty towers, and is substantially built of burnt brick, to the height of forty feet outside; but in the interior the space between the ground and its summit does not exceed four or five feet, and the foundations of some of the buildings overtop the wall, and are to be seen from the plain below. The interior is filled with houses, and till its capture by the Seiks in 1818 was peopled; but the inhabitants are not now permitted to enter, and a few mosques and cupolas, more substantially built than the other houses, alone remain among the ruins. The fortress of Multan has no ditch; the nature of the country will not admit of one being constructed; and Ranjit Singh has hitherto expended great sums without effect. The inundation of the Chenab, and its canals together with rain, render the vicinity of Multan a marsh, even in the hot weather, and before the swell of the river has properly set in the waters of last year remain. The walls of the fortress are protected in two places by dams of earth. The modern fort of Multan was built on the site of the old city' by Moorad Bukhsh, the son of Shah Jehan, about the year 1640, and it subsequently formed the jagheer of that prince's brothers, the unfortunate Dara Shikoh and the renowned Aurungzebe. The Afghans seized it in the time of Ahmad Shah, and the Seiks wrested it from the Afghans, after many struggles, in 1818. The conduct of its governor during the siege deserves mention. When called on to surrender the keys, and offered considerate treatment, he sent for reply that they would be found in his heart, but he would never yield to an infidel; he perished bravely in the breach. His name, Moozuffur Khan, is now revered as a saint, and his tomb is placed in one of the holiest sanctuaries of Multan. The Seiks threw down the walls of the fort in many places, but they have since been thoroughly renewed or repaired; they are about six feet thick, and could be easily breached from the mounds that have been left in baking the bricks, which are within cannon range of the walls.

'The climate of Multan differs from that of the countries lower down the Indus; showers of rain are common at all seasons, and yet the dust is intolerable. For nine successive evenings we had a tornado of it from the westward, with lightning and distant thunder. Such storms are said to be frequent: they appear to set in from the Sooliman mountains, between which and the Indus the sand or dust is raised. The heat and dust of Multan have grown into a proverb, to which have been added, not unmeritedly, the prevalence of beggars, and the number of the tombs, in the following Persian couplet—

> "Chuhar chees hust, toohfujat-i-Multan,
> Gird, guda, gurma wu goristan."

As far as I could judge, the satire is just: the dust darkened the sun; the thermometer rose in June to 100 of Fahrenheit in a bungalow artificially cooled, the beggars hunted us everywhere, and we trod on the cemeteries of the dead in whatever direction we rode.'

From the 6th to the 16th April, 1836, the traveller Vigne visited Multan, being entertained in the Bagh Begi, near the present city railway station.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

Visits of European travellers.

'Upon my arrival in Multan,' he writes, 'I was domiciled in a Bara dori (twelve doors), or summer house, in the Bhagh-i-Begi, made by the Nawab Surfuraz Khan, about thirty years ago; it was cool, well-shaded with orange trees, and laid out in the usual manner with reservoirs and fountains. The walks, intersecting each other at right angles, were raised above the parterres and flower-beds, that they might be dry when the latter are covered with water. There are numerous gardens in the environs of Multan, often formed around the shrine of some Musulman faquir; and no man will quarrel with the fanaticism which has procured him shade and shelter in the climate of India. In the Hazuri Bagh, or the garden of the Presence, on the north side of the fort, I saw a large tree, the Mowul-Siri, grown, as they told me, from a cutting, which was originally brought from Mecca; but I do not vouch for the truth of the story. The principal shrine is that of the Faquir Shums-i-Tabriz.

'Multan supposed to be the capital of the Malli, of Alexander's historians, is a dusty and slovenly-looking city, containing about forty-five thousand inhabitants. The streets are narrow and the houses are two, three and four stories high; flat-roofed of course, and built of sun-burnt brick, with a washing of mud over them. The city wall, about five and thirty feet high, is of the same material, but in a decayed state. Around Multan, in various directions, are numerous hollow ways of no depth, connected by a short cut or hole through the bank when necessary. In the hot weather these are filled by means of a deep canal which communicates with the river Chenáb. The fort was built by Buran Bey, the son of the Emperor Jehan Guire' upon a mound that rises in the north part of the city, of which it occupies a considerable portion: the city is about three miles in circumference.

'There are four gates, one of which is closed up by the order of the Maharajah Ranjit Singh. The walls of the fort, which in some places are sixty feet in height, with bastions at intervals of about seventy yards, are in good repair, but mounted with a total of only six or seven ill-cast native guns. They have been surrounded by a ditch, in many places entirely destroyed. In the interior of the fort is the shrine of Nar Singhpuree, a Hindoo saint, and two lofty and spacious buildings erected over the tombs of two Musulman saints of great celebrity—Bhawul-Huk and Shah Allum. The ground plan of one is an octagon with a diagonal of about eighteen yards, and buttresses at the angles. The lower part of the building is surmounted with another octagon and a dome rising to the height of a hundred feet. The whole of the outside is tastefully ornamented with coloured tiles, chiefly blue, in imitation of those of China. They were originally used in ornamenting the public buildings of Multan, and were made there, but there is now no other manufactory of them nearer than Delhi. Ranjit Singh's cannon appear to have told with great effect upon the roofs of the principal mosques. Most of the buildings of the fort were destroyed after the capture of the city, with the exception of these shrines and the house of Mozuffer Khan, which stands on the most elevated part of it and commands an extensive view. This brave man, the last independent Nawab of Multan, lies buried in the vestibule of Bhawul-Huk. For twelve years he resolutely opposed the inroads of the Sikhs; but the fort was at last taken in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighteen by Kurruk Singh, the only son of Runjit, and present ruler of the Punjab. Mozuffer Khan fought in person at the Kedari gate of the fort, and at last fell mortally wounded, after a desperate resistance. When Ranjit Singh visited his tomb afterwards, he is reported to have made a speech somewhat of the same nature with that uttered by Napoleon at the tomb of Frederick of Prussia.

'Multan is famous for its silk manufactures. I visited the house of a weaver; it presented a very different appearance from the atelier of a shawl-maker in Kashmir. There I have seen twenty men at work in one room; here there are seldom more than three, who sit in a hollow in the ground, by which means their hands are brought down even with the tanee or woof, which is extended near the floor and fastened to a post not more than a foot in height. This apparatus takes up a great deal of room whereas the frame of the shawl-worker, which is perpendicular, does not occupy a space of more than six square yards. Seven hundred maunds of raw silk are brought to Multan every year by the Lohanis chiefly from Bokhara and Turkistan: these are manufactured in one hundred and fifty workshops. One man will finish an ordinary kaish or piece of silk in

six days, perhaps three yards long and a foot and a half wide, taking eight days previously for the arrangement of the weaving apparatus. A very handsome kaish is finished in sixteen days. That of the red colour is most valuable: it is dyed with cochineal, which is brought from either Bombay or Bokhara; that from Bombay is one rupee a seer, about a shilling a pound. Multan is also famous for its carpets and embroidery.

Visits of European travellers.

'There are from a thousand to fifteen hundred maunds of tobacco produced around Multan annually. The best, which is called surak, or the red, is sold for six annas, equal to about nine pence a seer. Inferior kinds are sold from four to two annas a seer.

'I exchanged visits with Sáwan Mal, the Governor of Multan. Ranjit Singh has been heard to say that he was one of the best officers in his service. Whilst I was at Multan, he sent me a kilaat, or dress of honour, together with an elephant and a couple of horses for my use, as an especial mark of his favour. He is a thin man, with a good tempered and, for a native, a superior expression of countenance, and is said to have distinguished himself at the taking of the city. His government was well spoken of by the Lohani merchants who gave him an excellent character for justice in his dealings with them. He is the arch opponent of the minister, Rajah Dhihan Singh, and his brothers, Gulab and Sucheyt Sing, whose influence at the court of Ranjit is usually all powerful.

'On the eleventh of April, the Besak, a Hindoo festival, took place in the morning. I rode to the river, about three miles distant. The country which intervenes between the city and its banks was looking very green and picturesque, considering it is entirely flat: a great deal of land was under cultivation and bearing very fine crops of wheat. Well-planted gardens were always in sight; and date and palm trees standing singly or in groups were frequently seen amongst the numerous topes or clumps of mulberry, mango, banian, peepul, and acacia trees. By the roadside were the vendors of wreaths and fans made from the flags that grew on the water's edge. In the afternoon there was a fair in the Bagh Ali Akber, a garden with a shrine of a fakir of that name. I saw the Multanis returning, every species of conveyance had, of course, been put in requisition: horses, mules, donkeys, carrying one or two persons; camels, each bearing seven or eight women and children, disposed on either side in tracks; and unlicensed bullock carts, with cargoes of giggling dancing girls. The number of persons who will stow themselves in these vehicles is quite astounding; all were in their holiday dresses. The Hindoo was to be distinguished by his caste-mark on his forehead, his rose-coloured turban, and red flowing trousers. The Multan Mussulman usually wore a white dress of the same kind of pattern. The Sikh, generally a Sepahi, was recognised by his sword, matchlock and accoutrements, his scanty turban, his earrings, his would-be knee-breeches, or his close-fitting ill-made trousers.' (Ghazni, p. 14).

In June 1837, Lieutenant Robert Leech, of the Bombay Engineers, and Dr. Percival Lord, who were attached to Burnes' Kabul Mission, came over to Multan on their way from Dera Gházi Khan to Dera Ismail Khan. At Multan they gathered much important information; and although 'they experienced some difficulties, their stay there was by no means disagreeable.'—(Burnes' Cabool, 1842, p. 88; Wood's Oxus, 2nd edition, p. 51.)

After this Multan seems to have been somewhat sparingly visited by Europeans until the siege of 1848-49, which has been already described in Chapter II, above.

Multan, it may here be mentioned, has the honor of being the birth-place of three distinguished men in history. The Delhi Emperor Muhammad Tughlak Sháh is said to have been born about the end of the thirteenth century in a hamlet now lying between the Lohari gate and the civil lines church, which is still known by the name of 'Toleh Khan'—a corruption, it is said, of 'Tughlak Khan.' Early in the fifteenth century, too, was born,

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

Visits of European travellers.

at a house known as the 'Khizánawala Makán,' near the Hussain Gáhí. the Emperor Bahlol Lodi, and his birth, it is said, was prematurely occasioned by a house falling upon, and, at the same time, killing his mother. Lastly, it was in the Saddozái Kirri, in the suburbs of Multan, as nearly as may be in the spot nowocupied by the house facing the Sessions Court, that Ahmad Sháh Abdáli, the first of the Durani sovereigns of Afghanistan, is said to have been born somewhere towards the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century.

The chief features of the town will now be noticed under three heads, according as they lie (*i*) in the fort, (*ii*) in the city, and (*iii*) outside the city.

(I).—The Fort.

The fort.

The fort is built on a detached mound of earth separated from the city by the bed of an old branch of the Rávi river. As regards the date of the foundation of the fort, we have no historical evidence, and our conclusions can be based only on the results of a well sunk by Sir Alexander Cunningham when he was here in 1853. The well was just outside the walls of the temple of Prahladpuri, and the results are thus given in a tabular form :—

Depth, feet.	*Probable date.*	*Discoveries.*
1, 2	1700	Upper stratum; English broken bottles; pieces of iron shells; leaden bullets.
3	1600	......
4, 5	1500	Gla·ed pottery and glazed tiles.
6	1400	Small bricks, 6" × 4" × 1".
7, 8	1300	......
9	1200	......
10, 11	1100	* Coin of Muiz-ud-din Kaikobad, A.D. 1288-89. Glazed blue chiragh or oil lamp.
12	1000	Coin of Sri Samanta Deva, Circa A.D. 900.
13, 14	950, 900	Bricks 11" × 6½" × 2". Glazed tiles and pottery ceased.
15	800	Red ashes 2 feet deep. (Bricks 11" × 6½" × 2".)
16, 17	700	Red ashes 2 feet deep. (Bricks 11" × 6½" × 2".)
18	600	Black ashes 6 to 9 inches. (Bricks 11" × 6½" × 2".)
19, 20	500	......
21	400	Fragments of large bricks 14" × 11" × 2½".
22, 23	300	......
24	200	......
25, 26	100	......
27	B.C.	......

* Sic. in orig.

The fort.

Depth, feet.	Probable date.	Discoveries.
28, 29	100	......
30	200	2 feet of ashes and burnt earth. Silk-spinner's ball. Shoemaker's sharpening stone. Copper vessel with some 200 coins.
31, 32	300	
33	400	......
34, 35	500	......
36	600	Natural soil unmixed.
37, 38	700	
39	800	
40	...	......

—(See *Arch. Sur Reps.*, v, 127.)

The ashes in the 8th century A.D. may, according to Cunningham, represent the capture of Multan by Mahomed Kasim in A.D. 702, and those in the 4th century B.C. the supposed capture by Alexander in B.C. 326.

While it was intact the circuit of the fort was 6,600 feet, or 1¼ miles, and it had 46 bastions, including two flanking towers at each of the four gates. The four gates were (i) the De or Deh gate on the west, which is the one usually entered by visitors. The name is said by Cunningham to represent 'Dewal,' the gate having in former times led straight to the Dewal or temple inside the fort, which will be described below.* (ii) The Khizri gate, on the north-east, so called because it led most directly on to the river, which, like other water, is under the protection of the saint Khwaja Khizr.† (iii) The Sikhi gate on the south-east. The name of the gate may or may not be connected, as has been suggested, with the neighbouring town of Sikha, so often mentioned by the early Arab Historians; but it is as likely to mean merely the 'Spiked gate.' It is said that the doors of the gate were armed with projecting spikes to prevent their being battered by elephants. It was at this gate that the murderous attack was made on Mr. Agnew in 1848. The gate has now disappeared, but a road leads past it to the shrines of Prahladpuri and Bahawal Hakk. (iv) The Rehri gate opposite the Hussain Gáhi, so called because of the deep depression below it; this has now practically disappeared. There is now an inner wall in the fort, and the enclosure formed by this wall is accessible only by the Dot gate and by a new gate leading towards the tomb of Bahawal Hakk.

For a year or two after annexation, and until the present cantonment was laid out, the greater part of the garrison was

* It should, at the same time, be observed that none of the gates is so far from the site of the old temple as this one. One of the drains in the centre of the fort is still known as Mámú De's drain.

† *Cf.* the Khizri gate of Lahore City. Cunningham suggests that the gate was named after Khizr Khan, a governor of the 14th Century mentioned in chapter II above.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

The fort.

stationed in the fort; but the fort has now lost its military importance. The British troops were withdrawn from it, and the fort handed over to the civil authorities in March 1891. It was, however, again taken over by the military in January 1893, and is still under military control; the main buildings being kept up by the Military Works Department.

The sun temple.

The earliest and most celebrated of the buildings in the fort is one of which there is now not a trace remaining, *viz.*, the temple known to the early Mahomedans as the Temple of the Sun. This temple is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang in 641 A.D. It was apparently destroyed in the 11th century, but it was again restored, and it seems to have been still standing in Thevenot's time (after 1666 A.D.) It appears to have been shortly afterwards destroyed by Aurangzeb, and its place seems to have been taken by a Jama Masjid. This in its turn was made by the Sikhs into a powder magazine, and this magazine was blown up by a shell from the British batteries in the siege of 1848. Its ruins were seen by Cunningham in 1853 'in the very middle of the fort.' According to the map attached to the Archæological Survey Report of 1872-73, the building must have been just to the west of the place where the obelisk in memory of Agnew and Anderson now stands. The following are the accounts given of the temple by the several writers who mention it:—

Hiuen Tsang, who was in Multan in 641 A.D., writes:—

'The country is about 4,000 li in circuit; the capital town is some 30 li round. It is thickly populated. The establishments are wealthy. This country is in dependence on the Kingdom of the Cheka (Tse-Kiá). The soil is rich and fertile. The climate is soft and agreeable. The manners of the people are simple and honest; they love learning, and honour the virtuous. The greater part sacrifice to the spirits; few believe in the law of Buddha. There are about ten sangharamas mostly in ruins; there are a few priests, who study indeed, but without any wish to excel. There are eight Deva temples, in which sectaries of various classes dwell. There is a temple dedicated to the sun, very magnificent and profusely decorated. The image of the Sun-deva is cast in yellow gold and ornamented with rare gems. Its divine insight is mysteriously manifested, and its spiritual powers made plain to all. Women play their music, light their torches, offer their flowers and perfumes to honour it. This custom has been continued from the very first. The kings and high families of the five Indies never fail to make their offerings of gems and precious stones (to the Deva). They have founded a home of mercy (happiness), in which they provide food and drink, and medicines for the poor and sick, affording succour and sustenance. Men from all countries come here to offer up their prayers; there are always some thousands doing so. On the four sides of the temple are tanks with flowering groves, where one can wander about without restraint.'—(BEAL: *Records of Western Countries*, HIUEN TSANG, ii, 274).

Wilford in As. Res., xi, 70, quotes a story from the Bhavishya Purana to the effect that Samba, son of Krishna, crossed to the north of the Chenab, and soon after erected a golden statue to the sun.

Abu Zaid (about 916 A.D.) mentions 'the idol called Multan' which, he says, is situated 'in the environs of Mansura'; and says that aloes from Kamrun (Assam) are used by the ministers of the temple as incense.—(ELL. i, 11.)

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

The sun temple.

According to the Chach-náma (written originally before 750 A.D.) Muhammad Kasim, when he took Multán in 712 A.D., was told of a hoard buried in old times by Jibawín (v.l Jaswin, Jasúr), a chief of the city and a descendant of the Rai of Kashmir, who 'made a reservoir, on the eastern side of Multa.., which was 100 yards square. In the middle of it he built a temple 50 yards square, and under it a chamber in which he concealed 50 copper jars, each of which was filled with a fine gold dust. Over it there is a temple in which there is an idol made of red gold, and trees are planted round the reservoir.' Kasim went there and found 'an idol made of gold, and its two eyes were bright red rubies. He had it taken up and obtained 13,200 mans of gold.—(ELL., i, 203.)

Al Biladuri (893-4), in speaking of Muhammad Kasim's expedition, says he captured the temple ministers. 'The Mussulmans found there much gold in a chamber 10 cubits long by 8 broad, and there was an aperture above through which the gold was poured into the chamber... The temple (budd) of Multan received rich presents and offerings, and to it the people of Sind resorted as to a place of pilgrimage They circumambulated it and shaved their heads and beards. They conceived that the image was that of the prophet Job.—God's peace be on him!'—(ELL. i, 123.)

Istakhri (about 951 A.D.) mentions the idol and the number of pilgrims who went to worship it. 'The temple of the idol is a strong edifice situated in the most populous part of the city in the market of Multan below the bazar of the ivory dealers and the shops of the copper-smiths. The idol is placed under a cupola in the midst of the building, and the ministers of the idol and those devoted to its service dwell round the cupola. In Multan there are no men, either of Hind or Sind, who worship idols except those who worship this idol in this temple. The idol has a human shape and is naked, with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like morocco leather, and nothing but its eyes are visible. Some believe that the body is made of wood, some deny this, but the body is not allowed to be uncovered to decide the point. The eyes of the idol are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. It sits in a quadrangular position on the throne, its hands resting upon its knees with the fingers closed, so that only four can be counted. When the Mahomedans make war upon them and endeavour to seize the idol, the inhabitants bring it out, pretending that they will break it and burn it, upon this the Mahomedans retire, otherwise they would destroy Multan."—(ELL. i, 27.)

Masudi (died 957 A. D.) says Multan contains the idol known by the name Multan; and mentions the pilgrimages to it and the rich present of aloes made to it. 'When the unbelievers march against Multan, and the faithful do not feel themselves strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break the idol and their enemies immediately withdraw.'—(ELL. i, 23.)

Ibn Haukal (976 A. D.) copies Istakhri word for word.—(ELL. i, 35.)

Abu Rihan Albiruni (970-1039) writes:—

'A famous idol of theirs was that of Multan, dedicated to the sun and therefore called Aditya. It was of wood and covered with red Cordova leather: its two eyes were two red rubies... When Mahomed Ibn Alkasim Ibn Almunabbih conquered Multan, he inquired why the town had become so very flourishing and so many treasures had there been accumulated; and then he found out that this idol was the cause, for there came pilgrims from all sides to visit it. Therefore he thought it best to leave the the idol where it was, but hung a piece of cow's flesh on its neck by way of mockery. On the same place a mosque was built. When then the Karmatians occupied Multan, Jalaun Ibn Shaiban, the usurper, broke the idol into pieces and killed its priests. He made his mansion, which was a castle built of brick, on an elevated place, the mosque instead of the old mosque, which he ordered to be shut, from hatred against anything that had been done under the Caliphs of the house of Umayya. When afterwards the blessed prince Mahomed swept away their rule from these countries he made again the old mosque the place of the Friday worship, and the second one was left to decay. At present it is only a barn floor where branches of Hinna (*Lawsinia inermis*) are bound together.'—(SACHAU, i, 116.)

Again, talking of places of Hindu pilgrimage, the author says: 'They used to visit Multan before its idol temple was destroyed.'—(SACHAU, i, 148.)

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

The sun temple.

Idrisi (about 1103 A.D.) copies a good deal from Istakhri. He says, however of the idol: 'It is in the human form, with four sides, and is sitting on a seat made of bricks and plaster. . . It is, as we have said, square, and its arms below the elbows seem to be four in number. The temple of the idol is situated in the middle of Multan, in the most frequented bazar. It is a dome-shaped building. The upper part of the dome is gilded, and the dome and the gates are of great solidity. The columns are very lofty, and the walls coloured. . . . . Being ignorant of the name of the man who set it up, the inhabitants content themselves with saying it is a wonder.—(ELL. i, 81)

Kazwini (about 1275 A.D.) says of Multan: 'The infidels have a large temple there and a great idol (budd). The chief mosque is near this temple . . . . All this is related by Misar bin Mahalhil . . . The same author says the summit of the temple is 300 cubits, and the height of the idol is 20 cubits. The houses of the servants and devotees are round the temple, and there are no idol worshippers in Multan besides those who dwell in those precincts. . . . Ibn-ul-Fakih says that an Indian came to this idol and placed upon his head a crown of cotton daubed with pitch: he did the same with his fingers, and having set fire to it stayed before the idol until it was burnt.'—(ELL. i, 96.)

No other mention of the idol is made before that of Thevenot, the French traveller, who wrote in 1687, and whose description has been quoted above.

The Prahladpuri temple.

On the north edge of the fort is the temple of Prahládpuri, which takes its name from Prahlád, the hero of the story of the Lion or Narsingh Avatár of the god Vishnu. The story tells how this country was at one time under the sway of a Raja named Harnákhash (Hiranya Kasipu), a local Mezentius, who contemned the gods and forbade the doing of homage in their name. His son, the pious Prahlád Bhagat, refused to obey his orders, and the tyrant ordered a pillar of gold to be heated with fire, so that the son might be bound to it. When, however, twilight came, and the servants attempted to bind the pious Prahlád to the pillar, the pillar burst in twain, and out sprang the god Vishnu in the form of a Man-Lion, who at once proceeded to lay the king across his knees and rip him open with his claws, in the manner which we see at times so vividly portrayed in the pictures which adorn the walls of Hindu shops and dwellings.*

The temple, lying, as it does, so close alongside the shrine of Baháwal Hakk, is probably an old one, † but it possesses no proper Mahatmya, or sacred chronicle, to show its previous history, the only book of the kind owned by the priests being the Narsing-puran, which is said to contain no local allusions. The temple is noticed by Burnes in his account of Multan quoted above. It was unroofed, and otherwise damaged, by the explosion of the magazine during the siege of 1848. When Cunningham was in Multan in 1853, it was 'quite deserted,' but subsequently it was repaired by subscription, and a new

* This king had, after the style of Balder, received a promise that he would be killed neither in heaven nor on earth, neither by night nor by day, &c.

† Some say that the original Narsingh temple was here, and that the Emperor Sher Shah replaced it by a mosque known as the 'bara-thambawala' from its 12 columns. This mosque having fallen in, the Prahládpuri temple was built on its ruins.

Chapter VI

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

The Prahládpuri temple.

image of the Narsingh Avatár was set up in it. It appears that there was formerly an entrance to the temple through the shrine of Baháwal Hakk, but during the years in which the temple was disused this was closed. In 1810 the Hindús raised the height of the spire of the temple, a proceeding which led to protests from the guardians of the neighbouring shrine, and subsequently to a good deal of ill-feeling, which ultimately ended in a serious riot in the city.

The shrine was well supported by the Sikh Government, and still retains some mafi lands. The mohant also receives, or till lately received, an annual contribution from every shop in the city. There is a fair at the Narsingh Chaudas in Jeth (in May), which lasts from 3 to 6 P.M.: towards end of the fair the people used to throw cucumbers at each other, and the proceedings used to be a bit noisy, but of late years they have become more decorous.

Immediately to the west of the Prahládpuri temple is the shrine of Baháwal Hakk,

Shrine of Baháwal Hakk.

Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakaria, otherwise known as Baháwal Hakk, was, according to Abdul Fazl (Jarret iii., 362), 'the son of Wajih-ud-din Muhammad-b-Kamál-ud-din Ali Shah Kurayshi, and was born at Kot Karor,* near Multan, in A.H. 565 (A.D 1169-70). His father died when he was a child: he grew in wisdom, and studied in Túrán and Irán. He received his doctrine from Shaykh Shihab-ud-din Suhrawardi at Baghdad, and reached the degree of vice-gerent. He was on terms of great friendship with Shaikh Farid Shakkarganj, and lived with him for a considerable time. Shaikh (Fakr-ud-din) Iráki and Mir Husayni were his disciples.' Baháwal Hakk was for many years the great saint of Multan, and has still a very extensive reputation in the South-West Punjab and in Sindh. One of his miracles was the preservation of a sinking boat, and the boatmen of the Chenab and Indus still invoke Baháwal Hakk as their patron saint in times of difficulty. His death is thus described by Abulfazl: 'On the 7th of Zafar A.H. 665 (7th November 1266), an aged person of grave aspect sent in to him a sealed letter by the hand of his son Sadr-ud-din. He read it and gave up the ghost; and a loud voice was heard from the four corners of the town: "Friend is united to friend" (Dost ba dost rasid).†

The shrine is said to have been built by the saint himself, and according to Cunningham, there is only one other specimen of the architecture of this exact period, and that is at Sonepat. The tomb is thus described. 'The lower part of the tomb is a square of 51 feet 9 inches outside. This is surmounted by an

* This is Karor in the Leiah Tahsil of Mianwali.
† Ferishta also gives an account of the saint.

Chapter VI.

Towns. Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

Shrine of Baháwal Hakk.

octagon, about one-half of the height of the square, above which there is a hemispherical dome. The greater part of the building is a mass of white plaster; but on the eastern side there are still existing some fairly preserved specimens of diaper ornaments in glazed tiles.'* The tomb was so much damaged during the siege of 1848 as to become an almost complete ruin. A proposal was made in 1850 by the Local Government that 10,000 rupees should be granted for the repair of this tomb and that of Rukn-i-Alam, but the proposal was not sanctioned, and the shrine was repaired by means of subscriptions collected by the then Makhdum, Shah Mahmud.†

The shrine contains, besides the tomb of the saint and many of his descendants, that of his son Sadr-ud-din. The story is that Baháwal Hakk left enormous sums of wealth to his son, but that Sadr-ud-din, on coming into possession of it, at once distributed the whole of it to the poor, saying that, although his father had sufficiently conquered himself to have no fear of an improper use of it, he himself, not being so advanced in sanctity, dreaded the temptation.‡ According to Abdul Fazl he died in A.H. 709 (A.D. 1309).§

Opposite the door of the shrine is a small grave adorned with blue tiles, which covers the body of the brave Nawab Muzaffar Khan, who died sword in hand at the gate of the shrine in 1818, defending himself against the assault of the Sikh invaders. On the tomb is the following fine inscription (now nearly obliterated):—

Shujá' was ibn-us Shujá' wa Hájí
Amír-i-Multán zahe Muzaffar.
Ba roz-i-maidán ba tegh o bázú
Che hamla áwurd chún ghazanfar.
Chú surkh-rú shud ba súe jannat
Baguft Rizwán 'Biyá Muzaffar.' (i. e., A. H. 1233.)

Of which the following (though missing some of the points of the original) may be given as a translation:—

The brave, son of the brave, and Háji,
Amir of Multan, O brave Muzaffar,
In the day of battle—with arm and sword—
How lion-like was his onslaught;
When, with face aflame, he set out for Paradise.
The porter of Heaven's gate cried; 'Come, O! Muzaffar.'

* Archæological Survey Reports, v, 131.
† See Griffin's Punjab Chiefs, new edition, ii, 87.
‡ Ferishta, quoted by Jarret.—Ain iii, 362.
§ Jarret.—Ain iii, 365.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan

Shrine of Bahawal Hakk.

In these precincts are buried also Shahnawaz Khan, son of Muzaffar Khan, who was killed with his father; the celebrated Makhdum Shah Mahmud, the late Makhdum Bahâwal Bakhsh, and most of the eminent members of the Koreshi family. On the eastern wall of the shrine is an inscription commemorating the repair of the dome by one Pir Mahomed, of Thanesar, and over the western gateway is an interesting inscription regarding the exemption of grain from taxation in the year 1762-63 by Ali Mahomed Khan, Khâkwani, then Subadár of Multan. The inscription may be translated as follows:—

In the days of the Duráni Emperor,
When every man's hunger was satisfied with bread,
In every place was bread cheap in price,
Nor was there famine save in Multan alone.*
No one dieth save from hunger,
And exaction of grain dues hath made high the price of food.
Now for God's sake and for the sake of the friend of God,
By the aid of the Syads, his noble offspring
And by the grace of the countenance of the great Pir Mahbúb Subhâni,
Who in saintness exceedeth all other saints;
By the aid of the countenance of the great Makhdum Bahá-ud-din
And for the sake of Rukn-i-Alam (know this):
And for the praise of Ahmad Shah Abdáli,
From whom the kings of the earth receive their crowns;
Ali Mahomed Khan, the servant of God,
Hath remitted the dues upon grain.
If any Subadár take any due on grain
May his wife be three times utterly divorced.
A voice from heaven cried, in the name of the All-Pure God,
'The year of this event is The eternal Giver of Treasure.'

(i. e., A.H. 1176.)

Shrine of Rukn-i-Alam.

On the south-west side of the fort is the magnificent tomb of Rukn-i-Alam, *alias* Rukn-ud-din Abul Fatteh, the grandson of the saint Bahâwal Hakk. Rukn-i-Alam was a man of great religious and political influence in the days of the Tughlak sovereigns, and was in Multan when the city was visited by the traveller Ibn Batuta, in 1334. 'Shaykh Rukn-ud-din,' says Abul Fazl (Jarret, iii, 365), 'was the son of Sadr-ud-din Arif, and the successor of his eminent grandfather. At the time when Sultan Kutb-ud-din (Mubarak Shah Khilji (A.H. 717, A.D., 1317) regarded Shaykh Nizám-ud-din with disfavour, he summoned Shaykh Rukn-ud-din from Multan in the hope of disturbing his influence. On his arrival near Delhi he met Shaykh Nizam-ud-din. Kutb-ud-din, on receiving the Shaykh (Rukn-ud-din), asked him "Who among the people of the city was foremost in going out to meet him?" He replied: "The most eminent person of his age." By the happy answer he removed the king's displeasure.'

* The people in the Punjab generally having apparently recovered from the great famine of A. D. 1759-60.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

As regards the teaching of the saint, Griffin writes: 'From what remains of his doctrines, scattered through the works of his disciples, it appears that he taught a modified form of metempsychosis. He asserted that at the day of judgment the wicked would rise in bestial forms suitable to the characters which they had borne on earth: the carnal man would rise a leopard; the licentious man a goat; the glutton, a pig; and so on through the animal kingdom.'—(*Punjab Chiefs*, new edition, ii, 65.)

Shrine of Rukn-i-Alam.

The shrine is thus described by Cunningham *:—'This fine building is an octagon of 51 feet 9 inches diameter inside, with perpendicular walls 41 feet 4 inches high and 13 feet 3 inches thick, supported by sloping towers at the angles. This is surmounted by a smaller octagon of 25 feet 8 inches exterior side, and 26 feet 10 inches in height, which leaves a narrow passage all round the top of the lower story for the Muazzin to call the faithful to prayers from all sides. Above this is a hemispherical dome of 58 feet exterior diameter. The total height of the tomb, including a plinth of 3 feet, is just 2 inches over 100 feet. But as the building stands on the high ground on the north-western edge of the fort, its total height above the country is 150 feet. This great height makes it one of the most striking objects on approaching Multan, as it can be seen for a distance of 12 or 15 miles all round.

'The Rukn-i-Alam is built entirely of red brick, bounded with beams of sisam wood, which are now much decayed. The whole of the exterior is elaborately ornamented with glazed tile panels, and string courses and battlements. The only colours used are dark blue, azure, and white, but these are contrasted with the deep red of the finely polished bricks; and the result is both effective and pleasing. These mosaics are not like those of later days,—mere plane surfaces —but the patterns are raised from half an inch to two inches above the back ground. This mode of construction must have been very troublesome; but its increased effect is undeniable, as it unites all the beauty of variety of colour with the light and shade of a raised pattern. In the accompanying plate I have given a few specimens of these curious and elaborate panels.

'The interior of the Rukn-i-Alam was originally plastered and painted with various ornaments, of which only a few traces now remain. The sarcophagus of Rukn-ud-din is a large plain mass of brick-work covered with mud plaster. About one hundred of his descendants lie around him under similar masses of brick and mud, so that the whole of the interior is now filled with rows of these unsightly mounds.

'There are several curious stories about this tomb, some of which would appear to have originated in the fact that it was first built by Tughlak for himself, and was afterwards given up by his son, Mohammad Tughlak, for the last resting-place of Rukn-ud-din. Tughlak first began to build close to the tomb of Baháwal Hakk, when a voice was heard from the tomb of the saint saying, "You are treading on my body." Another site was then chosen at a short distance when again the saint's voice was heard, saying, "You are treading on my knees." A third site, still farther off, was next taken, when a third time the voice was heard, saying, "You are treading on my feet." Tughlak then selected the present site at the very opposite end of the fort; and as the voice was not heard again, the tomb was finished. Some say that the voice was heard only once, exclaiming, "You are treading on my feet."

'Another story is, that Rukn-ud-din, who was originally buried in the tomb of his grandfather Baháwal Hakk, removed himself to his present tomb after his burial. It would appear from the account of Ibn Batuta that the mysterious death of Tughlak was really planned by his son Mohammed, and carried out by Malik Záda, the inspector of buildings, who afterwards became the chief Wazir of Mohammad, with the title of Khwaja-i-Jahan. The Multan saint was present at the catastrophe, and Ibn Batuta's account was obtained direct from him. His words are: "Shekh Rukn-ud-din told me that he was then near the Sultan, and that the Sultan's favourite son Mahmud was with them. Thereupon Mohammad came and said to the Shekh: 'Master, it is now time for afternoon

* Archæological Reports, v. 132-4.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

Shrine of Rukn-i-Alam.

prayer, go down and pray.' 'I went down,' said the Shekh, 'and they brought the elephants upon one side, as the prince and his confidant had arranged; when the animals passed along that side, the building fell down upon the Sultan and his son Mahmud. I heard the noise,' continued the Shekh, 'and I returned without having said my prayers. I saw that the building had fallen. The Sultan's son Mohammad ordered pickaxes and shovels to be brought to dig and seek for his father, but he made signs for them not to hurry, and the tools were not brought till after sunset. Then they began to dig, and they found the Sultan, who had bent over his son to save him from death."

'Here we see the anxiety of Mohammad for the safety of Rukn-ud-din, as testified by the saint himself, and at the same time we learn from his trustworthy eye witness that Mohammad made signs to the people not to hurry in bringing tools to extricate his father. His anxiety for the safety of the saint betrays his guilty intentions towards his father; and I think that the people of Multan are right in their belief that the great tomb at Multan was given by Mohammad to Rukn-ud-din as a bribe to keep him quiet regarding the death of Tughlak Shah.'

This shrine and that of Baháwal Hakk are enlivened at times by the visits of bands of pilgrims from Sindh and elsewhere, who march in with flags, crying out in chorus: "Dam Baháwal Hakk! Dam Baháwal Hakk!" The official custodian of the shrines is the Makhdum, Hassan Bakhsh, a viceregal darbari, an account of whose family is given in Chapter III above. Although the fort is closed to outsiders at night, the 'Mujawars' are allowed to reside at the Rukn-i-Alam shrine, and the Makhdum has a license to come in at any time of the day or night. There are considerable tracts of country held in jagir for the benefit of the shrines, and these buildings, more than any others, have contributed to the fame of Multan in Mussalman countries.

Memorial obelisk.

In the centre of the fort is an obelisk erected to the memory of Messrs. Agnew and Anderson, who were murdered at the Idgah in 1848 (see Chapter II above). The obelisk is about 50 feet high, with five steps to a pedestal 5 feet high. On a white tablet, on the west face of the pedestal, there is an inscription written by Sir Herbert Edwardes in the taste of the time, which runs as follows:—

Beneath this Monument
Lie the Remains
of
PATRICK ALEXANDER VANS AGNEW,
of the Bengal Civil Service, and
WILLIAM ANDERSON,
Lieutenant, 1st Bombay Fusilier Regiment,
Assistants to the Resident at Lahore,
Who being deputed by the Government to
Relieve, at his own request,
Diwan Mulraj, Viceroy of Multan,
Of the fortress and authority which he held
Were attacked and wounded by the Garrison
On the 19th April, 1848,

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

Memorial obelisk.

And, being treacherously deserted by the Sikh Escort,
Were on the following day,
In flagrant breach of national faith and hospitality,
Barbarously murdered
In the Edgah under the walls of Mooltan
Thus fell
These two young public servants
At the ages of 25 and 28 years,
Full of high hopes, rare talents,
And promise of future usefulness,
Even in their death
Doing their Country honour.
Wounded and forsaken
They could offer no resistance,
But hand in hand calmly awaited
The onset of their assailants;
Nobly they refused to yield,
Foretelling the day
When thousands of Englishmen should come
To avenge their death,
And destroy Mulraj, his army, and fortress.
History records
How the prediction was fulfilled.
Borne to the grave
By their victorious Brother Soldiers and Countrymen[1]
They were buried with Military honors,
Here,
On the summit of the Captured Citadel,
On the 26th January, 1849.
The annexation
Of the Punjab to the Empire
Was the result of the War,
Of which their assassination
Was the commencement.

To the east of the obelisk are three large sepulchral monuments, with the following inscriptions:—

SACRED to the Memory of Major GEORGE SHEAFE MONTIZAMBERT killed in action in Command of H. M. 10th Regiment, on the 12th September 1848, aged 34 years; and of Captain HOLLINGSWORTH, of the same Regiment, who died of a wound received in the action of the 9th September 1848, aged 30 years.

To the Memory of Second-Lieutenants J. THOMSON and C. T. GRAHAM, Bengal Artillery, who fell at the siege of Multan, 1849.
Erected by their Brother Officers.

In Memory of 1 SERGEANT and 13 GUNNERS, Bengal Foot Artillery, who fell at the siege of Multan, 1848-9.
This Tomb is erected by their Comrades.

Chapter VI.

Towns. Municipalities and Cantonments.
Multan.

Memorial obelisk.

in the open space to the west of the obelisk is the tomb of Syad Darbar Shah, Bukhari; a small structure with an attendant in charge.

II.—The City.

The City proper of Multan is bounded on the north by the depression lying between it and the fort, and on all other sides by a brick wall.

'The walled city,' writes Cunningham,* 'is 4,200 feet in length and 2,400 feet in breadth, with the long straight side facing the south-west. Altogether the walled circuit of Multan, including both city and citadel, is 15,000 feet, or very nearly three miles, and the whole circuit of the place, including the unwalled suburbs, is from four and a half to five miles. This last measurement agrees exactly with the estimate of Hiuen Thsang, who makes the circuit of Multan 30 "li," or just five miles. It agrees also with the estimate of Elphinstone, who, with his usual accuracy, describes Multan as above four miles and a half in circumference. The fortress had no ditch, when it was seen by Elphinstone and Burnes, but a broad deep ditch, which could be readily filled by the waters of the Ravi canals, was shortly afterwards added by Sawan Mall, the energetic Governor of Multan, under Ranjit Singh. The walls are said to have been built by Murad Bakhsh, the youngest son of Shah Jahan, who was Governor of Multan for a few years towards the close of his reign. But the work of Murad Bakhsh must have been confined to repairs, including a complete facing of the greater part; for when I dismantled the defences of Multan in 1854, I found that the brick walls were generally double, the outer wall being about four feet thick, and the inner walls from 3½ to 4 feet. The whole was built of burnt bricks and mud mortar, excepting the outer courses, which were laid in lime mortar to a depth of 9 inches.

The city has six gates, which are placed in the following order:—The Lahori or Lohari gate at its north-western corner; the Bohar gate at its south-western corner. Next to the Bohar gate, on the south, comes the Haram gate, then the Pak gate.† On the eastern side is the Delhi gate, and at the north-eastern corner is the Daulat gate.‡ The bastion at the south-eastern corner is the Khuni Burj, or Bloody Bastion, where the British troops, on January 2, 1849, stormed the city. On the northern side is a wide approach to the city, rising from the old bed of the Ravi and known as the Husain Gahi.§ From the Husain Gahi, a wide paved street runs for about half a mile in a southerly direction into the heart of the city. This is known as the chauk, and at two-thirds of its length from the Husain Gahi it sends out a broad street to the Delhi gate on the east, and another to the Lahori on the west. The chauk ends at the mosque of Wali Muhammad, at which point three broad streets branch off to the Bohar, Haram and Pak gates, respectively. The other streets are narrow and tortuous, often ending in *culs de sac*. The central portion of the city near the Wali Muhammad Mosque is known as the "Kup."

The Gardezi shrine.

Of the Mahomedan buildings in the city, the most remarkable is the shrine of Shekh Muhammad Yusaf Gardezi, near

* Archæological Survey Reports, v. 121.

† The Pák gate is so called from the adjoining shrine of Musa Pák Sháhid and the Haram gate, from the fact that the zanana of the Gilání descendants of the same saint (Musa Pák Sháhid) was there situated.

‡ So called because the Moghal court and cantonments were outside this gate in the neighbourhood of the Am Khas. The suburb of Aghapura, to the south of this, was the residence of the Moghal lords or aghas.

§ Said by some to be called after a grass-seller of the name of Husain, the grass market having once been in this neighbourhood. Others derive the name from a Syad Husain Agahi whose tomb is shown in the neighbourhood.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

The Gardezi shrine.

the Bohar gate. This is a rectangular domeless building, plentifully decorated with glazed tile work of considerable beauty. In the same courtyard are several graves; an imambara some 30 years old, a mosque, also modern, and a new building for ablutions; also a small shrine covering a footprint of the Caliph Ali; but the effect of the buildings is a good deal spoilt by their being closely surrounded by houses. Muhammad Yusaf was a descendant of the prophet through the Imam Hassan, and was born in A.H. 450 (A.D. 1058) at Gardez, near Ghazni, in Afghanistan, to which his grandfather is said to have emigrated from Baghdad. The saint came to Multan, it is said, in A.D. 1088, in the reign of Ala-ud-din Bahram Shah, of the Ghaznavi dynasty. There is at that time a great gap in the history of Multan, and it is very likely, as the family history of the Gardezis states, that the invasion of Sultán Modud in 1042 (see Chapter II above) had entirely obliterated the old city. We are told that the Multan of Modud's time lay to the south of the present city near the tomb of Mulla Manj, south of Mai Pákdaman, and that Shekh Muhammad Yusaf, by taking up his abode on the site of the present shrine, then near the banks of the Ravi, induced the people to colonise the present city and fort of Multan. The story probably, in some dim way, represents a change in the course of the Ravi river; and we find the saint's descendants enjoying for many centuries large properties and jagirs along the old banks of the Ravi between Multan and Kabírwala. Shekh Muhammad Yusaf was a specially gifted man: he could ride tigers and could handle snakes: and for 40 years after his death his hand would occasionally come out of his tomb.

Shrine of Musa Pák Shahíd.

Another well-known shrine in the city is that of Musa Pák Sháhíd inside the Pák gate. Shekh Abulhassan Musa Pák Sháhíd, a descendant of Abdul Kadir Gilani, was born at Uch in 1545 A.D., and was killed in A.D. 160 in a skirmish with some raiders near Mangchatti in the south of the Multan tahsil. His body was brought into Multan by his successor in A.D. 1616: it is said that the body was not decomposed at all, and was brought in sitting on a horse. Among his descendants were Hamid Ganj Bakhsh (buried near Musa Pák Sháhíd), Yahya Nawab (buried between the Pák and Haram gates), Inayat Wilayat (buried near the Haram gate in a somewhat conspicuous tomb), and Jan Muhammad (buried at Delhi). The shrine of Musa Pák is largely frequented by Pathấns, and there is a small mela on Thursday evenings. Part of the village of Hafizwala in Shujabad is held in jagir by the guardians of the shrine.

Shrine of Shádná Shahíd.

Another Mahomedan shrine which may be noted is that of Sháhdná Sháhid, near the Delhi gate. When this saint was 10 months old, his mother made accusations against the great Baháwal Hakk, similar to those which Potiphar's wife made

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

against Joseph. The infant child gave miraculous evidence in favour of the accused, and was accordingly done away with by his mother. He was, however, restored to life by Baháwal Hakk, whose faithful attendant he became for the rest of his life. There is a couplet which says :—

Shrine of Shádná Shábíd.

Andar Ghaus Baháwal-hakk ; báhar Kutb Faríd ;
Je ton bahut máwali mang Shádí Sháhíd.

(' Within is Baháwal-hakk , outside is Kutb Faríd , but if you wish a thing done in a great hurry, call on Shadná Shahíd ')

Mosques.

The Wali Muhammad Mosque in the Godri bazar, in the very centre of the town, was built by the Pathan Governor, Ali Muhammad Khan, Khákwani, in 1758, and exhibits a good specimen of the enamelled tiled work of the district. During the Sikh supremacy, the Nazim held his kutcherry in the court of this mosque, and a copy of the Granth was kept inside. The use of the mosque was restored to the Mussulmans with the advent of British power.

The Phulhattanwali Mosque in the Chopar bazar, on the western side of the city, is said to have been built by the Emperor, Farukh Siyar. It is said that while the Emperor was here a fakir foretold the birth of his son, and when the son was born the Emperor built this mosque as a memorial. The mosque derives its name from the flower-sellers' shops at the door.

There is also a mosque known as the Darswala, near the Daulat gate, where the attendants have previously had, and still to a large extent retain, a reputation for learning. It is said to have been patronised by Baba Farid.

Nao-gajas.

The names of 15 'nao-gaja' tombs (*i.e.*, tombs of saints, 9 yards long or thereabouts) were supplied to Cunningham when he was in Multán. Most of these were in or immediately adjoining the city. They were :—

(*a*) By the fort (these were all buried under the dismantled parapets before 1853) —

(1) Near the Sikki gate, the tomb of Lal Husain Bairagi, a converted Hindu.

(2) Near the De gate, tomb of Miran King Samar (?), 4 gaj in length

(3) Near the Rehri gate, tomb of Sabz Ghazi, 3½ gaz in length.

(4) Near the Jama Masjid, tomb of Kazi Kutb Káshání.

(*b*) In and about the city —

(5) Near the Bohar gate, and inside the city, tomb of Pir Ádham.

(6) Near the Bohar gate and outside the city, tomb of Pir Dindar, 54¼ feet long

(7) Above Husain Gahi, in the Nand Mohalla, tomb of Pir Ramzan Ghazi, 21 feet 3 inches long,

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

Nao-gajas.

(8) Outside the Delhi gate, 450 feet distant, tomb of Pir Gor Sultan. This tomb is 35½ feet in length. Beside it there is a large circular stone 27 inches in diameter and 8 inches thick, with a hole through the middle 9 inches in diameter. The stone is of a chocolate colour, with many marks of light yellow. It is called Manka. Some say the saint wore it round his neck, but the general belief is that it was his thumb-ring. This tomb is said to be 1,800 years old.

(9) and (10). Near Sagar, two tombs, each 3½ gaj in length. Names not known.

(11) and (12) At Shádna Shahíd, two tombs, of the Shád-na himself and of some unknown martyr, each 8½ gaj in length.

(13). In Sajjika Mohalla, unknown tomb.

(14). In Mangar ka mohalla, unknown tomb.

Hindus as well as Mahomedans pay their devotions at these tombs, and place lights before them on Fridays.

Narsinghpuri temple.

Of the Hindu buildings in the city the most celebrated is the Narsinghpuri temple, which is situated in the Sabz Mandi. The original Narsinghpuri temple mentioned in the histories has been described above, and was situated in the fort. No trace now remains of the old temple, and a new one was built about 1872 A.D. by the Prahládpuri Mohant on the site of a thakurdwara, known as Fateh Chand Tanksália's. This again was to be lately in ruins and has only recently been reconstructed by subscription.

Other Hindu shrines.

In the Kanak Mandi, or wheat market, in the Bharthianwala Mohalla, is a dharmsála built in the time of the Pathán supremacy. It contains two copies of the Granth, and is especially frequented by Shikárpuri sahukars.

In the Haram gate bazar is a shrine known as Dwara Banarsi Bhagat, built in honour of a holy man called Banarsi who came to Multan 300 years ago from Girot in the Shahpur district. Cunningham (Archæological Survey, v, 126) mentions some fragments of statues in a temple near the Haran or Haram Darwaza, which are said to have been made by Adu, the father of Adam.

In the north-east of the city is a building known as Bhai Dyal Singh's Dharmsála, which is kept by a respectable group of Nirmala Sadhus, and which is patronised by several of the better class of Hindus in the city. It contains a fine open hall, in which the Granth is suitably installed.

Mohallas.

The mohallas or quarters in the city are known chiefly after the name of the tribes or professions which inhabit them, such as the Kamángars, the Kumhárs, the Gardezis, the Gilanis, and so forth. Generally speaking, the quarters adjoining the city walls are inhabited by Musalmans; while those in the centre of the city and towards the fort (the quarters which in former days were the safest) are inhabited by Hindus.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

III.—OUTSIDE THE CITY.

The Idgah.

About a mile to the north-east of the city is the Idgah, which was built in 1735 by Nawab Abdussamad Khan, Governor of Lahore. It was employed in Sikh times for military purposes, and it was here that the ill-fated Agnew and Anderson were massacred in 1848 (see chapter II above). After annexation, the building was for some years used as the Deputy Commissioner's kutcherry; but in 1863 it was restored to the Mussalman community on their entering into engagements to preserve the tablet, which was placed under the central dome to the memory of Messrs. Agnew and Anderson. The inscription on the tablet, which is still accordingly preserved, runs: 'Within this dome, on the 19th of April 1848,* were cruelly murdered Patrick Vans Agnew, Esquire, Bengal Civil Service, and Lieutenant William Anderson, 2nd Bombay Fusiliers, Assistants to the Resident at Lahore.' The Idgah before annexation suffered from an explosion of powder while it was used as a powder magazine by the Sikhs. It was also in some disrepair as late as A.D. 1891, when it was restored at the instance largely of Mr. H.C. Cookson, the Deputy Commissioner, and of Nawab Muhammad Hyat Khan, the Divisional Judge, some Rs. 10,000 being collected by subscriptions and Rs. 10,000 being subscribed by Government on condition of the maintenance of the tablet above mentioned. The proportion of real tile work on the outside to imitation paint or plaster is not sufficiently large to dissipate a certain impression of tawdriness, but in other respects the mosque is a fine building. It is 240 feet long by 54 feet broad, and has one central dome, with open chambers on either side. It is faced by a fine brick paved courtyard with a small brick wall along side.

Bákírabadi Mosque.

Some two miles east of the Idgah, near the Duráns Langáns Canal, is the Bákirábádi Mosque, built by Bákir Khan, who was Subadar of Multan about the year 1720. In Diwán Sáwan Mal's time it was common for parties in a suit to be sent to this mosque to take oaths on the matter in dispute, the oaths taken in this mosque being held peculiarly sacred. The building is now in ruins.

Baba Safra.

South of the Idgah is the shrine of Baba Safra, round which in Sikh times the army used to be cantoned. There is a camping-ground here which is known in the route books as the Am Khas, and opposite it a small European cemetery.†

* A curious mistake. The real date was the 20th

† This cemetery contains the graves of the following persons:—Captain John Inglis, 11th Bengal Light Cavalry, died 16th February 1849 in his 44th year. William eldest son of Sergeant-Major and Catherine Reid, Bombay Rifles, deceased 14th June 1849, ætat 2 years and 10 months. G. M. Barker, Esquire, Indus Flotilla, died 16th June 1849 aged 29 years. W. H. Anderson, Lieutenant, Bombay Artillery, who departed this life at Multan, June 22nd, 1849, aged 20. Captain W.G.C. Hughes, 4th Bombay Rifles, died 1st July 1849, age 30 years. Edwin Charles Fuller, the beloved child of Lieutenant and Mrs. Stevens, 11th Regiment N. I., who departed this life 25th February 1850, aged 4 months and 18 days. Catherine Barfoot, wife

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

Shams Tabrez.

To the south of this lies the shrine of Shams Tabrez. The shrine is said to be named after one Shams-ud-din, of Sabzawar, in Afghanistan, a descendant of the Imam Jafar, who was born in A.D. 1165. This saint raised from the dead the son of the ruler of Ghazni, and afterwards came to Multan, which at that time was full of holy men. The chief of these, the holy Baháwal Hakk, sent to the new arrival a lota full of milk, indicating thereby that there was no room for him in the city, where there were already as many saints as could be supported. Shams-ud-din, however, returned the lota, after placing a rose leaf on the surface of the milk, and the delicate reply was appreciated. His death is said to have taken place in A. D. 1276, and the shrine was first built by his grandson in A.D. 1330. It was, however, practically rebuilt, at great expense, by one of the saint's followers as late as A.D. 1780. The guardians of the shrine are Shias, and they declare that the Shams, after whom the shrine is named, is called Shams Tabrez by mistake, the real cognomen being Tap-rez or Heat-giving.* The legends connecting the saint with the sun are thus described by Cunningham:—

'There are several legends about Shams Tabrez, but they all agree in attributing the great heat of Multan to the direct influence of the saint, in causing the sun to approach nearer to Multán than to other parts of the earth. One of the stories is related by Burnes, who calls him "Shams-i-Tabrezi, a saint from Bagdad, who is believed to have performed many miracles, and even raised the dead. This worthy, as the story is told, was flayed alive for his pretensions. He had long begged his bread in the city, and in his hunger caught a fish, which he held up to the sun, and brought that luminary near enough to roast it. This established his memory and equivocal fame on a firmer basis. The natives to this day attribute the heat of Multan, which is proverbial, to this incident." According to another version, the saint had begged for food through the city in vain, and when he was dying from hunger he prayed to the sun in his anger: 'O sun, your name is Shams, and my name is Shams, come down and punish the people of Multán for their inhumanity." The sun at once drew nearer, and the heat of Multan has ever since been greater than that of any other place. Another version attributes the prayer of the saint to the persecution and taunts of the people, who used to disturb and worry him when he was at his devotions.'

A similar tale is given in Malcolm's History of Persia (1829, ii, 282), but without special reference to Multan; and Malcolm describes this saint as one of the sect of Sufis. The attendants at the shrine of Ram Tirath, it may be noted, have similar tales

of Sergeant J. A. Barfoot, 2nd Company, 1st Battery Artillery, who departed this life in childbirth on the 28th September 1851, aged 22 years 2 months and 2 days; also of Catherine Sophia Barfoot, infant child of the above, who departed this life on the 5th May 1852, aged 7 months and 20 days. John Conlon, Patrol Preventive Service, Sutledge Line, who died on his way from Sultanpur to Multán on 21st June 1852, aged 34 years. Ellen and Denis, the beloved children of Ellen and Corns O'Leary, Cattle Sergeant, Multan; the former died 11th September 1852, the latter on 3rd July 1853. Percy James, infant son of Mr. and Mrs. William Ellison, Barí Doab Survey, who died at Shoojabad, 14th December 1857, aged 20 days. Hugh Bernard Biggen, the beloved son of M.A. Biggen and Sergeant, died 10th May 1861, at the age of 3 months and 3 days. Mary Anne Eleanor Biggen, daughter of M. A. Biggen and Sergeant H. Biggen, Ordnance Department, who departed this life at Multan on the 11th August 1861, aged 2 years and 11 months. Mrs. B. S. Chakrabarti, beloved wife of Mr. K. D. Chakrabarti, died 20th June 1872, aged 36 years. Jane Laura, infant daughter of Wm. and Mary K. Chand, aged 10 months and 7 days (no date).

* Curzon's Persia, Vol. 1, p. 519.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

regarding Keshpuri and connect the Hindu and the Mahomedan saints together. The building of Shams Tabrez is thus described by Cunningham :—

Shams Tabrez.

'The main body of the tomb is a square of 34 feet side, and 30 feet in height, surrounded by a verandah with seven openings on each side. Above this it takes an octagonal shape, and is surmounted by a hemispherical dome covered with glazed sky-blue tiles. The whole height is 62 feet. I could not learn the date of Shams-i-Tabrez himself, as the people of Multan are profoundly ignorant of everything, except certain silly miraculous stories of their saints. But the building itself cannot be earlier than the time of the Mughals; and the people themselves say it is not quite 200 years old. Portions of the walls are ornamented with patterns in glazed tiles, but the colours are chiefly blue and white, with a perfectly even surface, which betrays a late age. There are, however, many fragments of glazed tile work of an earlier age let into the gateway and walls of the surrounding court-yard, which, according to the people, belonged to the old original tomb of the saint, which is referred to the time of "Tughal Padshah" (Tughlak) by some, and to a much earlier date by others.'

Mr. Eastwick in Murray's Handbook adds:—

'To the left of the entrance is a small square building, dignified with the name of the Imambarah. Low down in the wall is inscribed : "The slave of God Mian died 7th of Muharram 1282, A.H." (A.D.1865). On one of the alcoves in the corridor is a heart of a deep blue colour, with "O God" in the centre and near it a *panja*, or hand, well painted There are two inscriptions on the door of the tomb in Persian of 12 and 14 lines, respectively, in praise of the saint.'

Am Khas and neighbourhood.

South of the tomb of Shams Tabrez is the Am Khas garden, so called, because in the days of Shahzada Murád Bakhsh, son of Sháh Jahán, the public receptions were held here, private receptions being held in the fort. This was a very favourite place of Diwán Sáwan Mal, who used to hold his kutcherry here, and who did a good deal to beautify the surroundings. It was here that Sáwan Mal was assassinated, and it was to this place that his son Mulráj fled when Agnew was attacked outside the Sikhi gate of the fort. The old buildings have been made into the tahsil, and a large part of the grounds are now a public garden, maintained by the municipality. North of the tahsil are the stallion stables and the ground on which the annual horse fair is held. To the west are the remains of a Wahábi mosque. To the south is the Zabardast Khán garden, which includes a disused swimming bath, and is also maintained by the municipality.

To the east of the tahsil, on the north side of the Lahore road, is the samádh, or cenotaph of Diwán Sáwan Mal, which is maintained by the family with the aid of a small grant of revenue. To the south of this and east of the tahsil is the khankah of Háfiz Muhammad Jamál, a holy man, who died in 1811 A.D. There is a curious legend which identifies the disciples of this saint as the spiritual counterparts of the temporal power for the time being. In 1848-9, for instance so long as Munshi Ghulam Husain, the disciple of Muhammad Jamál, was alive the rule of Diwán Mulráj prevailed ; but when this man had been shot by a British soldier, the city capitulated to the English next day. A little to the north of Shams Tabrez is a curious shrine in a garden known as the shrine of Sakhi Shah Habib. Sháh Habib is said to have been the *alias* of no less a

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

person than Sultan Sháh Shuja, the son of Shah Jahán, who when he disappeared from public life is said to have settled down in Multan as a fakir. The shrine is connected with the somewhat disreputable Rasúl Sháhi sect of fakirs.

Am Khas and neighbourhood.

On the road round the city, to the east of the Daulat gate and opposite the new distillery (built in 1898), lie the quarters of the potters, and prominent among them the quarters and shops of the 'Káshígars,' who make the enamelled tile work for which Multan is so famous. Further on, down a street to the left, opposite the Delhi gate, is the tomb of Pir Gor Sultán, already mentioned. Further on, at the south-east corner of the city, is the Khúni Burj, or Bloody Bastion, where the besiegers in 1849 effected their breach and stormed the town. Turning here to the east one goes through the suburb of Aghapura and past the celebrated Mandi Awa, or large mound, near which was fought the action of December 27th, 1848 (see Chapter II). Further to the east is the open space where the Dasehra is held, and beyond that again the 'Barsáti band,' or rain-water dam, which was built in the days when Multan was liable to floods, and the repair of which afforded occupation to the destitute during the famine of 1896-97.

Ram Tirath.

From this point the Mailsi and Budhla Sant roads branch off to the left, and the Dunyapur road to the right. Following the latter, one passes on the left the shrine of Ram Tirath, or Rama Kund, a small tank where Rama is said to have halted when he visited Multan in the days of the Narsingh Avatár. The present buildings are by Ranjit Singh and the place is a favourite resort for Hindus on Sundays. Closely adjoining is the shrine of Keshopuri, who is the Hindu equivalent of Shams Tabrez, the saint who was skinned alive and from whom Multan acquired one of its early names. The building contains only a few samadhs, three rude images of Bhairon, Kali and Hanuman, and a 'gúfa,' or grotto, where fakirs sit in the hot weather to get cool. To the west of these buildings, and on the same side of the railway, is the Hindu burning-ground (obviously at one time like most Hindu burning-grounds on the bank of the river) and the so-called Dharmsala, where was fought the terrible affair of the 12th September 1848 (see Chapter II above).

Central Jail.

Crossing the railway we come, further to the south, to the Central Jail. In this neighbourhood the British troops were encamped during a large part of the time occupied by the siege of Multan in 1848-49, and there are memorials of their presence in the shape of three Christian graveyards.*

* One of these is at the Daya Ramwala well to the south of the road leading from the city Railway Station to the Central Jail, and it contains the following inscriptions :—

'In memory of Captain C. Keith Erskine, Bombay Lancers, who died January 12th, 1849, age 49' . and 'In memory of Captain Brooke Bailey and men of the Bombay Artillery who fell during the siege of Multan, 22nd January 1849.'

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

Suraj Kund.

To the south of the railway lie a large number of cotton ginning factories. At the western end of the line of factories runs the road from the city to Suraj kund, a celebrated tank and shrine, which lies some 4 miles south of Multan. Although the brickwork of the tank was built by Diwan Sawan Mal, and the adjoining building even later, the spot itself has been one of considerable sanctity from a very remote period, and the legends regarding it interweave in a curious way the stories of the two forms of Hindu worship for which Multan has been so famous, *viz.*, that of the Sun and that of Vishnu in the form of Narsingh. The tale is that when Vishnu appeared as a Man Lion to tear up the tyrant Hirnákhash, his anger was so hot that all the gods came down to earth to appease him, and the place where they alighted was an old haunt of the Sun deity, situated where the tank of Suraj kund now stands. The mohant and his disciples are Bairagis, and they have tales connecting the site with Keshopuri, the Hindu Shams Tabrez, to whom reference has been made above. There is a very fine garden attached to the shrine, and the place is maintained partly by the aid of a perpetual grant of land revenue from Government. It is a common resort of Hindus from the city, and there are two large annual fairs here in winter and one in summer.

Jog maya.

On the road between Suraj Kund and the city one crosses the Wali Muhammad canal by a bridge, which was a strategic point of some importance during the operations of 1848-49. Further on, to the west of the road, is a *kacha* tank, known as Chandar Kund, or the Moon's tank. Near this also, but on the west of the road, is the mound of Mulla Mauj, who is said to have been the first Muhammadan saint to come to Multan. Nearer the city, on the east side of the road, is the shrine of Jogmaya, which marks the spot where Devi tarried when the gods came down to appease the angry Narsingh. In Aurangzeb's time there was only a platform here, where goats were offered; but new buildings were made in the Pathan times, and these were much improved in the days of Sawan Mal. There is a story that when the shrine of Totla Mai was destroyed (see below), the lights of that shrine moved over of themselves to the shrine of Jogmaya, and these lights are the chief object of devotion at Jogmaya at the present day.

Totla Mai.

The shrine of Totla Mai used to stand on the west side of the Suraj Kund road, on the immense mound, which there-

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The other two graveyards are at the well known as Sher-Khan-ka-bagh, a little south of the Railway line and west of the Kahror road. The northern one has no inscription but the southern one, near the well, has the following:—

'In memory of Thomas Cubitt Lieutenant, 49th Regiment, Native Infantry, who was killed in action September 12th, 1848,' and 'Major John Gordon, Her Majesty's Rifles, both killed in action before Multan on the 27th December 1848.'

Chapter VI.
Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.
Multan.

marks one of the early traditional sites of Multan city. There is an old couplet which runs—

Hingláj pachham Shástri, Totla ghar Multan
Nagarkot Dukh-bhanjni, tínon deo pardhán;

Totla Mai.

which is being interpreted: 'There are three goddesses of fame: Shastri in Hinglaj of the west; Totla whose home is Multan, and Dukh-bhanjni in Nagarkot

In the days of Aurangzeb an attempt was made to turn the temple into a mosque, whereupon the goddess walked out and jumped into the adjoining well, still known as the Múrat-wala well. The pujári of the shrine was, however, somewhat of a physician, and having cured the king's son of an internal pain, he got leave to take the image out of the well and convey it to a small house in the city. The present shrine, which is near the Haram gate, inside the city, was begun in Sikh times when Badan Hazari was kardar.

Mai Pakdaman.

Immediately to the south of the old site of Totla Mai is the Muhammadan shrine of Mai Pákdáman, the wife of Sheikh Sadr-ud-din, the son of the great Baháwal Hakk. This is a striking rectangular building faced with fine coloured tiling, but somewhat concealed from view by a surrounding wall. Females alone are allowed inside the enclosure.

Sidi Lal.

At the level-crossing, by the city railway station, there lies, immediately to the north, the mound known as Sidi Lal-ka-bhir, which formed the objective of one of the attacks made by the British force on the 27th December 1848, and which is surmounted by a small shrine where Hindus and Mussulmans alike pay their devotions. To the north of this again is the site of the Bagh Begi, the garden where, in the Pathan and Sikh times, strangers were entertained; the baradari in the middle is still extant and the remains of a picturesque mosque.

The Pathan suburbs.

On the road between the Haram gate and the cantonments lies the Shish Mahal, which marks the place where the earliest Saddozai settlers in the end of the 17th century took up their abode It is even said that the house to the north of the road, opposite the Divisional Court, is on the exact site of the house in which Ahmad Shah, Abdali, was born. The Shish Mahal garden was built by Shakir Khan, Saddozai, and the shrine to the west is in memory of Shah Husain, the first of the family to immigrate to India. To the same family belonged Lánge Khan, who made the Lange Khan garden, now used as a public garden, and Abid Khan, who made the Abid Khan garden, on the Sikandrabad canal, north of cantonments.

The Pathans were for the most part allowed to settle outside the city walls only, and when they went inside the city they were only allowed to frequent the eastern half, the western portion being reserved for the Mughal or official class. Of the Pathan settlements or 'kirris' several are still well known, such as the

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

The Pathan suburbs.

Kirri Jamundon, near the city railway station; the Kiri Afghánán round the dispensary: Kiri Misri Khan on the an canal east of the Lánge Khan garden; and the Khudakka Kotla near the station cricket ground. It may be noted also that the quarter round the present Municipal Hall was known in Mughal times as the Sultanganj, and is still spoken of as the Ganj: and it was here that octroi was taken on imports. Traders importing goods from Afghanistan were stopped by the officials a little further from the city, and the place of their detention—still much frequented in the winter by vagrant Pathans—is known as the Chcholyak Sarai, from the rate—one in forty—at which the tax was levied from them.

To the immediate north-west of the city, between the Bohar gate and the Lánge Khan garden, lies the shrine of Mai Mihrbán, the wife of Sheikh Hasan, who is said to have come to Multan shortly after the time of Sheikh Yusaf Gardezi. Immediately south of the Lange Khan garden, on the banks of the Wali Muhammad canal, lies the Shivala of Sawan Mal, built by that ruler in 1837. Just outside the Lohari gate is the Jubilee Municipal Hall surmounted by a clock tower. The low land lying north of the fort in this vicinity is known as Luludharan, and the story is that when the Ravi was flowing here Shekh Rukn Alam (or, as others say, Sheikh Yusaf Gardezi) threw into the river a pearl which a disciple had presented to him. Seeing the disciple vexed at this treatment, the saint bade him close his eyes and look again; when he did so, he said that the whole river was one mass of pearls.

Civil Lines.

To the north-west of the city, and at the distance of something over half-a-mile, are the district offices built in 1861; and about a mile further on is the district jail. The jail is said to cover the spot once occupied by General Ventura's house when he was Governor in Multan. Round the district kutcherry lie the houses of civil officers and others. In the early days of annexation, when the district offices were in the Idgah, the civil station was mainly confined to that neighbourhood, but the attraction of cantonments is gradually causing the houses on the eastern side of the station to be deserted in favour of houses nearer cantonments. The most remarkable of the old houses on the west of the station is the Hazúri Bagh, a garden house built in the time of Shahzáda Murád Bakhsh. In this garden Elphinstone and Burnes halted during their stay in Multan, and this was the spot originally intended for the accommodation of the ill-fated Agnew and Anderson in 1848. It afterwards became the Commissioner's residence, but was again deserted by the Commissioner in favour of the bungalow opposite the dâk bungalow, now owned by the Nawáb of Bahawalpur.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Multan.

Sura Miani.

A short distance to the north of the civil station, on the Rajghat Road, is the shrine of Shah Ali Akbar in Sura Miani. The two buildings at the shrine are finely situated amidst a grove of trees, and are profusely decorated with coloured tiles. The saint was a descendant of Shah Shams-ud-din; and his disciples and descendants inhabit the adjoining village. There was a good deal of commerce between this village and Kabul in the days of Durani sovereignty, and this is said to be reflected in the architecture of the houses, which so resembles that of Kabul, that Sura Miani is often spoken of as 'a mohalla of Kabul.' There is a considerable fair in the neighbourhood on the day of the Baisakhi.

Multan Municipality.

The Municipality.

The Municipality of Multán was first constituted in 1867 and it is now a municipality of the first class. The boundaries of the municipal control as laid down in 1885, are—

East.—Kutcha road from north-east corner of 'Woodlands' to 'Edgah;' thence along *Barsati* bund to junction with road leading from Daulat gate, and thence along that road to railway line.

West.—Cantonment boundaries from railway line as far as pillar No. 10 at north-west corner of dák bungalow compound; thence the road to the front of the jail gate.

North.—Road from front of jail gate to the bridge across the Wali Muhammad canal on the police line road; thence in a straight line to the junction of the roads at the north-east corner of 'Woodlands.'

South.—Railway line.

The boundaries, for purposes of octroi, are the same as the municipal boundaries, but the octroi system also includes the area within the cantonment boundaries.

Constitution.

The constitution of the Municipal Committee has differed at different times. Between 1885 and 1899 it consisted of 36 members, of whom 24 were elected and 12 nominated; but since 1899 it has been composed of 24 members only, of whom 16 are elected and 8 nominated. Of the elected members, 8 are Muhammadans and 8 Hindus, and there are now eight election wards only as against nineteen formerly, and proposals for further reducing these to four are under consideration. The nominated members comprise 4 Europeans, 3 Muhammadans and 1 Hindu.

Multan Cantonment.

Income and expenditure.

There are some 455 acres of grass farm, which yield an outturn as follows: green grass 4,000 maunds, hay 10,000 maunds, bedding grass 4,500 maunds, green chari 6,700 maunds, green khasil 2,600 maunds. The grass farm is managed by a committee consisting of the Officer Commanding the Cantonment as President, and the Officers Commanding the Royal Artillery and Native Cavalry as Members. The Secretary is usually an officer of the Native Cavalry.

The public buildings are few in number, and for the most part insignificant in style. There are two Churches, Protestant and Roman Catholic. The Cantonment General Hospital is situated to the east of cantonments, and is under the medical charge of one of the Medical Officers quartered in cantonments.

The defensible post was completed in 1890-91, but was garrisoned by a detachment from the 2nd Battalion, Warwickshire Regiment, in 1889.

Multan is a sub-division of the Military Works Service, and is under the Garrison Engineer, Lahore District, Mian Mir. The repair and maintenance of all cantonment fund roads is carried out by the Military Works Department; the cost being borne by the cantonment fund.

European cemeteries.

The main cemetery at Multan is that in cantonments situated north of the Native Infantry Lines. There are also round the city the cemetery of the Am Khás, and the three cemeteries in the direction of the Central Jail, constructed during the siege of 1848, to which reference has been made above.*

Shujabad Town.

Shujabad town.

Shujabad (often spoken of as Shuja da Kot, or Tal Kot or merely as Kot) is situated about five miles east of the Chenab river, and two miles west of the Shujabad Railway station on the N.-W. Railway. The town is chiefly built of brick, and it is surrounded by a wall, with four gates; the Multani gate on the north, the Mári Mori gate on the east, the Rashid Shah gate on the south, and the Chautáka gate on the west. A broad bazar runs from the Multani to the Rashid Shah gate, and is crossed at right angles by another straight bazar running from

* At Adamwahan there is a cemetery containing the tombs of railway employés and others who died there during the construction of the Empress bridge in the years preceding 1878. At Shujabad there is the tomb of an unknown European, and at Lodhran the tomb of a Mr. Leeson, dating from before 1858. In the canal bungalow compound at Kahror, a Mr. Greene, Assistant Engineer, is buried, and just outside the old customs bungalow in the same place there are two small tombs of an oriental type, which are said to have been constructed by a Mr. Wright, an officer of the Customs Preventive Service, in memory of two of his children. There are European tombs also at Bagren, in Shujabad, and at Kadirpur Ran, on the Lahore road: those at Bagren are said to be tombs of officials of the Customs Preventive Service.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Shujabad town.

the Mári Mori to the Chautaka gate. The city was founded in A.D. 1750 by Nawab Shuja Khan, who built the present walls in 1767 to 1772. The town was a favourite residence of the Nawab and great pains were taken by him to induce Hindus of wealth to live and trade in it. Under Nawab Muzaffar Khan the prosperity of the town was still further advanced. Besides eight large houses,* one for each of his sons, this Nawab built at considerable cost the Mubarik Mahal, the Samman Burj and the Jaház Mahal. The two former were on the city walls, and have since been destroyed, but the Jaház Mahal is now used as a tahsil, and a part of it was, until A.D. 1900, used as a police station. The building received its name either from the fact that it was built more or less in the form of a ship, or as a corruption of 'Hujáz,' its construction having been undertaken immediately after Muzaffar Khan returned from Mecca †; and in the western room there are still to be seen some curious frescoes, which are said to represent Arabian cities. In one of the halls there used to be a beautiful marble floor; which, however, was removed some time ago, and is now to be seen in a somewhat mutilated state in the Multan Subscription Library in the Lánge Khan Garden, which was formerly a small local museum. The traveller Masson, who passed Shujabad on his way from Sindh to Lahore, apparently in 1827, wrote of this place ('Travels, i, p. 394)—

' Shujah Kot or Shujabad is a considerable fortified town, and its lofty battlements, irregularly built, have a picturesque appearance. It has a very excellent bazar, and is the seat of some cotton manufactures, besides being famous for its turners in wood. There is a small garrison, and a few guns are mounted on the walls; near it are several good gardens, particularly one bearing the name of Muzaffar Khan, The town stands in a highly cultivated tract, and for two or three *cosses* to the south there were immense fields of sugarcane The cotton plant is also abundantly grown.

Shujabad capitulated to Edwardes in 1848 immediately after the action at Kineri, and throughout the seige at Multan it was the site of a considerable Commissariat Depôt. A little outside the town, at its north-west side, is a Christian tomb without inscription, which is said to commemorate an English soldier who died here during that period. The town was seriously threatened by heavy floods in 1893 and 1894, and in 1894 a dyke or *band* was made round the town partly at the expense of the Municipal Committee, and partly from public subscription.

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* One of them is now used as a dispensary.

† A few miles south of Shujabad is an old garden, known as the Mubarik Bagh, from the fact that this was the place to which the inhabitants of Shujabad went to meet and to congratulate Nawab Muzaffar Khan on his return from the Hajj.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Shujabad town.

The population of Shujabad at the various enumerations is shown in the margin. The constitution of the population by religion is given in Table No. XLIII, from which it will be seen that in 1901 sixty-five per cent. of the population were Hindus. The place inside the walls is almost exclusively devoted to Hindus, the Muhammedans being found mainly in the suburban hamlets outside the walls. The Municipal Committee consists of fifteen members (ten elected and five nominated) under the presidency of the Tahsildar.

	Year.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Municipal limits.	1868...	6,095	3,180	2,915
	1875 ..	6,280	...	...
	1881	6,458	3,420	3,038
	1891 ..	6,329	3,439	2,880
	1901..	5,880	3,236	2,644

The income of the Municipality for the last thirty years is shown in Table No. XLV. The present incomings and outgoings, taking the year 1899 as an example, are as follows:—

Income.	Rs.	Expenditure.	Rs.
Octroi	7,406	Police	1,509
Other sources	2,480	Conservancy	1,659
		Dispensaries	1,639
		Public Works	90
		Schools	2,538
		Miscellaneous	2,273
Total	9,886	Total ...	9,708

The city has a certain reputation for the manufacture of the sweet confections known as *pápar* and *reorian*, for the production of which the sugarcane grown in the vicinity used to afford special advantages.

Jalalpur Pirwala.

Jalalpur.

This town is situated on the banks of an old river bed, known as the Bhatari, which still receives a backwater flooding from the Chenab in good years. The town is said to have been founded by Sultan Ahmad Kattál a descendant of Syad Jalál; but it is also stated that a Langáh or Awán of the name of Jalál founded the town, and that Sultan Ahmad Kattál settled here subsequently. It is known in old documents as Jalalpur Ahmad Kattálwah or Jalálpur Sádát, but is generally now known as Jalálpur Pirwala. The town used to be celebrated for its manufactory of native paper, of a good and durable type, which was largely used for shopkeepers' books and other purposes; but the extension of railways has much injured this industry, and it is now moribund. The wells, as a rule, are

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Jalalpur Pirwala

bitter, and such wells as are sweet (*e.g.*, that outside the thana) are thronged night and morning. The centre of attraction in the town is the fine shrine of Sultan Ahmad Kattál. This saint was a descendant of Syad Jalal of Uch, a native of Bokhara, who died in A.H. 690 (A.D. 1291). Pir Kattál himself was born at Uch in A.H. 949 (A.D. 1542), and at an early age set out on his travels with Sanniasis and other holy men of both religions. At Kahror he attended on Pir Ali Sarwar, and one day, when Ali Sarwar was asleep and some sparrows began to twitter, Ahmad Kattál, fearing that they would wake the saint, slew them by a single word. Pir Ali Sarwar on waking and seeing what had happened, said: 'You are a great killer' (*kattál*); for which reason the saint was known thereafter as Ahmad Kattál. After travelling to Mecca, Baghdad and Karbala, he returned to Multan, and for some time preached in the Bar country among the Lakhwera and Saldera tribes, whom he converted to Islam. He took up his abode in 990 A.H. (A.D. 1582) in Jalalpur, and died in A.H. 1041 (A.D. 1631) in the odour of great sanctity. The present tomb was built by one of his descendants in A.H. 1158 (A.D. 1745), and though not very striking in outline it presents a magnificent field of coloured tile work of a good kind.

There is a large fair here every Friday in the month of Chet (March-April), which is celebrated for the practice, which prevails of exorcising evil spirits from women. The practice is known as '*jinn khelna,*' and the Musalman women are exorcised by day and the Hindus by night. There is a good deal of scandal connected with the business; it is openly said that women feign possession in order to make assignations at the fair, and the better class of zamindars look on the matter with a certain amount of disgust.

Masson who visited this town (apparently in 1827) writes (Travels, vol. i, p. 392).:—

"Leaving Uch I directed my course to the river Garra, eight cosses from it and, crossing at a ferry, came two or three *cosses* further on to a large cut, or arm, probably derived from it. I might have been perplexed as to the mode of crossing it, but fortunately I saw a person, before I reached it, strip himself of his clothing, and, placing it on his head, pass to the opposite side. I had therefore only to imitate him, and waded through the stream some fifty or sixty yards in breadth, with the water of uniform depth, and up to my mouth, which I was compelled to keep closed. The water was tepid, whence I inferred that it was a canal I was crossing.* About a coss beyond it I found the small town of Pir Jalalpur, which contains the shrine of a Musalman saint; a handsome building covered with painted and lacquered tiles and adorned with minarets and cupola. The bazar was a good one, and in the neighbourhood of the town were decayed brick buildings, proving that the site was formerly of importance.

* Not a canal but the Vehary or Bhatari, which Masson probably crossed at the usual place near Shujaatpur village. A bridge has recently been built at this crossing.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Jalalpur.

The town is the head-quarters of a thana, and its population at the various enumerations is shown in the margin. It is difficult to ascertain the precise limits within which the enumerations of 1868 and 1875 were taken. The figures for the population within municipal limits, according to the census of 1886, are taken from the published tables of the census of 1875,

Limit of enumeration.	Years of census.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Whole town.	1868 ..	3,565	1,822	1,763
	1881 ...	3,875	1,965	1,910
	1891 ...	3,884	1,866	1,918
	1901 ...	5,149	2,704	2,445
Municipal limits.	1868 ...	3,500	...	...
	1875 ...	3,525	...	...
	1881 .	3,875	1,965	1,910
	1891 ...	3,884	1,966	1,918
	1901 ...	5,140	2,704	2,445

but it was noted at the time that their accuracy was doubtful. The constitution of the population by religion is set forth in Table No. XLIII. The Municipal Committee consists of 12 members (9 elected, 2 *ex-officio* and 1 nominated), with the Tahsildar as President. Its income for the last 26 years is shown in Table No. XLV. The income and expenditure, taking the year 1899 as an example, now stands as follows:—

Income.	Rs.	Expenditure.	Rs.
Octroi	3,630	Police	815
Other sources	1,293	Conservancy	813
		Dispensaries	400
		Public Works	15
		Schools	1,444
		Miscellaneous	1,625
Total ...	4,923	Total ...	5,112

Dunyapur Town.

Dunyapur town.

The town of Dunyapur was formerly watered by irrigation from the Bias, and now receives a certain amount of water from the Jámwah Kalán Canal; but it is generally approached through a stretch of desert, and presents a somewhat weird appearance in the middle of so much surrounding desolation. Whether the name implies its previous size (sc. World city), or whether one Dani Chand was its founder, is uncertain; but the tales which ascribe its foundation to the Joyas in Aurangzeb's reign are obviously wrong, as the town is mentioned in the 'Ain-i-Akbari,' and it was at the beginning of the 16th century the scene of a great fight between the Bhatti Ráwal

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Dunyapur town.

Chachik of Jaisalmir and the Langáh Princes of Multán. The event is described as follows by the inimitable Tod :—

'*Two years after this Chachik made war on* Thir-raj Khokur, the Chief of Pilibunga, on account of a horse stolen from a Bhatti. The Khokurs were defeated and plundered; but his old enemies, the Langahs, taking advantage of this occasion, made head against Chachik, and drove his garrison from the new possession of Dhuniapur. Disease at length seized on Ráwal Chachik after a long course of victorious warfare, in which he subdued various tracts of country, even to the heart of the Punjab. In this state he determined to die, as he had lived, with arms in his hand but having no foe near with whom to cope, he sent an embassy to the Langah Prince of Multán, to beg, as a last favour, *jood-dan*, or gift of battle, that his soul might escape by the steel of foemen, and not fall a sacrifice to slow disease. The Prince, suspecting treachery, hesitated, but the Bhatti messenger pledged his word that his master only wished an honourable death, and that he would only bring five hundred men to the combat. The challenge being accepted, the Rawal called his clansmen around him, and on his recounting what he had done, seven hundred select Rajputs, who had shared in all his victories, volunteered to take the last field, and make *sunkluf* (oblation) of their lives with their leader . . . . . Meanwhile Rana Chachik marched to Dhuniapur 'to part with life.' There he heard that the Prince of Multán was within two *coss*. His soul was rejoiced; he performed his ablutions, worshipped the sword and the gods, bestowed charity, and withdrew his thoughts from this world. The battle lasted four *gharris* (two hours), and the Jadun Prince fell with all his kin after performing prodigies of valour. Two thousand Khans fell beneath their swords, rivers of blood flowed in the field, but the Bhatti gained the abode of Indra, who shared his throne with the hero.'—(*Tod*, *Rajasthan*, *Calc. Edition of* 1894, ii, pp. 212-13.)

The houses of the town are almost all of brick, and there are traces of two forts, one in the city itself and one to the north. There is a half ruined mosque on the north side of the city, adorned with the remains of some enamelled tile work, and a somewhat picturesque Jama Masjid in the middle of the town. Half-a-mile or so to the north-west is the *samadh* of Jamun Nath, a *sanniási* of the XVIth century, whose guru immigrated from Bahawalpur to this place. The holy man's rosary, conch and other instruments of worship are said to be preserved here. The places where he and his disciples buried themselves alive are still shown, and immediately adjoining are small temples to Shiv and Devi. The place is locally known as the 'Marhián.'

The figures on the margin show the population of the town at the various enumerations. It is difficult to ascertain the precise limits within which the enumerations of 1868 and 1875 were taken. The figures for the population within municipal limits, according to the census of 1868, are taken from the published tables of the census of 1875; but it was noted at the time that their accuracy was in many cases doubtful.

Limits of enumeration.	Years of census	Persons	Males.	Females.
Whole town.	1868 ...	2,687	1,310	1,377
	1881 ...	2,041	935	1,106
	1891 ...	2,101	901	1,200
	1901 ...	2,150	1,012	1,138
Municipal limits	1868 ...	2,708	...	...
	1875 ...	2,054	...	...
	1881 ...	2,041	935	1,106
	1891 ...	2,101	901	1,200
	1901 ...	2,150	1,012	1,138

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Dunyapur town

The excess of females over males is due to the fact that numbers of the male population are employed in Government service as patwaris, etc., outside the town, both in British and in Baháwalpur territory. The constitution of the population by religion is shown in Table No. XLIII, from which it will be seen that nearly two-thirds of the inhabitants are Hindus.

There was a Municipal Committee here till 1893. On 6th December 1893 the town was made a "notified area" under Act XX of 1891, and its internal administration is now looked after by a committee of two members and the Tahsildar as President. The chief income is from octroi, and the amount of the receipts for the past 26 years will be found entered in Table No. XLV below. Taking the figures for 1899 as an example the accounts of the town are as follows:—

Income	Rs.	Expenditure.	Rs.
Octroi	675	Police	204
Other sources	254	Conservancy	160
		Miscellaneous	422
Total	929	Total ...	786

Kahror Town

Kahror

Kahror (also spelt Karor, and pronounced in the neighbourhood Kirhúr,) is situated on the south bank of an old river bed. The local legend is that it was founded by one Kehr, a Bhatti, dependant of the Delhi sovereigns; and that when Kahror revolted it was retaken by the Joyas, who, till lately, were the most prominent Muhammadan landowners in the place. Tod, in his account of Jaisalmir history in the fourteenth or very beginning of the fifteenth century, writes that "Kailun (Chief of Jaisalmir) built a fort on the Beyah, called after his father Kerroh or Kerore.*"

The most remarkable building in the town is the shrine of Ali Sarwar, which is a domed *khankah*, visible for many miles round. Ali Sarwar was a Syad of Delhi, who came to Kahror A.H. 600 (A.D. 1204†), and married a Pathan wife; for which reason his descendants are known as Pathans. He spent many years in Baghdad and elsewhere, and visited Mecca six times, but ended his days in Kahror. The shrine was built by his son, and his descendants are men of position at the present day.

* As will be seen by a reference to Chapter II above, Kahror is mentioned by historians of a much earlier date, but the Kahror there referred to is probably Kot Karor in the Dera Ismail Khan district.

† The legend of Sultan Ahmed Kattál, given in the account of Jalalpur above, ascribes to Ali Sarwar a date three centuries later.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Kahror town.

They intermarry only among themselves and not with either Syads or Pathans.

Another building of note is the shrine of Pír Badhan, which lies about half-a-mile to the east of Kahror. This commemorates the rule of one Pír Badhan, a governor of Kahror in Moghal times, who used to give away to the poor not only his money, but the Government treasure as well. But when he remitted broken bricks and potsherds to Delhi instead of treasure, these were changed on the way to Ashrafis, so that no evil results followed the pious ruler's liberality. At the shrine both Hindus and Muhammadans have their childrens' heads shaved.

Near the canal bungalow on the south-west of the town are four brick obelisks, which are said to mark the *samadhs* of Sanniasis. In the bungalow compound, surrounded by a thick hedge, is the tomb of a canal officer with an iron head-mark, on which is inscribed: "G Green, Assistant Engineer, died 6th July 1867."

The town itself has a good paved bazar running through it, which was made after the British occupation, and it consists mainly of brick houses, some of which are of a peculiar type, being like ranges of factories without windows. The ground on which the town is built is undulating, which makes the appearance of the town more picturesque than that of most Indian towns. The town is the centre of the trade of the Sutlej tahsils of this district, dealing especially in wool, piece-goods and wheat, and it has a local reputation for the manufacture of stamped coverlets (palang-poshes). The inhabitants of Kahror are satirised in the following verses :—

> Ayá yár Kahrori
> Lash pash ghaní, mohabbat thori,
> Vikháien darwasa, te lungháien mori ;

which means that a friend from Kahror is full of protestation but has little real affection ; what seemed a wide door turns out to be a narrow wicket.

The population of the town at the different enumerations is shown in the margin. It is difficult to ascertain the precise limits within which the enumerations of 1868 and 1875 were taken ; the figures for the enumeration in 1868 of the population within municipal limits are taken from the published returns

Limits of enumeration.	Year of census.	Persons	Males.	Females.
Whole town.	1868 ..	5,024	2,662	2,362
	1881 ...	4,804	2,532	2,272
	1891 ..	5,498	2,861	2,637
	1901 ...	5,552	2,878	2,674
Municipal limits.	1868 ...	5,069	...	..
	1875 ..	4,650	.	...
	1881 ...	4,804	2,532	2,272
	1891 ...	5,498	2,861	2,637
	1901 .	5,552	2,878	2,674

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Kahror town.

of 1875, but it was noted at the time that the figures were in many cases of doubtful accuracy. The constitution of the population by religion is shown in Table No. XLIII below, from which it will be seen that in 1901 sixty-five per cent. of the inhabitants of the municipality were Hindus.

The town is managed by a Municipal Committee of 14 members (10 elected, 2 nominated and 2 *ex-officio*), with the Tahsildar as President. The income for the last thirty years is shown in Table No. XLV. The figures for income and expenditure in 1899, which may be taken as a fair illustration of the position of the municipality, are as follows:—

Income.	Rs.	Expenditure.	Rs.
Octroi	3,733	Police	99
Other sources	187	Conservancy	744
		Dispensaries	625
		Public Works	118
		Schools	1,372
		Miscellaneous	1,008
Total ...	3,920	Total ...	4,002

TULAMBA TOWN.

Talamba.

The present town of Tulamba appears to have been preceded by at least two previous sites, one of which was at the huge mound known as "Mamu Sher," a mile or so to the south-east of the present town, and the other among the ruins which extend immediately to the west. Local tradition ascribes the foundation to one Raja Tal, a descendant of Raja Saliváhan of Sialkot, from whom the fort was called 'Tal Ubha" (or Northern Tal); others, with a shade less of improbability, say "Tul Ubha" (the Northern Fort). Whether Tulamba is, as Cunningham suggests, the "χωρίον ὀχυρὸν καὶ τετειχισμένον," taken by Alexander, or, as Masson suggests, the "Βραχμάνων πόλις" also taken by the same conqueror (see Chapter II above), is a question somewhat difficult of solution; the distances given being rather in favour of the former conjecture, while the fact that the city is still a stronghold of Brahmans is to some extent in favour of the latter. There is a tradition that it was taken by Mahmud of Ghazni, but its first appearance in actual history is during the invasion of Tamerlane, who himself in his Memoirs gives the following account of his capture and sack of the city (October 1398):—

"When I arrived at the city of Tulamba I pitched my camp at the bank of the river. Tulamba is about seventy miles from Multan. On the same day the Saiyids, and 'Ulama, and Sheikhs, and chief men and rulers of Tulamba came out to meet

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Tulamba town.

me, and enjoyed the honour of kissing my stirrup. As sincerity was clearly written on their foreheads, every one of the them, according to his rank, was distinguished by marks of my princely favour. Marching forward I halted on Saturday, the 1st of the month Safar, in the plain which lies before the fortress of Tulamba. My Wazirs had fixed the ransom of the people of the city at two lakhs of rupees, and appointed collectors; but as the Saiyids, who are family and descendants of our Lord Muhammad, the chosen, and the 'Ulama of Islam, who are the heirs of the prophets (upon him and upon them be blessings and peace), had always in my court been honoured and treated with reverence and respect, I gave orders now that a ransom was about to be levied from the citizens of Tulamba, that whatever was written against the names of the Saiyids and 'Ulama should be struck out of the account, and I sent them away, having filled their hearts with joy and triumph by presents of costly dresses of honour and Arab horses. A reinforcement of troops arrived about this time, so that my troops became more numerous than the tribes of ants and locusts, causing scarcity of provisions, so that there was a dearth of grain in my camp, though the people had quantities. Since a part of the ransom, consisting of coin, had not yet been collected, and since my troops were distressed on account of the scarcity of provisions, I ordered that the citizens should make payment in grain instead of money; but they persisted in storing up their corn, totally regardless of the sufferings of my troops The hungry Tatars, making a general assault upon them like ants and locusts, plundered an enormous number of granaries, so numerous, indeed, as to be incalculable, and according to the text, " Verily kings when they enter a city utterly ruin it," the hungry Tatars opened the hands of devastation in the city till a rumour of the havoc they were making reached me. I ordered the Saiyids and Tawachis to expel the troops from the city, and commanded that whatever corn and other property had been plundered should be taken as an equivalent for so much ransom. At this time it was represented to me that some of the chief zamindars of the environs of Tulamba, at the time when Prince Pir Muhammad was marching on Multan, had presented themselves before him, walking in the path of obedience and submission, but when they had received their dismissal, and returned to their own home, they planted their foot on the highway of contumacy and rebellion. I immediately gave orders to Amir Shah Malik and to Sheikh Muhammad, the son of Aiku, Timur, to march with their tumans and kushuns against these rebels, and to inflict condign punishment upon them. Amir Shah Malik and Sheikh Muhammad taking a guide with them, instantly commenced their march, and having arrived at the jungles in which those wretches, forsaken by fortune, had taken refuge, they dismounted, and entering the jungle slew two thousand of these ill-fated Indians with their remorseless sabres, carrying off captives their women and children, and returned with a great booty of kine, buffaloes, and other property. When on their victorious return they displayed in my sight the spoils they had won, I ordered to make a general distribution to the soldiery. When my mind was satisfied with the extermination of these wretches, on Saturday, the 7th of Safar, I set my foot in the stirrup and marched from Tulamba.'

The statement made in Dow's translation of Firishta (i., 487) that the fort was left untouched because its capture would have delayed Tamerlane's progress does not seem to be supported by the original. The city, however, seems to have continued in existence, and its removal to its present, or at any rate to another, site is ascribed to a change in the course of the river in the days of Mahmúd Khán, Langáh, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Tulamba appears in the Sikh legends as the scene of adventure experienced with a thag by Guru Nanak. The city is mentioned as one of the mahals of Multan Sirkar in the days of Akbar, and in Shah Jahan's time it was the site of one of the sarais on the road between Lahore and Multan. This sarai is said to have been cut away by the river in A.D. 1750. The city was looted by Ahmad Shah, Abdali, in one of his incursions, but recovered prosperity under Sharif Beg, after-

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Tulamba town.

wards. Naib-Názim of Multan, who built (about 1759 A.D.) the striking enclosure (said to have been a serai), which still stands on the south-west edge of the town, and in which are situated the thana, school, post office and other Government buildings.

The site of the old city at Mámú Sher is thus described by Cunningham, who visited it twice :—

" It consisted of an open city, protected on the south by a lofty fortress 1,000 feet square. The outer rampart is of earth, 200 feet thick, 20 feet high on the outer face, or *fausse-braie*, with a second rampart of the same height on the top of it. Both of these were originally faced with large bricks, 12 by 8 by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Inside the rampart there is a clear space or ditch, 100 feet in breadth, surrounding an inner fort 400 feet square, with walls 40 feet in height, and in the middle of this there is a square tower or castle, 70 feet in height, which commands the whole space. The numerous fragments of bricks lying about, and the still existing marks of the courses of the bricks in many places on the outer faces of the ramparts, confirm the statements of the people that the walls were formerly faced with brick.

The traveller Masson, who was here about 1827 A.D., writes—

" Another march brought us to the neighbourhood of Tulamba, surrounded by groves of date trees and, to appearance, a large, populous and walled-in town. I did not visit it, for, although we stayed three or four days in its neighbourhood, I fell sick. Close to our camp was, however, the ruins of a mud fortress with walls and towers unusually huge and thick. I cannot call to mind the name it bears."

And he proceeds to identify the fortress (the Mámú Sher mound) with the Brahman city of Arrian.

The population of the area within municipal limits as ascertained at the various enumerations is given in the margin, and from these figures it will be seen that the population of Tulamba is subject to more fluctuations than that of any other town in the district. The cause of the variations is the dependence of the prosperity of the town on the irrigation from the Ravi, which is now extremely uncertain in its action. The town has also lost a good deal of such importance as it once possessed since the railway supplanted the river route to and from Lahore. The constitution of the population by religions is given in Table No. XLIII, which shows that more than half the inhabitants are Hindus.

		Persons.	Males.	Females.
Municipal limits.	1868 ..	3,152	1,762	1,390
	1875 ...	1,948	...	...
	1881 ..	2,231	1,214	1,017
	1891 ...	2,792	1,532	1,260
	1901 ..	2,526	1,272	1,254

The town is a considerable centre of the local date trade, and has also a reputation for the stamped floor-cloths (*tak*) manufactured here. Its affairs are managed by a Municipal Committee consisting of 9 members (7 elected, 1 nominated and 1 *ex-officio*), with the Tahsildar as President.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Tulamba town.

The income of the municipality for the last twenty-six years is shown in Table No. XLV. The accounts of the municipality, taking the year 1899 as an example, now stand as follows :—

Income.	Rs.	Expenditure.	Rs.
Octroi	1,630	Police	218
Other sources	728	Conservancy	252
		Public Works...	14
		Schools	1,349
		Miscellaneous...	627
Total ...	2,358	Total ...	2,460

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

BALLAD OF THE MULTAN CAMPAIGN, 1848-49.

By Sobha, son of Fazil, Biloch, of Wahi Tajewala, Tahsil Shujabad, who died about 1870 *A.D. at the age of* 60.*

No.	Original	No.	Translation
1.	Angrezan wichàre ni kite, Charh Multán wi áyá.	1.	The English made an attempt, They marched to Multan.
2.	Wich mutábat nazr thive, Wanj Múle sis niwáyá.	2.	Múla presented himself humbly, He went and bowed his head.
3.	Bát kahi Angrez thá, Phir nál Diwan aláyá	3	The Englishman spoke thus, Addressing the Diwán:
4.	Súbe kul Panjab Sáhib chá mauqúf karáyá	4.	'All the Governors in the Panjab Have the Sáhibs had dismissed.
5.	Ghin sipáh uthá tamámi, Sat ghat mulk paráyá.	5	Take away all thy troops, Yield up the realm which is no longer thine.'
6.	Akhyus nahin adul mekon til jitti. Sáhib jiwen farmáyá.	6.	He said to them 'I cannot but obey, Even as the Sáhib hath spoken.'
7.	Hukm kítá Angrezán Múle charh kar shahr phiráyá	7.	The English gave the order Múla mounted and showed them the city.
8.	Dekhan nál khánqáhán de Sáhib Múle kanún puchhwáyá.	8	On seeing the shrines The Sáhibs made enquiry of Múla.
9	Eh gumbad kihán mahánán? Ithán kain eh naqsh banáyá?	9.	'What signify these domes? Who made these wonderful buildings?'
10	Akhyus eh hin khánqáhán pírán dián Jinhán be Multán banáyá.	10.	He said to them: 'They are the shrines of the pírs Of them that made Multán.
11.	Gai he khak chumendi har kai Jo Subá ithe áyá	11.	All that have come hitherto as Governors Have kissed the dust before them
12.	Akhyus khaki kham karesán gumbad Jo main hik gurz chaláyá.	12.	The Englishman answered: 'I shall beat the domes to dust With one sweep of my mace.'
13.	Diwan há aswár pakhi da Rakhke qadam awayá	13.	The Diwán rode on a fiery horse Which moved forward before the rest.
14	Angrez utháya chábuk Ghora Múle dabon dauráya	14.	The Englishman raised his whip, (1) Whereon Múla spurred on his horse.
15.	Barchhi már sipáhi dauráyá Wendá nazar ná áyá.	15.	A soldier struck the Englishman with his spear and ran And become lost to sight.
16.	Thi zakhmi Angrez giyá. Wal dere dabon sidháyá	16	The Englishman was wounded And returned quickly to his camp.
17.	Diwan áyá wich khane de Jam musahib kul sadáyá	17	The Diwán entered his home And called all his ministers.
18	Akhyus band dast badho kai cháre Iwen ghamzade farmáyá	18.	Said he: 'Give me good counsel,' So spake he in his dejection.
19	Wer rikhia main shihan nal. Bhari jang ghazab da chayá	19	I have a feud with lions, I have provoked a terrible war.

* It may be noted here that the transliteration and translation of this ballad are only in the rough, and could doubtless be much improved by an expert in the local dialect.

(1). This version of the origin of the outbreak is, I believe, entirely legendary. At his trial Múlráj had every opportunity of stating his own case and this story was nowhere hinted at throughout the proceedings.

20. Hathún chhut giyán dorán,
Oh welá háth ná áyá.
21. Musaddí ral saláh ditti,
Díwán kún samjháya.
22. Kití baras khazána terá,
Khutde nahín khutáyá,
23. Kôt qilá gadh yáki,
Na de mul ajáyá.
24. Pakke the hamráh Gorkhe,
Rohelián bhárá cháya.

25. Hindú Singh topán de utte
Badh kamar kar áyá.
26. Gole gird maresán girdún
Je tháín sáit bacháya.
27. Ahá samán age da Múle
Behad bahún karáyá.
28. Dárú, loh, patthar te sikká,
Undá ant na páyá.
29. Atá, ghiú, mithái, arzán,
Beshumár anáyá.
30. Qalam jári wich lashkar de,
Mawájib chá wadháyá.
31. Sun sun áwan sipáhí,
Chhik Azráil ghin áyá.
32. Pahli ránd rasi itháin,
Uhá Angrezán kún bhuláya.
33. Trut gaí sipáh sabhá,
Jinhán khar Sardár kuháyá.

34. Mang amán sipáhí chhutte,
Thi naukar jí chhorwáyá.

35. Jin kin chhutián dákán,
Kághaz Kalkatte dáhon pucháya.
36. Sun Angrez hairán thae,

Parh likhiá pur máyá.

37. Is dhotí ban karár utte
Kahín nahín itbár thahráya.
38. Takkur jhaleso bádsháhán dí,
Jain chá fatúr khindáyá.
39. Jin kin chhútián dákán,
Har mulkán wich sunáyá
40. Likhiá Sáhib lokán dá
Khán chum chat akhín te láyá

41. Bakhsh dewe jágírán,
Jain kul ráje kún sadwáya.
42. Bai bhí bahún sipáh kharái,
Khazána Khán haláyá.
43. Toman mil amále thae
Sad kolun Khán balháyá,
44. Hukm bajá ándone
Jo parh Khúne munh aláyá.
45. Wich lashkar de bakhshí Fateh
Muhammad Khán thahráyá.
46. Lashkar langh pawe satwiwin
Wáda Khán Sáhib farmáyá.

20. The reins have slipped from my hand :,
I have let go the opportunity.'
21. His ministers gave counsel together,
They spake thus to the Diwán.
22. 'Thy treasury, if opened,
Will last out many years,
23. Thy towns and forts are strong and powerful, Cast them not away in vain.'
24. The Gurkhas promised to remain firm by him,
The Rohelas (Pathans) took up the load (of responsibility. (2)
25. Hindu Singh girded up his loins
And came to his guns.
26. 'I shall fire shot on shot,'
Quoth he, 'while life lasts.'
27. Múla had made beforehand
Many preparations.
28. Powder, iron, stone, money,
There was no limit to them.
29. Flour, ghí, sweetmeats,
He had collected beyond count.
30. He issued orders to the army,
He raised their allowances.
31. As they heard it the soldiers crowded in,
The Angel of Death dragged them on,
32. At the first rush people collected together,
They forgot the power of the English.
33. In the end their whole force was dispersed,
They saw their Chiefs seized and killed before them.
34. The soldiers asked for pardon,
They took service and saved their lives.
35. Letters were sent out on all sides,
A message was sped to Calcutta.
36. As they heard the news, the English were distressed.
As they read what was written, they were full of astonishment.
37. No one could believe it of,
This dhoti-wearing kirár!
38. You shall find you have offended kings
You that have raised this trouble.
39. Letters were sent out on all sides,
The news was spread in every country.
40. The Khan (of Bahawalpur) kissed and licked and put to his eyes
The message of the Sáhibs.
41. The Government will give jagirs,
Having summoned all the Chiefs.
42. Other troops he collected,
Much treasure did the Khán spend,
43. The tumans were collected together,
The Khán called them to his side.
44. They obeyed the order
Which the Khan spake unto them.
45. He made Fateh Muhammad Khan
The Bakhshi (commander) of the army
46. The Khán Sáhib promised
That the army would cross the river on the 27th of the month.

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(2) The Gurkhas were those of Agnew's guard who deserted him. The Rohelas were the Multáni Patháns.

47. Chhikián ayan sab berían
Te kul maláh sadwáyá.
48. Tarfón wi Angrez de
Langh Pír Brábim áyá.
49. Sarwar Sháh Pír kún [illegible]
Urwárún Khán sadwáyá.
50. He oh mard zoráwar
Jandá he shinán te sáya.
51. Lare warún na rahsi hargiz
Kolún phir ukáyá.
52. Alipur jang jholli, *Tibbí Sayadán*
Thí Shahíd dikhayá.
53. Maut piyála ajalwála
[illegible] akhin te chaya.
54. Palja [illegible] kech kitone,
[illegible] Gawen qadam [illegible]
55. Topán [illegible]
[illegible]
56. [illegible]
Langh Dudpotra áyá.
57. *Bhanná Mohan Multán dahén*
Jain lashkar jald anáyá.
58. Bahún desán [illegible] bahún,
Je qismat Kot bachayá
59. Ram Rakhía te Jowáhir Singh
Thí mukhtári áyá.
60. Wanj laran pár te Kot kanún
Eh Mohan Rám aláyá
61. Chaṛh dal Singhán da
Tan pahunch Kot Hassan de áya
62. Di khabar Nunár [illegible]
Phir Geja an sunáya
63. Rátin an charhdián topán
Singhán de [illegible]
64. Gawen kanún charh chale rawána
Naqára [illegible]
65. Naqára wajje [illegible]
Har mulk [illegible]
66. [illegible] de,
[illegible]
67. [illegible]
[illegible]
68. [illegible]
[illegible]
69. *Hik* [illegible]
[illegible]
70. Hik dinh qahr de tamman tattá
Dúja bhí munjháya

47. All the boats were seized,
And all the boatmen summoned.
48. Pír Ibrahim also came
From the side of the English.
49. The Khán called over from this side
Sarwar Sháh Pír.
50. That man was powerful
As he was feared by lions.
51. There was doubt that he would never refrain from opposing the English,
So the Khán kept him at his side.
52. *At Alipur there was a fight, at* **Tibbi Syadan** (3)
He became a martyr.
53. The fateful cup of death
He accepted it with zeal.
54. Marching thence they pitched their first camp,
Then went they and halted at Gaven.
55. The guns began to roar,
They struck terror in Shujabad.
56. The Kirárs were filled with distress
At the oncoming of the Daudpotras.
57. Mohan ran speedily to Multan, (4)
And fetched quickly thence an army.
58. 'I will give you,' he said, 'much wealth;
If fate shall preserve Kot.' (5)
59. Ram Rakhia and Jowáhir Singh
Went as his emissaries
60. 'Go and fight beyond Kot,'
Quoth Mohan Rám.
61. Marched forth the army of the Singhs,
Then came it to Kot Hassan. (6)
62. Thereon came Geja and gave news (to the Khán's army)
That the Kirárs were at Nunar.
63. At night they brought up their guns
And opposed the Singhs.
64. Forth from Gawen marched the army
To the roll of kettledrums.
65. The roll of the drums of the Faith
Was made to be heard in all lands.
66. They (the Sikhs) knew not the country,
God shewed them the land.
67. One man, a Bukhari Syad, deceived them,
He led them astray in a wilderness.
68. They came within range of the guns,
The guns filled the air with dust.
69. Not only did the heat scorch their tender bodies,
But it also parched them from want of water.
70. Not only was the day one of terrific heat (like a copper vessel),
But the fire of the guns also distressed them.

(3) The present village of Basti Sayadan. The Alipur mentioned is the village of that name in the Shujabad Tahsil

(4). Mohan was Mohan Lal, a prominent member of the Dabla family, after whom the village of Mohanpur is named.

(5) By 'Kot' is meant Shujabad.

(6). *i.e.*, Gurdezpur.

71. Trut gián mihr diáu táráu
Rukh Azráil dikháyá,

72. Kehre sar de pakhí áhe
Kithe jamán jayá
73. Haddán nál na had ralle

Phir ján jangal dá áyá.
74. Was kanún be was hoe
Anchittá wadá páyá.

75. Sift karán Angrezan dí,
Itbit mulk lattárí áyá.
76. Már Tíwána tábe kitus,

Jain wanj Sayál niwáyá.

77. Agún táb na ándi Dere,
Jain wanj hoká Sangarh páya.
78. Langh pawe oh jaldí
Jokún top awáz sunúyá.
79. Jaldi dauriá Singhán te,
Jald pahr wich áyá.
80. Weráh kitone Singhán kún,
Jún machhi jal phuhaya.
81. Án imán badhone jinhán
Morchá án aráyá.
82. Fateh Khán Gori top utte
Badh kamar kar áyá.
83. Kar ke shist chaláus gola
Topán wich raláyá.
84. Wanj dabáyus top Singhán dí kún
Te golamdáz udáya,
85. Sikh pawan kar tikh laran da
Munsif nabín wanjáyá.
86. Bál gashtán bandúqán márián
Wáh wáh lar dikháya.
87. Bhaj bhaj laran Pathán uthán
Jinhán mehná piyá mokháyá.
88. Wáh wáh laran Baloch Chándie,

Jinhán kar insáf dikháyá.
89. Topán wich márin talwárin,

Tán gawáh karendá áyá.

90. Bhái Dád Potre wi
Bhár wangún tarkáyá.

91. Jíwen baghyár bhedán wich pawe
Már agún chá láyá.
92. Maut khumár karárán kún,
Bhaj Singh dá lashkar áyá.
93. Mil sahúkárí Kotwale
Bal ibo pak pakáyá.
94. Sáhibí tán Singhán dí wich,
Asán wadá lod ladáyá.
95. Chal milún Sáhib lokán kún,
Je qismat chá bacháya,
96. Kunjián án hazúr rakhione,

Piyá badshábí sáyá.

71. Broken were all the cords of love,
The Angel of Death displayed his countenance.
72. Of what grove were they the birds ?
In what birth-place were they born ?
73. Their bones lay not with their fathers' bones,
Their souls passed into the jangal.
74. Their strength became as no strength,
Great and unthought of was the calamity.

75. Let me speak the praise of the English,
Of Itbit (7) that came by forced marches.
76. He had smitten and subdued the Tiwanas,
He had made the Syáls to bow their heads.
77. Dera could not stand against him,
The terror of his name reached Sanghar
78. He crossed the river in haste
When he heard the roar of the guns.
79. He rushed in haste on the Singhs,
In haste he came without delay.
80. They surrounded the Singhs on all sides,
They caught them like fish in a net.
81. They came on in confidence,
And erected their batteries.
82. Fateh Khan Gori girt up his loins.
And came to the gun.
83. He aimed and fired a shot,
He made it fall among the enemy's guns.
84. He caused the Singhs' gun to fall,
He blew up the gunner.
85. If truth be told,
The Sikhs fought and laid on gallantly.
86. They plied their guns and muskets,
A glorious fight they showed.
87. There rushed the Pathans to the fight,
Disdaining to flee.
88. The Chándia Biloches (8) also fought valiantly,
They showed their power of fighting.
89. They smote with their swords amid the guns,
So that they convinced the bystanders of their courage.
90. The Daudpotras also
Made the enemy spring like gram in a parching pan.
91. As a wolf among the sheep,
So did they chase the enemy before them.
92. Death and senselessness came on the Kirárs,
When the army of the Singhs came fleeing.
93. The sahukars of Kot met together,
And came to this decision :
94. 'In the rule of the Singhs,' they said,
'We have had much favour shown us.
95. 'Come, let us meet the Sahibs
If fate should spare us.'
96. They brought forward the keys of the town,
And laid them before the conquerors.

(7) *i.e.*, Edwardes.
(8) The poet's tribute to his own tribe.

97. Kot kanún charh thai rawána,
Mushkil pendá áyá.
98. Pakká Derá bard kitono
Suraj Kund jamáyá.
99. Nikal pawe Multánún Múla
Ura ún bharáyá.
100. Akhyus hargaz jí jí marná
Chá hírá hathán wich páyá.
101. Topán wich ghatái chhare
Kare fareb sawáyá.
102. Wal bhái Dádpotre wí
Bhár wangún tarkáyá.

103. Bande te qatal ám húi,
Jo khás qalam te áyá.
104. Derá wiún hatione,
Tán wanj qile wich pháya.
105. Sirkarde bahún kam ái
Main kehru gin sunáyu.
106. Muhammad Dulle Shah Mír dá—
Sir Khán dahún pahuncháya.
107. Parsho seti is kágaz de,
Pír Jání múuhún aláyá.
108. Pálius prit Farangi di,
Sir bhár safar dá cháyá.
109. Záidá kul phirá Khán,
Jang tamám charháyú
110. Pakre úth hazárán,
Tan har mulkán tún pakráyá.
111. Bhún kukh sukká tandá
Gádiwánán cháyá
112. Chhikiá giyá sabho dáná
Kál rukh dikháyá.
113. Dánewále karde máná
Chá Qádir agh láya.
114. Rozi bhí ghal desí úho
Jain mihrún menh wasáyá.

115. Jarnel kitá charh mel Singhán te,
Ayá daur tikhái.
116. Akhyus turat maresán bilkul,
Gharián wich adhái.
117. Sámán kítus Multán utte
Ae roz siyúda lái.
118. Likhiá Sahib lokán de
Wanj pauhncha já ba jái
119. Súrsat dewán hákim,
Aín mane har kái
120. Faujan kul Panjábí dián
Giyá pichhán hatái.
121. Aganbút wich daryáwán de,
Giyá hikmat nál lurábí
122. Wanj pauhte shahr de nere,
Sakht kitus werábí
123. Dharí lagí topan dí
Dinh rát na kadhan sábí
124. Gole pae pawan dugáre
Wanjan ghubáre chái.
125. Gole bhanan khánqáhán kúu
Baní razá Iláhí.
126. Hath hathyár talwár pharan
Jo akhián diso latái.
127. Qarábinián tamanche chhute
Topán kamí na kái.
128. Barchhián te oh sángán márin
Wich wadh har sipáhi.

97. The army marched from Kot,
It came a weary stage.
98. They halted finally,
And encamped at Suraj Kund.
99. Múla came out from Multan
And pitched his camp on the hither side
100. He said he would fight to the death,
He wore a diamond on his hand.
101. He discharged shot from his gun,
He tried every device in his power.
102. Then the Daudpotras also
Made the enemy spring like gram in a parching-pan
103. Many were captured and slain,
Which was clear to all.
104. They moved away their camp,
And entered into the fort.
105. Many leaders were slain,
Whom shall I enumerate?
106. Muhammed Dule Shah Mir—
The K.. n sent his head.
107. As he read this paper,
Pír Jáni spake as follows.
108. He made promise to the Farangis,
He willingly undertook the journey.
109. He collected all his tribesmen,
He sent them to the war.
110. Thousands of camels were seized,
They were seized from every country.
111. Straw, grass, and dried jowár
Were taken up by the cart-drivers.
112. All the grain was impressed,
Famine showed its face.
113. The grain-dealers grew proud,
The Almighty raised for them the price.
114. He who sends His rain on the earth,
He will send food also.
115. The general marched on the Singhs,
And rushed fiercely against them.
116. He said he would utterly destroy them,
In the twinkling of an eye.
117. He made preparations against Multan,
He came after much delay.
118. The letters of the Sahibs
Had reached every quarter.
119. The rulers provided supplies,
Every one obeyed their orders.
120. All the troops of the Panjabis
Were sent back.
121. Steamboats in the rivers,
Did he bring with his skill.
122. He advanced near the city,
And strictly surrounded it.
123. There was a continual succession of guns,
Day nor night had they rest.
124. The shot fell in showers,
On came the shrapnel.
125. The shot struck the shrines of the saints,
Such was the will of God.
126. Seizing their arms and swords,
Their eyes grew red with anger.
127. Carbines and pistols were discharged,
There was no lack of guns.
128. They strike bayonets on spears
Rushing in, the soldiers.

129. Taqdír masit udái dárún,
Sillhán thíán bawái.
130. Gore wí lar pawan sore
Kití wanjan adái.
131. Bhaj bhaj pawan agáhán te
Jíwen kare patang tikhái.
132. Luk chhap koí ná chhuttá,
Jo munh Gorián de áí.
133. Thaí kharáb khalqat Multání,
Rullí já bajái.
134. Sabha sakht were Múle kún baithe
Qile wich phaláí.
135. Zaídá kul bhirá Mule kun baithe
Sab sipáh sadái,
136. Akhyus was kitam bahtere,
Har gaz chall ná kái.
137. Saat barí de wele.
Tán hún kaun kare hamráhí.
138. Sáí jawáb sipáhían dittá,
Kalhe sir te ái.
139. Tháí saláh kufar wichh íwen,
Milan jihán nahín kai.
140. Wanj khare Sahib de agún,
Gal wich kapra páí.
141. Bakhsh Alláh de lekhe mekon,
Main hán pur taqsír gunáhí
142. Eh mulk terá, eh mulk terá,
Tun hain mulkán da sáín.
143. Thí bandá jalesán terá,
Je tún qaidún jind bacháí.
144. Jarnel te Lek Sáhib
Phir gal íhá farmái.
145. Gidí thí kiyon milyon Múla,
Karen há phor larái.
146. Akhyus nahi munásib mekon
Sahib Lokán nál karan larái.
147. Wazír Amír mere tan íwen
Phúk limbí ag lái.
148. Jarnel kítá chá sail Múle kún,
Gal íhá farmái.
149. Mál khazána daulat dunían,
Lekha de ithain.
150. Akhyus main ham bichára Súba.
Ahí Ranjít dí badshahí.
151. Mulk áhá wich ijáre,
Daulat sál basál puchái.
152. Bai Daulat ái kam hathyarán du
Mihanat ghinan sawáí
153. Jo iqbáb sipahián de
Oh gai hin ithan lutái.
154. Kaí rathe kaí bhane,
Kaí ladhe nahín kitháín.
155. Kar áe han bahána rozída,
Oh gai hin sir marái.
156. Akhyus bahún gunáh hin sir tere,
Múlá chhute kahín adái.
157. Likh bhejiá hisse Landan,
Walaí nál tikhái.

129. Fate exploded the powder in the mosque
The bricks flew in the air,
130. The white soldiers too fought valiantly,
They paid their due to the full.
131. Fiercely did they rush on their opponents
As swiftly as a kite mounts in the air.
132. None escaped by hiding,
Who came before the white soldiers.
133. The people of Multan were ruined,
They wandered from place to place.
134. Mula was strictly surrounded,
And enclosed in his fort.
135. Mula sent for all his brothers,
He called all his troops.
136. He said: 'I have made much effort,
But with no success.
137. In this hour of adversity,
Who will now be my comrade?'
138. The soldiers refused absolutely,
Retribution came on his head alone.
139. In their faithlessness this was the decision,
That there was naught save surrender.
140. He went and stood before the Sahib,
With his cloth round his neck.
141. 'For the sake of God,' he said, 'Forgive.
I have sinned and committed wrong.
142. This land is thine, this land is thine,
Thou art the Lord of all lands.
143. I shall be thy slave,
If thou save me from prison,'
144. The General and Lake Sahib (9)
Then spake as follows:—
145. 'Why hast thou surrendered, Mula?
Thou shouldst have fought again'
146. He said: 'It is not fitting for me,
To fight with the Sahibs.
147. It is my Wazirs and Amirs,
Who have blown up this fire.'
148. The General imprisoned Mula,
And spoke as follows:—
149. 'Of thy goods and treasures wealth and stores,
Give herewith an account.'
150. He said: 'I was only a poor Governor,
The Kingdom was Ranjit's.
151. The country was on lease,
I paid the revenue year by year.
152. What else there was, on purchase of arms,
Was it all spent in addition.
153. And the goods of the soldiers,
These have here been plundered.
154. Some have fled, some have escaped,
Of others there is no trace.
155. They came to earn a livelihood,
And they have earned death.'
156. The General replied: 'Great is thine offence:
Mula, how canst thou be pardoned?
157. I have written to London,
Answer will come speedily.

---

(9) Lieutenant Edward Lake, afterwards Financial Commissioner, was then attached to, and practically in command of, the Bahawalpur Contingent.

158. Jo Kampaní da sai likhía,
Nán jánesun til táíu.
159. Táng rakhe Multán dí Kampaní,
Bhále nit idáhín.
160. Jíndá án dikhálo Mulá,
Ik wár ithbáín.
161. Dhotí ban Karár wanjáyá,
Ande Ahl Kitáb ní Sáín.
162. Dekho khel ih dádhe Rab dí,
Wasdíán ujar gián ni jáín.
163. Hun aman zamána áyá ho,
Ral khedan shính te gáín.
164. Jo kuchh guzriá mulke andar,
Sobha ákh sunain.

158. Whatever order the Company gives,
I shall not know for a time.
159. The Company is in expectation of news from Multan,
It is always looking in this direction.
160. "Bring Mula and show him to us alive,
For once here."
161. God has destroyed the dhoti-wearing Kirar,
He has brought us People of the book.
162. Behold this sport of the Almighty,
How our populous cities are laid waste.
163. Now hath come the age of peace,
The lion and the cow play together.
164. Whatsoever happened in this land,
That has SOBHA set forth.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V.

SPECIMENS OF SANADS.

The following grants are printed here as specimens of the manner in which favourable rates of land revenue were fixed at various periods under native rule.

SANAD GRANTED BY MUHAMMAD DARA SHIKOH, DATED A.D. 1650.

Chún dar abádání wa mámúri-i-pargana Alampur Panáh ihtimám-i-tamám ast, binábarán mauza-i-Yúsufpur wa Gardezpur muta'lliqa marhúme maghfúre Shaikh Abdul Jalíl az qarár-i-nakdí sar-i-biga do rupaye dar kharíf Kúel wa yak ním rupaye dar rabi' Bijel ba 'amal darámada wa az áyanda fasli kharíf Bijel siyádat wa nakábat-panah Shaikh Muhammad Rájú wa Sayad Muhammad wald Sayad Fateh Muhammad muta'llíqe rá guzáshtand; chunánchi tamassuk ba muhr-i-khud nawishta dádand; wa chún ba qazáe Rabbáni tughiání-i-áb zamín-i-mauziát mazkúr gharqába shuda wa muzáríán az bedili aksar mutafarrika gashta wa ba'ze ki mánda ánár níz rúhe ba firár ma nihádand; binábar baqa-e--abádání wa kifáyat--i-sirkár wa tasalli r'iáyá hawále khádimán-i-asmati panáh iffat-dastgáh mahal-i-kalán koch Abdul Jalil bint Sháh Abulfatteh Gardezí az ibtidáe fas-kharíf Bíjel hawála namúda shud; ki ba imdád-i-tukhm wa taqqávi mawáziat rá ábád sázad wa ba kirár-i-baháwali chahárum hissa yak hissa díwán wa se hissa riáyá wa chakdár muqarrar namúda shud, wa naishakar wa pamba sar-i-biga do rupaya wa mauza' Jalílpur waghairo aml-i-mamúl ba hál dáshta shud; báyad ki ba khátir jama' dar taraddud wa abádání saí' balígh namáyand ki fasl ba fasl wa sál ba sál muáfiq-i-kirárdád-i-sadr bázyáft namúda khwáhad shud, wa ba illat-i-kankút wa topa bakhshi wa hech waja' muzáhimat na khwáhad shud, muáfiq hast búd ba amal khwáhad darámad—Insha'alla ta' alla az ín kaul wa qirár tafáwat wa tajáwaz na khwáhad bud. Tahrír ul tárikh 21 Shahre Muharram ul-harám San 30.

Translation

As we are anxious for the extension of cultivation in the pargana of Alampur Panh, ands the villages of Yusafpur and Gardezpur belonging to the late Sheikh Abdul Jalil were assessed at a cash rate of Rs. 2 per bigha in the kharif of the Turkish year of the Sheep and Re. 1-8-0 per bigha in the rabi of the year of the Ape, and as the right reverend Sheikh Raju and Syad Muhammad, son of Syad Fateh Muhammad, have resigned the said lands with effect from the kharif of the "year of the Ape" and have written a deed to this effect and signed it with their seal, and as God has pleased to flood the said villages with excessive inundations, and the tenants have mostly fled in despair, and they that remain are ready for flight; therefore, in order to establish cultivation and to benefit the Government and to comfort the subjects of Government, the said villages are entrusted to the honorable widow of the said Abdul Jalil with effect from the kharif of the "year of the Ape" so that she may bring the said lands into cultivation by grants of seed and takavi; and a fourth share of the produce shall be due to Government and three shares to the cultivators and the chakdár; and sugarcane and cotton shall pay Rs. 2 per bigha, and in Jalilpur, &c., the present arrangements shall continue. The grantees should, therefore, exert themselves confidently in bringing the land under cultivation. Payment shall be made every harvest and every year according to the above agreement, and no kind of exaction shall be made in the form of appraisement, or the patwári's "topa," or any other cess · payment shall be according to the actuals. Please God there shall be no deviation of any kind from the above deed and agreement. Written on the 21st Moharram in the 30th year of the reign [of Shah Jahan].

SANAD GRANTED BY ZABARDAST KHAN, A.D. 1761.

Hazrat Makhdúm Shekh Muhammad Rajú wa Mián Bagh Shah Gardezi.

Chún darbáb-i-mazíd-i-ábádi wa mámúrí-e-muázi'-i-pargana Balda Sarkár wa Súba-i Multán ihtimám tamám ast, darinwila wakíl-i-khándán-i-qudsíaishán mashíkhat wa syádat martabat sifwat wa nijábat manzilat hakái wa muárríf manqibat silálal e auliá-e-kirám zubda-e-masháikh, azam Shekh-ul-Islám Makhdum-ul-ánám-w'ul ikrám bandagi ——— —— istidá namúd ki mauzí' Raipur wa Núrpur Kalán waghaira ta'alluqa milkí murúsi manakkal az muddat wírán wa kamtarad-dud az o manfa'at dar Sarkár á'id hech nest; agar patta-e-ahsán ba sígha-e-istimrár naqdí kamqarárí sar-i-dahna amlí wa aima siwáe ábádi sábika iná'yat shawad. ba imdád i tukhm wa taqqavi az muzá-

riáa-i qadim wa jadíd ábá az mazrúa' mitawánem sákht ; chún izdiád-i-ábádi ba har unwán aulatar ast, libáza nazar bar kifáyat i-mál sarkár wa rifáyiat-i-riáyá dáshta min ibtidá-e-fasl kharíf Udel San 1189 fasli chunán kirár yáft ki khádimán-i-mausúf ba khátir jama ' wa istiqlál-i-tamám ba imdád-tokhm wa taqqávi taraddud-i-kisht-kár-i-mazru'át i-amlí wa aima az muzari'án-i-qadím wa jadid qarár wáqi' kunanad, ki hásilát-i-ánrá ba mújib-i-zimn ba sharat i-ábádi hama jihat sar i-dahna fasl ba fasl dar sarkár bázkhwást tawánad namúd wa siwá-e-án ba ráhi izáfa wa peshkash wa nazrána wa kharch-i-darbár wa tahrír i-díwáni wa sursat wa ámiláua wa waqái'-nigarí wa muhassili wa fasláua wa farmáua-i kár sirkár wa tafriq chánda wagbaira kul takálif ba wajnin mini'l wajún muskiza ba myán na khwánad award. Insha'alla ta'alla az in qaul wa qirár tafáwat wa tajáwaz ráh na khwáh-hand yáft. Tahrír ba tarikh panjam shahr i-Rabí'-us-sáni San 1195 Hijri.

Zima siwái chábán-i-ábád-i-sábiq ba hama jihat ba sharat-i-ábádi sar-i dahna R. 20 sál tamám wa rasúm.

Fasl Kharíf		Fasl Rabí	
R. 9.		R. 11.	
Amli Sar i dahna	Aima	Amlí sar i dahna	Aima
R. 6.	R. 3.	R. 8.	R. 3.

Translation

As we are anxious for the extension of cultivation in the villages of Pargana Balda in the Sirkár and Suba of Multan, and as the agent of the right reverend (etc., etc.) Gardezis represents that the villages of Raipur and Nurpur Kalán, etc, belonging to the hereditary property of his principals have remained long uncultivated, without in any way benefiting the Government, and that, if a favorable grant were made to them at fixed low cash rate per well (unassigned and assigned), exclusive of the previous cultivation, they would be able to bring the land under cultivation by cultivators, old and new, with grants of seed and takavi ; and whereas the increase of cultivation is our foremost care, therefore, out of consideration for the increase of the Government revenue and the prosperity of the Government's subjects, it is hereby determined, with effect from kharif of the Fasli year 1189, the Turkish year of the Ox, that the grantees shall in all confidence bring into cultivation the said lands, unassigned and assigned, by tenants, old and new, with grants of seed and takavi, and that if the said lands be cultivated their produce shall be paid to the Government every harvest in the form of a fixed sum per well according to the endorsement appended ; and, saving the above, no manner of cess shall be exacted by way of izafa, or peshkash, or nazrana, darbár expenses, or court writing-expenses, or military supplies, or officials' fees, or news-writers' fees, or muhassil's fees, or harvest fees, or Government order, or distribution of benevolence, or any other due. Please God there will be no deviation in any way from this deed and agreement. Written on the 5th of Rabi-us-sáni, 1195 Hijri.

Endorsement

Exclusive of wells already cultivated, the payment per well on condition of cultivation, will be Rs. 20 annually, excluding fees—

Kharíf Rs. 9 { Unassigned, Rs. 6 per well
{ Assigned, Rs. 3 "

Rabí Rs. 11 { Unassigned, Rs. 8 per well.
{ Assigned, Rs. 3 "

PATTA GRANTED BY DIWAN CHAND (A KARDAR OF THE NAWAB OF BAHAWALPUR) IN A.D. 1816.

Chún darbáb mazíd wa afzúni taraddud ta'alluqát muta'llaqa Khálsa Lalwah ihtimám tamám ast, darin waqt Rai Mul Chand Monghia wa Tara Mal Gajwáni darkhwást namúdand ki agar patta yak dahna cháh ba sigha istamrár dar zamin banjar ghairabád wáqi'a Kot Hájí muta'lliqa Nala Bahawalwáh az Sirkar daulat-madar marhamat shawad, mashar-un-ilen bi kharch mubligh az khud yak dahna cháh dar zamin i mazkur nau ihdas kunánida abad i an ba amal arad ; libáza hasb ul hukm hazur ala wa afzuni mahsul sirkar i ala wa rafahiyat riáyá madd i nazar dashta min ibtidai fasl i rabi Bikrami sal 1223 fasli chunan qirar yaft ki mubligh 14 rupaye istamrár sal tamam cháh mazkur chunanchi 9 rupaye dar fasl i rabi wa 5 rupaye dar fasl i kharíf babat pamba dánadár ba sharat ábadi cháh wa budand 25 bigha mazru at dar fasl i rabi wa 5 bigha dar fasl i kharíf bábat pamba danádár dar Sirkar i ala baz yaft khwáhad shud. Agar mazrú at cháh mazkúr ziáda az sharah marqúm ul sadar az rue zabti barayad, waja taufir i an mujib sharah ta'alluqa nála Sirdárwáh

dar Sirkár i álá bazyáft khwáhad shud. Wa ma'malat jawárí wagbaira har ijnás sailába wa jhalár dar zamín ahta cháh mazkúr ábád shawad, sailába ba qirár 5 hissa wa jhalár ba qirár shahsam hissa, ba'd waza' rahkám nisfí kasúr dar iwaz taraddudi ba ma' abwáb... . kharch wazanı ba mashárun ileh mujawwaz ; nisfí kasúr wa mahsúl ba ma ' abwáb kharch wagbaira dafa'át múјíb shara bar bast ta'alluka mazkúr dar sirkar i álá bázyáft khwáhad shud. Bayad ki mashárun aleh ba khátir jama' ábádi i cháh ba 'amal árad. Insha'alla ta'alla az in qaul wa iqrar tafawaz zarra na khwáhad yáft. Tahrir ba tárikh ghurra máh i Shábán, 1231 Hijri.

Translation

With a view to the extension of cultivation in the territories of Lálwáh, and whereas at this time Rai Mul Chand, Monghia and Amra Mal Gajwání represent that, if a patta be granted to them by Government for one well in perpetuity in the uncultivated land of Kot Hají appertaining to the Bahawalwah Canal they will at their own expense construct and bring into use a well in the said land ; therefore, in accordance with superior orders, and in view of the increase of the Government revenue and the comfort of the lieges, it is hereby determined, with effect from the rabi of the year of the Mouse, i.e., the Fasli year 1223, that there shall be paid in perpetuity to Government a sum of Rs. 14 per annum,—Rs. 9 in the rabi and Rs. 5 in the kharif (for cotton)—on condition of the cultivation being by well alone and of there being 25 bighas of cultivation in the rabi and 5 bighas of cotton in the kharif. If the cultivation of the said well exceed by measurement at any time the abovementioned limits, the excess portion shall pay to Government at the rates [of batai] fixed for the Sirdarwáh territory. And such jowar, etc., as may be cultivated on the said well by flow or lift from the canal shall pay to Government at the rate of one-fifth for flow and one-sixth for lift. After deducting the tenant's share, half kasúr shall be taken by the lessee in return for his expenses on cultivation, together with the cesses and deductions on crops other than grain crops. The other half of the kasúr and the owner's share shall go to Government, together with cesses, deductions, dues, etc., according to the established rate prevailing in the said territories. Let the lessees, therefore, set themselves confidently to bring the well into use ; and please God there shall be no deviation whatever from the terms of this deed and promise. Dated the 1st of Shaban, A.H. 1231 (A.D. 1816).

PATTA GRANTED BY DIWAN MULRAJ (A.D. 1846)

Chún tawajjuh khátir sirkár-i-álá baráhı mazid ábádí ta'alluqa Shujá'ábád mutasarrat shud darinwilá Chaudhri Mohan Lal ámada zahir karda ki qitta zamín mutasil Chah Khandawala wáqia' mauza Bangála wirán wa banjar mutlaq uftada, agar patta istamrari ba sigha ihsan az sarkár marahmat shawad ánjá dar zamin mazkur cháh nau ijdás karda ábád tawánam sakht. Chun dar mazíd ábadí intifa sirkar ast nazar bar an dashta mublagh 12 rupaye sal tamam siwái nilsiyah wa naishakar waghaira istamrar mujib zail juz karda, agar árazi bar cháh mazkúr siwai ziraat gandum wa jawar bajri waghaira raqba qarar ziraat nil siyah wa naishakar kasht kunad, bhawali i án ba qirar haftam hissa, kharch ba shará mauza'wa ghalla shálí ba qirar shasham hissa mujawwaz karda ; bayad ki arázi ba khatir jama' chah nau ihdas karda abádi dar pesh namayad ; ba mújib hamin nawishta ba 'amal khwahad amad, wa chhera ihdási ba mújib nau ábádán muqarrar shud, chhera sál awwal muáf, áyanda nim chhera muqarrar namuda shud.

Istamrár Rs. 12 { Dar rabi' Rs 7, asl Rs. 6, siwá Re. 1
Dar kharíf Rs, 5, asl Rs. 4, siwa Re. 1

Rakba qarár { Dar rabi' 25 bigha
Dar kharif—az ghalgi 18 bigha ; az kásht vanwár 7 bigha
muáf

Kásht sabzi tarkárí ba qarár panjam hissa bilá kharch.

Tahrir 4 máh Jeth, Sambat 1902.

Translation.

Whereas the Government is anxious for the increase of cultivation in the taluka of Shujabad and whereas Chaudhri Mohan Lal has come and declared that a certain plot of land near the Khandawala well in Mauza Bangála is deserted and entirely uncultivated, and that, if a fixed lease were granted by the Government on favorable terms, he would be able to bring the land into cultivation by building a new well therein, and as the extension of cultivation is the profit of Government, in consideration thereof a fixed rent of Rs. 12 per annum, exclusive of indigo and sugar, is hereby sanctioned ; and it is hereby laid down that if the lessee, in addition to the cultivation of wheat, jowar, bajra, etc., shall in the area covered by the lease, cultivate indigo and sugar, he shall pay batai thereon at the rate of one-seventh ; and the deductions for cultivation expenses shall be at the

ordinary village rate; and rice will be divided at the rate of one-sixth. The lessee should start fearlessly on the cultivation of the land by constructing the well, and this present lease shall come into operation The scale of forced labour for canals is fixed at the rate adopted for new cultivation i.e., the first year nil, and afterwards half rates.

Fixed payments Rs. 12 per annum. { Rabi Rs. 7, revenue Rs. 6, cesses Re. 1.
Kharif Rs. 5, revenue Rs 4, cesses Re. 1.

Area covered by the lease { In the rabi 25 bigahs.
In the kharif 13 bighas of grain crops, 7 bigas of cotton

Vegetables to pay one-fifth batai after deducting expenses.

Written on the 4th Jeth, Sambat 1902.

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PREFACE.

Under the old arrangement, I collected the materials necessary for a revised edition of the Gazetteer and brought the first edition as much up-to-date as was possible, during the currency of the recent Settlement operations, which ended on 2nd June 1903. Just before the close of the Settlement orders were received to the effect that the new Gazetteer was to be arranged quite differently from the old one, in accordance with a syllabus prepared by the Superintendent, Gazetteer Revision, Punjab. The changes were very radical and necessitated the re-writing of the whole Gazetteer. Since the completion of the recent Settlement of the district I have had my hands full first with the enquiry about occupiers' rates levied on the Western Jumna Canal and then with the Mianwali Settlement. I have devoted to this compilation such time during the past three years as I could spare without detriment to more important work. This accounts for the delay in completing the book. I have tried to bring every section up-to-date. In matters connected with land revenue and measurement, the figures of the Revised Settlement have been quoted. In some cases I have given figures of 1902-03 where more recent figures might as well have been substituted. The difference in these cases was however unimportant.

Part B of the Gazetteer consisting of statistical tables was prepared in the office of the Superintendent, Gazetteer Revision, and has been brought up-to-date. In compiling the present edition I have drawn largely upon the old Gazetteer which contained a great deal of information, on Mr. O'Brien's Settlement Report of the First Regular Settlement, my own Report of the Second Regular Settlement, my Assessment Reports of the tahsils and my Code of Customary Law of the district.

I have to offer my apologies for the shortcomings which are bound to depreciate the value of a book complied from time to time in what may be called spare hours.

Lahore:
12*th June* 1908.

HARI KISHAN, KAUL.

P. S.—Since the Gazetteer was sent into Press, the Leiah tahsil had been transferred from the Mianwali to the Muzaffargarh district, with effect from 1st April 1909. For particulars relating to that tahsil the Gazetteer of the Mianwali district should be referred to.

Lahore:
1*st January* 1910.

HARI KISHAN KAUL.

PREFACE.

THE last edition of the Gazetteer of the Muzaffargarh District was published in 1908 after the conclusion of the second regular settlement of the district by Pandit (now Raja) Hari Kishan Kaul. The third regular settlement was conducted by Mr. J. D. Anderson, I.C.S., in 1921-24. Mr. Anderson was unable, however, to take up the revision of the Gazetteer, which it is usual for the Settlement Officer to do, because of his transfer to the judicial branch of the service. The work was therefore entrusted to me some months ago.

I have used freely the former edition of the Gazetteer of the district and the Gazetteer of the Leiah Tahsil (which was added to the Muzaffargarh District in 1909), Mr. Anderson's Tahsil Assessment Reports, Final Settlement Report (1929) and Special Report on the District (1927).

A new edition of volume B will be prepared after the census of 1931.

I acknowledge, with thanks, the information supplied to me for the revision by the officers of other departments serving in the district.

EDWARD H. LINCOLN,

January 1930. *Deputy Commissioner, Muzaffargarh.*

CHAPTER I.—Descriptive.

SECTION A.—PHYSICAL ASPECTS—METEOROLOGY.

CHAPTER I, A.

PHYSICAL ASPECTS —METEOROLOGY.

Name of District.

The Muzaffargarh District in the Multan Division takes its name from the town where the headquarters are situated. Muzaffargarh literally means the fort of Muzaffar, and is so called because the old town lies inside the walls of a fort built by Nawab Muzaffar Khan of Multan, who is referred to in section B of this chapter. Prior to that, the place was known by a shop, called Musan Hatti, on the road leading from Multan to Dera Ghazi Khan. The district was originally called Khangarh, with headquarters at Khangarh. In 1859 the headquarters were moved to Muzaffargarh.

Boundaries.

The district, lying roughly between 29° and 31° N. and 70° and 71.5° E., consists of a triangular block of land running north and south between the Indus and Chenab Rivers, with its base to the north and its apex at the confluence of the Indus and Chenab Rivers, the Chenab here consisting of the united waters of the five rivers of the Punjab. As its boundaries are fixed,* small portions of the district lie on the left bank of the Chenab and on the right bank of the Indus. On the north the district touches the Mianwali and Jhang Districts, on the east the Jhang and Multan Districts and the Bahawalpur State and on the west the Dera Ghazi Khan District and the Dera Ismail Khan District of the North-West Frontier Province.

Area and population.

The area of the district is 6,052 square miles (according to revenue records 5,561 square miles), which gives it second place among the districts of the Punjab. The population, according to the census of 1921, is 568,478.

Tahsils.

The district has four tahsils—Leiah, Kot Adu, Muzaffargarh and Alipur. The Leiah Tahsil, previously part of Dera Ismail Khan and afterwards of Mianwali, was joined to the district in 1909. Leiah was at one time the headquarters of a district and of a commissionership. The Kot Adu Tahsil was originally part of the old Leiah District, but in 1859 was joined to the Muzaffargarh District. The headquarters of the tahsil were first at Kot Adu, but in 1871 were transferred to Sanawan, and the name was changed to Sanawan. In 1919 the headquarters were moved back to Kot Adu on account of excessive water-logging, and the former name was resumed. Originally the Muzaffargarh Tahsil was

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* See Settlement Report of the Second Regular Settlement.

B

CHAPTER I, A.
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PHYSICAL ASPECTS —METEOROLOGY.

divided from north to south into two tahsils: the Chenab, with headquarters at Khangarh, and the Indus, with headquarters at Kinjhar. The present Rangpur Sub-Tahsil was then united with the southern part of Shorkot (Jhang District), and was a tahsil by itself. The Alipur Tahsil has always formed part of the district. The headquarters were formerly at Sitpur. This is referred to also in chapter I-B.

Physical Aspects.

There are two parts of the district: that which receives inundation in some form from the rivers, and that which does not; the latter is the Thal, the former the strips of country lying between it and the Chenab and Indus.

At the northern boundary of the district the Thal rises above the Indus riverain, here about 10 miles wide, in a steep cliff about 20 feet in height. Except for the strip of country by the river—known as the *kachchhi*, or armpit—the whole of the rest of the Leiah Tahsil is desert, supporting large flocks of sheep, fewer goats and in the winter large herds of camels. The wells, which are worked almost as much to give water to the flocks as for cultivation, are situated in three long strips of hard level ground running roughly from north-west to south-east; these strips, which are obviously old beds of the Indus, are separated one from the other by low sand-hills, and vary greatly in fertility; that on the east is sterile; the middle one is less desolate; while the easternmost, which lies above the bank of the Indus, is almost everywhere very fertile, and in places is covered with a scattered growth of *jhand* (Prosopis spicigera) trees. These three strips run into the Kot Adu Tahsil as far as Sanawan town, south of which they disappear in a mass of tumbled sand-hills, among which are oases of flat fertile land. The width of the Thal lessens from north to south as the Chenab and Indus approach one another; and in the south, where its level falls to that of the neighbouring riverain, irrigation has been extended into it, and estates classified as belonging to the Thal have now little claim to the name. The southern apex of the Thal is in the middle of the Muzaffargarh Tahsil, below which point water from the rivers flows across the whole district. In the Leiah Tahsil the Thal is classed as the Thal *Kalan*, the *Jandi* Thal, *Powah* and *Dhaha*. In the Kot Adu Tahsil the classification is *Jal* Thal and *Roday* Thal. The products of the Thal play a very important part, and are described in chapter II-A.

The riverain part of the district may be further divided into three zones. The first is a comparatively narrow strip along both rivers, where the summer floods are so high that no kharif crop can be grown, and the rabi can be matured

CHAPTER I, A.

PHYSICAL ASPECTS —METEOROLOGY.

without well irrigation. Inside this zone is a second, where the floods are less violent, and a little interior kharif can be grown in the highest lands; the rabi, though sown on flood water, needs irrigation unless the winter rainfall is unusually good, and is watered by Persian-wheels set up on creeks and ponds; or, if the site is safe from the river, on wells. In this zone, especially on the Indus in the Leiah Tahsil, the farmers do their best by throwing up dams of earthwork and brushwood to control the floods which come to them in a normal year not direct from the river, but through the creeks which flow from it. In the third zone the flood waters of the rivers are brought to the lands through inundation canals, of which the heads are situated on some creek; except in the south of the Alipur Tahsil, the canal-irrigated lands are protected from river flood by embankments.

The eastern side of the district, where the soil has been deposited by the Chenab, is of great natural fertility; the rest of the district, or roughly 9/10ths of the whole, is Indus sand, inferior to the Chenab silt, though almost everywhere good crops can be grown in favourable conditions. The water-table is high, and even in the northern Thal there are no wells with a winter water-table lower than 40 feet, south of the Leiah-Kot Adu border the winter water-table is from 12 to 6 feet; particularly in places where the natural run-away of the surface water has been stopped by the railway, roads, canal channels and embankments the district is water-logged; where water-logging continues for a number of years, saltpetre rises to the surface and the ground goes out of cultivation; water-logging, with its attendant evils, varies from year to year according to the season, and it is impossible to predict its incidence and extent; estates which were formerly described as of great fertility are now wastes of white salt, while others described as ruined by salt are now no worse than their neighbours. Saltpetre may be found anywhere in the district, but is worst in the strip of country between the Thal and the protective embankments, and is particularly bad between Rangpur and Muzaffargarh towns and in the depression round Sanawan town.

Embankments or *Bunds*.

Parallel to the Indus, and about 5 miles east of the main stream, runs the great Sanawan embankment. This has its base on the railway 5 miles north of the Leiah-Kot Adu border and ends near Jatoi in the Alipur Tahsil. West of this embankment the country is exposed to floods either from the Indus or from its tributary creeks, of which the largest is the Ghuttu, the source of the most important Alipur

CHAPTER I, A.
—
PHYSICAL ASPECTS —METEOROLOGY.

canals. On the side of the Chenab a shorter embankment with its base on the sand-hills of the Thal, about 8 miles north of Muzaffargarh town, runs parallel with the river to a spot about 6 miles north of the Alipur-Muzaffargarh border. There is a *bund* near Langar Serai, another east of Khangarh and others near Bara and Khanwah in the Alipur Tahsil. These are all maintained by the Canal Department.

Canals.

The prosperity of the district depends upon the inundation canals, and their maintenance is a most difficult problem owing to the constant need of new headworks due to the vagaries of the rivers and the difficulty of reconciling supply of water in the earlier months of the hot weather with prevention of overflooding in the monsoon season.

There are 6 Indus canals and 3 Chenab canals. The canal system is dealt with more fully in chapter II-A.

Rivers — The Indus.

The Indus flows along the western boundary of the district throughout its length. The slope of the bank in this district is shelving and easy, the set of the stream being towards the right bank, which, in the Taunsa Tahsil of Dera Ghazi Khan, is high and steep. In the cold weather it is 2 miles wide. In the hot weather it overflows its banks to such an extent that its width cannot be estimated. Its depth varies from 12 feet in the winter to about 24 feet in the summer. The current is strong and rapid, and frequently changes are very perceptible. It has a tendency to form islands and shoals, which makes its navigation dangerous to boats. The islands are mostly overgrown with a dense grass jungle: this grass is *kan* (Saccharum spontaneum), and *not kana* or *munj* (Saccharum sara), which it resembles. The inland portion of the district contains water-courses which were once beds of the Indus. In receding westward it has left various side-channels, which are easy and safe means of irrigation. The inundation canals of the district have their heads in the side-channels. The name of the Indus is "Sindh," which has three distinct meanings: (1) the river Indus; the country on both banks of the river Indus and subject to its influence; and (3) the province of Sindh.

The Chenab.

The Chenab flows along the eastern boundary of the district for about 125 miles. The bank of the Chenab is in parts high and steep, in others the slope is shelving and easy. The depth of the stream varies from 15 feet in winter to 30 in summer. The Chenab is narrower and less rapid than the Indus. The deep stream shifts very much, and navigation is difficult, but not so dangerous as that in the Indus. The Chenab does not betray any marked tendency to encroach on one bank more than the other. The general set

CHAPTER I, A.

PHYSICAL ASPECTS —METEOROLOGY.

is to the west, and the small town of Rangpur appears to be in some danger of erosion.

Dhands or Back-waters.

The side-channels of the rivers, the inlets from the rivers and the lakes are called *dhands*. The side-channels are also termed *phats*. The *dhands* supply irrigation by means of Persian-wheels. Some of them abound in fish, and duck and snipe are sometimes found. The *dhands* vary much in size and depth according as the floods fill them or not. The canal protective works have, however, changed the character of the *dhands* of the district, and sometimes they have to be filled by the Canal Department in order to preserve the fisheries, which have deteriorated in recent years. The following are the most permanent:—

(1) Ghazanfargarh *dhand* in the village of Ghazanfargarh, 15 miles south of Muzaffargarh; and

(2) The Garang *dhand*, south of the Alipur Tahsil; its northern end is in the village of Bhambri and its southern end in Kotli Lal. It is about 5 miles long in the cold weather, and is winding. Its width is about 30 yards on an average, and its greatest depth about 12 feet. Snub-nosed crocodiles are occasionally seen, and there are many large tortoises. There are a few hamlets on the banks of this *dhand* where egrets are farmed. A boat can be obtained readily and it is an interesting excursion to these farms. The Khanwah Rest-house is near.

Geology.

The district contains nothing of geological interest.

SECTION B.—HISTORY.

CHAPTER I, B.

HISTORY.

No early History of District.

Nothing is known of the early history of the district. Alexander the Great, according to Arrian, in about 327 B.C. sailed down the Jhelum to its junction with the Indus, while his land forces marched in two bodies on either side of the river. Craterus, who was on the right bank, may have skirted parts of the present district, but there is no evidence of this, even in the Thal, which is admirably suited for the preservation of antiquarian remains. But the very course of the rivers at his time is a matter for speculation so far as this district is concerned.

District first united under Sikhs.

The Muzaffargarh District, as a whole, had no complete history until it was united under Diwan Sawan Mal, Governor of Multan, under the Sikhs. The history of the neighbouring Governments is, however, relevant because it is by it alone that is learned the origin of the tribes now living in the district, and the order in which they occupied it. The contemporary history will therefore be given as briefly as possible, more for the sake of ready reference when the tribes are described, than in order to record events which had their central interest in the district.

The Hindu Dynasties.

From the earliest times the district followed the fortunes of the kingdom of Sindh. The Hindu dynasties of the Rais and of the Brahmins ruled over a Jat population who are a branch of the Kshatriya or Rajput race, and, for some reason not known, had been excluded from fellowship. These Rajputs, who may be called aboriginal, are the ancestors of the Jats, who form about two-thirds of the population, and all the other tribes are subsequent arrivals.

The Arab Conquerors—The Sumras and the Summas.

The first Arab conquerors held Sindh and Multan from A.D. 711 to A.D. 750, when they were expelled by a Rajput tribe called Sumra, whose representatives are still found in the district. In A.D. 1351 the Sumras were expelled by the Summas, another Rajput tribe, descendants of whom are to traced among the Unnars of the Alipur Tahsil. The Summa rulers all bore the title of *Jam*. To this day *Jam* is used as a title of respect to Muhammadans who have a Sindhian origin. It was during the rule of these Rajput tribes in Sindh and Multan that an immigration of Rajputs from Hindustan took place. It is to this that is due the presence in the district of such tribes as the Sials, Gurahas, Bhattis and Chhajras.

The Langah Dynasty of Multan.

The next event bearing on the history of this district is the establishment of the Langah dynasty in Multan. It ruled from A.D. 1445 to A.D. 1526. There are still Langahs in the district, and it was during the Langah rule that the independent kingdom of Sitpur was established by the Nahars in

what is now the Alipur Tahsil. It was during this dynasty that the Biloches first emerged from the Suleman mountains and occupied the country on the left bank of the Indus.

Division of District into four Governments.

The establishment of the independent kingdom of Sitpur was the starting-point of a connected history of the district. Henceforward the district was occupied by four Governments. In the southern angle there was the Government of Sitpur held first by the Nahar family, then by the Makhdum of Sitpur and lastly by the Nawabs of Bahawalpur. The west central part of the district, opposite Dera Ghazi Khan, was governed by the rulers of Dera Ghazi Khan; first Mirrani Biloches, then Gujars and Kalhoras, then by various governors directly appointed by the Durrani kings of Kabul and finally by the Nawabs of Bahawalpur. The east central part of the district lying on the right bank of the Chenab opposite Multan was nominally ruled by the Multan governors. The northern part of the district, including the Thal, after passing through a stage of anarchy, became subject to the governors of Mankera, who were locally known as nawabs of the Thal.

The First Government in Sitpur The Nahars, Biloches and Makhdums.

The dynasty that established the Sitpur kingdom was the Nahar. In A.D. 145? (A.H. 854), when Bahlol Khan Lodhi, who had been Governor of Multan, became King of Delhi, he granted the country lying between the Indus, which then joined the Chenab at Uch, and the Suleman range, south of a line drawn from Harand to Uch and north of Shikarpur in Sindh, to his relation Islam Khan Lodhi. This tract comprised what is now the southern part of the Alipur Tahsil of the district, the southern part of the Dera Ghazi Khan District and the northern part of Sindh. Islam Khan or his [illegible] Nahar. Islam Khan's grandsons, [illegible] Khan and Tahir Khan, quarrelled and [illegible] themselves. The southern part of the [illegible] Alipur Tahsil, the chief town of which was then Sitpur, [illegible] Tahir Khan. He established his rule there and died. There were [illegible] generations of the Nahar family. The last of the Nahars was Bakhshan Khan, who was jamadar of chaprasis in the Alipur Tahsil, and who enjoyed a small allowance from Government for looking after the family tombs. After him the incumbents of the office were widows. One of the Nahars built a fine tomb in his lifetime, which still exists. His name was Tahir Khan, named *sakhi*, or the liberal. Another, named Ali Khan, founded Alipur. No other memorial of the Nahars exists.

At the end of the fifteenth century the Biloches* began to issue from the hills, and occupied the country on the left bank of the Indus, from Sitpur to Kot Karor in the Leiah Tahsil.

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* [illegible] "The Fourth Government" for details.

CHAPTER I, B.

HISTORY.

In A.D. 1484 (A.H. 887) Haji Khan, a Mirrani Biloch, founded Dera Ghazi Khan and established a dynasty, the rulers of which alternately bore the titles of Haji Khan and Ghazi Khan.* These chiefs expelled the Nahars from the south of the Dera Ghazi Khan District, and pressed the Sitpur Nahars very hard. Treachery was at work at the very door of the Nahar. Shaikh Raju, Makhdum of Sitpur, who was a councellor of the Nahar, began to seize the country for himself. He did not entirely expel the Nahars, for, when he in his turn was overthrown by the Nawabs of Bahawalpur, parts of the country were still in possession of the Nahar. The greater part, however, of the south of the district was governed by the Makhdums in Sitpur. Until the inroads of Bahawalpur began, nothing is heard of the Nahar or of the Makhdum's government. The Nahars appear to have been indifferent rulers. They left no public works behind them except Tahir Khan's tomb, and in this rainless and flooded country it is the criterion of a good governor that he should make canals and protective embankments. The title of Nahar was given to them for their rapacity. Popular stories attest their want of wisdom. One winter night the jackals were howling round Sitpur. Tahir Khan, the Liberal, asked his wazir what made them howl. The wazir answered: "The cold." The Nahar ordered clothes to be made for them. Next night the jackals howled again, and the Nahar asked his wazir what they were howling for. The wazir replied: "They are invoking blessings on you for your liberality." The Makhdums of Sitpur, on the contrary, were good governors. They dug canals, extended cultivation, and one of them founded the town of Rajanpur in the Dera Ghazi Khan District.

The Nawabs of Bahawalpur take Sitpur.

The divided and weakened state of Sitpur attracted the attention of the Nawabs of Bahawalpur first at the beginning of the eighteenth century. They ruled over a part of the district for a hundred years, and left their mark on it by their public works and by introducing an organized revenue administration. The founder of the State of Bahawalpur was Sadik Muhammad Khan, son of Mullan Mubarak Khan, a distinguished resident of Shikarpur in Sindh. For some reason not ascertained, Sadik Muhammad Khan had to flee from the enmity of Nur Muhammad Kalhora, first of the Kalhora governors of Sindh. Sadik Muhammad Khan left Shikarpur in A.D. 1727 (A.H. 1140), and passed with his family and a body of followers through the Muzaffargarh District to Bet Dabli on the borders of the Leiah Tahsil. He was closely followed by the Sindh troops under Mir Shah Dad Khan. A skirmish took place in which the Sindhis were

*The village in which old Dera Ghazi Khan stood was hence known as Haji Ghazi

defeated. Then Sadik Muhammad Khan took refuge with the Makhdums of Uch, who sent him to Hayat Ullah Khan, Governor of Multan, with their recommendations. Hayat Ullah Khan granted him the district of Choudhry, south of the Sutlej, in *jagir*. Sadik Muhammad Khan distinguished himself as an extender of cultivation and a suppressor of robbers. His next promotion was the grant of the town and country of Farid, a robber chief whom he defeated and killed with his followers. In A.D. 1739 (A.H. 1152) Sadik Muhammad Khan obtained the title of nawab from Nadir Shah, and, in the anarchy following the invasion of Nadir Shah he succeeded in seizing the country bounded by the Sutlej on the north, Bikaner on the east, Sindh on the south and the Indus on the west. Sadik Muhammad Khan was succeeded by his son Bahawal Khan, who founded the town of Bahawalpur, and who is known as Bahawal Khan the Great. It was in the time of his successor, Mubarak Khan, that the Nawabs of Bahawalpur first established themselves permanently in the district. In A.D. 1751 (A.H. 1164) Mubarak Khan seized the country about Mudwala, now a large village on the right bank of the Chenab between Shahr Sultan and Alipur, just opposite the junction of the Sutlej and Chenab, from the Nahars, and in the same year he took Bet Doma, a village and tract south of Sitpur, from Makhdum Sheikh Raju of Sitpur. Bahawal Khan II was the next nawab. In A.D. 1781 (A.H. 1194) he took the *pargana* of Jatoi from Makhdum Sheikh Raju of Sitpur. The Indian historians say that he took it on farm but this is hardly credible. The nawab was the most powerful, and the Makhdums were growing weaker every day. The nawab had already taken part of the Makhdums' country by force and was shortly to take the rest. It was about A.D. 1790 that the Indus left its old course which joined the Chenab close to Uch and took the bed it now occupies. The south of the district was thus laid open to the attacks of Bahawalpur and the nawab at once availed himself of the opportunity. He took without a contest Alipur, Shahr Sultan, Sitpur and Khairpur; in short, the remainder of the Alipur Tahsil from the Nahars and the Makhdums of Sitpur. He also proceeded to take the whole of the western and southern portions of the Muzaffargarh Tahsil from the rulers of Dera Ghazi Khan. He may be left in possession of the Alipur Tahsil for the present, and an account given of the remaining Governments that existed in the district.

The Second Government—Dera Ghazi Khan.

It has already been stated that the Biloches occupied the left bank of the Indus at the end of the fifteenth century, and that in A.D. 1484 Haji Khan founded Dera Ghazi Khan. His son was Ghazi Khan, and alternate Haji Khans and Ghazi Khans ruled until A.D. 1769 (A.H. 1183). As far as this district is concerned, they were good governors. They encouraged agriculture and excavated canals. One of them, said

CHAPTER I, B. HISTORY.

to be the first Ghazi Khan, founded the town of Kinjhar on the Indus. Mahmud Khan, Gujar, was the son of one Yusuf. He became wazir to the last Ghazi Khan, and, under the pretext of saving Government from conspirators, called in Ghulam Shah Kalhora, Governor of Sindh, who took Dera Ghazi Khan, arrested the last Ghazi Khan and carried him a prisoner to Sindh, where he died. Ghulam Shah left Mahmud Khan, Gujar, as Governor of Dera Ghazi Khan. He was maintained by the kings of Khurasan, and received from them a nawabship and the title of Jan Nasar Khan. Mahmud Khan, Gujar, ruled for 30 years, and was succeeded by his nephew Barkhurdar, who was superseded by governors sent direct from Khurasan. Mahmud Khan, Gujar, has a great reputation as a good governor in this district. He bought much land which Government owns to this day. He built the fort of Mahmud Kot. The Shiah Muhammadans in the district date from the time of the Kalhora invasion caused by Mahmud Khan, Gujar. After the Gujars, a number of governors were sent direct from Khurasan. Anarchy prevailed on the left bank of the Indus, which prepared the country for the invasion of Bahawal Khan II in 1791. Here may be left the Dera Ghazi Khan part of Muzaffargarh at the same point where Sitpur was left, and an account given of the part of the district that was subject to Multan. The history of the Biloches will, however, be reverted to in considering the fourth Government.

The Third Government—Multan.

The Langahs, already referred to, were expelled in A.D. 1529 by the Afghans, nominally acting on behalf of Babar, and in Akbar's reign Multan was incorporated in the Delhi empire as a *subah* or province. Of the sub-divisions of the Multan Province, the only two mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* are Rangpur and Sitpur. Though it is known from general history that this district must have been sometimes subject to Delhi and sometimes to Khurasan, neither monarchy had much effect on its internal history, and the local chiefs carried on their public improvements and their little wars without interference from headquarters. Occasionally one of two rival competitors tried to strengthen his cause by obtaining a deed-of-grant from Delhi or Kabul. But a strong band of followers proved a better support than any *sanad* or *farman*. A favourite saying of the local historians, in describing the rise of some chief, who, if a settled Government had existed, would have been hanged, is—

Udhar Dilhi di sultanat men fatur;

Idhar shahan Kabul ki nazaron dur.

On that side anarchy in the Delhi kingdom;

On this side far from the eyes of the kings of Kabul.

CHAPTER I, B.

HISTORY.

It is well therefore, as far as possible, to avoid notice of the nominally central Governments, and only mention extraneous history as far as it bears on the district. On this principle, Multan has no history connected with the district from the time of the Langahs to the establishment of the Multani Pathans, as they were called. These were a family of Saddozai Afghans, and a branch of the family to which Ahmad Shah, Taimur Shah, Zaman Shah and Shah Shuja, kings of Kabul, belonged. The first of the family who came to India was Hussain Khan, who held Rangpur in this district in *jagir* in the time of Aurangzeb. Zahid Khan was the first of the family who became Nawab of Multan. This was in A.D. 1738. Between the accession of Zahid Khan and that of his son Shuja Khan simple anarchy prevailed. Shuja Khan was invested with the government of Multan in A.D. 1767. He founded Shujabad in the Multan District opposite Khangarh. In his time the Bhangi Sikhs overran the country and occupied Multan, driving Shuja Khan to Shujabad. To this day the raids and cruelty of the Bhangi Sikhs live in the memory of the peasants living along the right bank of the Chenab. Shuja Khan was succeeded by his son Muzaffar Khan, who did not recover Multan till A.D. 1779, when he was reinstated by Taimur Shah, King of Kabul, who expelled the Sikhs and appointed Muzaffar Khan governor, with the title of nawab. Muzaffar Khan governed Multan till A.D. 1818 when it was besieged and taken by the Sikhs, and the nawab, with five of his sons, was killed. Muzaffar Khan's rule was a continued war. It is, however, only as a civil governor that he concerns the district, and it is surprising that he should have found time for making such improvements in the country on the right bank of the Chenab. The country in this district attached to Multan included the *talukas* of Rangpur, Muradabad, Muzaffargarh, Khangarh and Ghazanfargarh. Muzaffar Khan dug canals, made embankments and extended cultivation. He established many persons of his own tribe in this part, a fact to be remembered when reference is made to the tenure of the Multani Pathans. In A.D. 1794 he founded the fort and town of Muzaffargarh. His sister Khan Bibi built the fort and town of Khangarh, and his brother Ghazanfar Khan the fort and town of Ghazanfargarh.

The Fourth Government—The Thal Nawabs.

The fourth Government comprised what is now to a great extent the Kot Adu Tahsil, and the Leiah Tahsil, which was included in this district in recent years.

The history of this area is bound up with that of Bhakkar, Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan, and requires separate recording.

CHAPTER I, B.

HISTORY.

Leiah Tahsil Part of Mughal Empire till A.D. 1739.

The Leiah Tahsil continued to form part of the Mughal Empire until the invasion of Nadir Shah in A.D. 1738, when the country generally was plundered. In A.D. 1739 the country west of the Indus was surrendered by the emperor to Nadir Shah, and passed after his death to Ahmad Shah Abdali. The armies of Ahmad Shah marched repeatedly through the district, the cis-Indus portion of which was, with the rest of the Punjab, incorporated in A.D. 1756 in the Durrani kingdom. During the greater portion of the reign of Ahmad Shah no regular governors were appointed by the Kabul Government. The country was divided between the Hot and Jaskani chiefs and a number of nearly independent border tribes. Occasionally one of the king's sirdars marched through the country with an army, collecting in an irregular way, and often by force, the revenue that might have been assessed on the different *ilakas*; but little or no attention was paid to the internal administration of the country until quite the close of the reign of Ahmad Shah. Two or three years before his death Ahmad Shah deposed Nusrat Khan, the last of the Hot rulers of Dera; and after this the province of Dera Ismail Khan was governed by Kamr-ud-Din Khan and other governors appointed direct from Kabul. Some ten years later the descendants of Mahmud Khan, Gujar, who had succeeded the Mirranis in the government of Dera Ghazi Khan, were similarly displaced; and in A.D. 1786 the old Jaskani family of Leiah was driven out by Abdul Nabi, Serai, to whom their territories had been granted by the king in *jagir*. Towards the end of the century the whole of the present district on both sides of the river was consolidated into a single Government, under Nawab Muhammad Khan, Saddozai. Before, however, proceeding further it will be necessary to enter into some detail as to the history of the country under the old Biloch families.

Incorporated into Durani Kingdom in A.D. 1756.

Displacement of Old Ruling Families of Tract.

Formation of single Government under Nawab Muhammad Khan Saddozai.

Settlement of old Biloch Chiefs who founded Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan, A.D 1469.

References to the settlement of the first Biloch chiefs along the Indus are found in Ferishta, and in a Persian manuscript translated by Lieutenant Maclagan. The account given by the latter is that in 874 Hijri (A.D. 1469) Sultan Hussain, son of Kutab-ud-Din, obtained the government of Multan. He held the forts of Shor and Chuniewat (in the Jhang District) and of Kot Karor (Karor Lal Isan) and Dinkot (near Kalabagh). Soon after, Malik Suhrab, a Dodai Biloch, along with his son Ismail Khan, and Fatteh Khan and others of his tribe, arrived from Kech Mekran, and entered the service of Sultan Hussain. As the hill robbers were then becoming very troublesome in the province of Multan, Sultan Hussain rejoiced in the opportune arrival of Malik Suhrab, and assigned to him the country from the fort of Karor to Dinkot. "On this becoming known, many Biloches came from Kech Mekran to the service of Sultan. The lands, cultivated

CHAPTER I, B.

HISTORY

and waste, along the banks of the Indus were assigned to the Biloches, and the royal revenue began to increase. The old inhabitants of Dera Ghazi Khan and Multan relate that, after Suhrab's arrival, Haji Khan, with his son Ghazi Khan and many of their kindred and tribe, came from Kech Mekran to enter the service of Sultan. When the tracts along the Indus were in the hands of Malik Suhrab and Haji Khan, Malik Suhrab founded a dera named after Ismail Khan, and Haji Khan another with the name of Ghazi Khan." This account is confirmed, though in less detail, by the historian Ferishta.

Submission of these Biloch Chiefs to Emperor Sher Shah, A.D. 1540.

We next hear of these chiefs in A.D. 1540. In that year the Emperor Sher Shah visited Khushab and Bhera in the Shahpur District, and made arrangements for bringing into submission the south-western portions of the Punjab. Among other chiefs who then appeared and tendered their submission were Ismail Khan, Ghazi Khan and Fatteh Khan, Dodai Biloches. These were probably descendants of the men mentioned above, it being the custom in these families to have a common name by which the ruling chief for the time being was always known. Thus the Hot chiefs of Dera Ismail were always called Ismail Khans, while the Mirranis of Dera Ghazi were called Ghazi Khans and Haji Khans. The Biloches are spoken of in the accounts of that time as a barbarous and daring tribe that had long been settled in great numbers in the lower Punjab. Mr. Fryer in his Settlement Report of the Dera Ghazi Khan District mentions that the first Ghazi Khan is proved by the date on his tomb to have died in A.D. 1494. This would agree with the date in the manuscript quoted above, and would fix the latter half of the fifteenth century as the period when the main Biloch immigration took place. It would also allow sufficient time for the Biloch headmen to have become the recognized chiefs of the country by the time of Sher Shah's visit to Khushab in A.D. 1540. The history of these Biloch settlements is involved in a good deal of doubt and confusion caused in a great measure by the common custom of the local historians of assigning the founding of the principal towns and villages to the chiefs of the early settlers or their sons, from whom they are supposed to be named.

Main Facts to be gathered from Early History.

The main facts established appear to be that the early settlers were grouped under two leading families: the Ismail Khans and Ghazi Khans. Both of these were probably of one stock, *viz.*, Dodai Biloches; but this name Dodai disappears altogether, and in the local history Ghazi Khan's tribe is known as Mirrani Biloches, and Ismail Khan's as Hot Biloches. The Dodais are, according to the Biloches, a mixed tribe of Jat origin belonging to the Satha-Surma clan, now represented by the Surma of Leiah; Doda their founder married a Biloch wife. This tribe owned Dera Ghazi Khan before

CHAPTER I, B.

HISTORY.

the Biloch irruption, and retained it, being assimilated by the Biloches. The Mirranis of Dera Ghazi Khan were Dodais; the Hots, on the contrary, were Biloches of pure blood. The Hots, according to Biloch tradition, are one of the five main branches into which the Biloches originally divided, *i.e.*, Rind, Lashari, Hot, Korai and Jatoi, who took their names from the four sons and the daughter of Mir Jalalan, the common ancestor. They could scarely therefore be a branch of the Dodai. The Governor of Multan seems to have assigned to these two families the land along the Indus, including both banks from its junction with the Chenab upwards. They first established themselves on the right bank, but by degrees threw out parties who took possession of the left bank as well. Very little is known about these Hot chiefs. They ruled continuously at Dera Ismail Khan from their first settlement till about A.D. 1770, when the last of them, Nusrat Khan, was deposed by King Ahmad Shah and taken as a prisoner to Kabul. In A.D. 1794 the government of the province was transferred to Muhammad Khan, Saddozai. The Hots now disappear from history.

Last Hot Chief Nusrat Khan displaced in A.D. 1770 by Ahmad Shah.

Rule of Mirrani Chiefs in Leiah.

The lands of the Leiah Tahsil along the southern boundary of the old Dera Ghazi Khan District appear to have been included in that section of the Indus valley which had been assigned to the Mirranis. These are said to have founded Kot Adu, Kot Sultan, Leiah and Naushera. Beyond Naushera the country probably at first belonged, by the terms of the original assignment, to the Hots. The towns above mentioned are said to have been founded about A.D. 1550 by the four sons of the Ghazi Khans. The eldest of these, Kamal Khan, the founder of Leiah, is said to have held a sort of supremacy over his brothers. It appears, however, that the Mirranis never held Leiah as an independent government. The Ghazi Khans held the Leiah Province as part of the Ghazi territory, much as the Hots of Dera held Darya Khan, neither of them having their headquarters in the cis-Indus tahsils. It was under these circumstances that the Jaskanis rose to power. Mir Chakar was a leading man among the earliest of the Biloch settlers of the Leiah Province. One of his descendants, Daud Khan, established himself as a robber chief in the jungles between Karor and Leiah, with headquarters at Wara Gish Kauri. He collected a large number of followers, and at the head of 500 horse he defied both the Mirranis of Dera Ghazi Khan and the Hots of Dera, on whose borders he was established. This was during the reign of Akbar in the latter half of the sixteenth century. Eventually the Emperor Akbar sent a force againt him, and he was killed and his band broken up. The tribe seems, however, to have again gathered together, and in the beginning of the seventeenth century Biloch Khan, their chief, received from the emperor a grant of the country from Mahmud Kot to Khola in Mianwali.

Rise of Jaskanis in latter half of Sixteenth Century.

The Jaskanis do not appear, however, to have succeeded in getting possession of the portion of the tract granted lying to the north of Darya Khan. This was held by the Hots of Dera till the end of the eighteenth century. Probably the Jaskanis got nothing more than what they already possessed in fact, though perhaps in nominal subordination to the Hots and Mirranis. Henceforth they were independent, and the Mirranis lost their hold on the Leiah Province altogether. The Mirranis are said to have been finally ousted from Leiah about A.D. 1620. The leading Biloch tribes of the Bhakkar and Leiah Tahsils all claim descent from Biloch Khan. They are the Jaskanis, Mandranis, Mamdanis, Kandanis, Sarganis and Malianis. Biloch Khan was succeeded by Jasak Khan, Bhakkar Khan, Langar Khan and other chiefs of his family whose deeds are much exaggerated by local tradition. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Jaskanis ruled over Bhakkar and Leiah, and across the Thal to the Chenab side. They seem to have been more or less at war with the Sials of Uch, and also came occasionally into contact with the Sikhs, who were then becoming a power in the Punjab. Biloch Khan, the Blind, one of the most famous of these Jaskanis, is said to have been killed in A.D. 1746 in a fight with Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh, the Sikh leaders. It is probable that the real date of this event was somewhat later, and that this is probably the same Jhanda Singh who took Multan in A.D. 1772. In Cunningham's "History of the Sikhs" it is mentioned that, from A.D. 1772 to the retaking of Multan by the Kabul king, the Bhangi Sikhs were predominant in all the Southern Punjab, and that "they seem to have possessed Mankera as well as Multan, and to have levied exactions from Kalabagh downwards." Local tradition is against Mankera having been occupied by the Sikhs before its final capture by Ranjit Singh, and any expedition made by them in this direction can have been little more than a transitory raid. The history of these times is wrapped in much obscurity, and the accounts, being based only on tradition, are often contradictory.

Leading Jaskani Clans.

Extent of Jaskani Territory.

Under Biloch Khan, the Blind, they come into Conflict with Sikhs.

Fatteh Khan, Jaskani, A.D. 1746-70.

Fatteh Khan succeeded his father Biloch Khan, the Blind. Towards the end of his rule Nusrat Khan, Hot, of Dera Ismail Khan, crossed over to Bhakkar, and defeated Fatteh Khan's son, also named Nusrat, whom he took prisoner with him to Dera. Hassan Khan, Laskrani, who was wazir to Fatteh Khan, was ordered, on this, to attack Dera, but he made excuses; and an attempt of Nusrat's, Jaskani, mother to obtain his release led to her attempted violation by Nusrat Khan, Hot. Nusrat, Jaskani, was after this released, but both he and his father Fatteh Khan poisoned themselves through shame at the disgrace. The whole affair was a great scandal; and, as Nusrat Khan, Hot, bore a bad character as a

CHAPTER I, B.

HISTORY.

tyrant and wine-bibber, the king, Ahmad Shah, who was desirous of tightening his hold over these semi-independent provinces, took advantage of the excuse to deprive him of his Government and to remove him as a prisoner to Kabul.

Wazir Hassan Khan, Laskrani, A.D 1770-79.

Meanwhile Hassan Khan, Laskrani, ruled the cis-Indus country in the name of Hayat Khan, the grandson of the former chief Fatteh Khan. Being desirous, however, to keep the Government in his own hands, he continued to keep Hayat Khan under close surveillance in the fort of Mankera even after the latter had attained his majority. Hayat Khan eventually managed to escape, and, getting together a party, he defeated Hassan Khan, and took him prisoner. Hassan Khan was soon afterwards murdered by some of Hayat Khan's attendants who were opposed to him. The Government of the Jaskanis, however, was now fast breaking up. The Sarganis, who were then a strong tribe and had been much pampered by Hayat Khan, took offence at an expedition fitted out by Hayat Khan against one Gul Muhammad of Uch, a holy individual who had been trying to establish his independence in the Chenab country. They accordingly attacked him treacherously and murdered him in his fort of Mankera in A.D. 1787. After this the Sarganis, under their chief, Gula Khan, held out for some time against Muhammad Khan, the brother and successor of the deceased Hayat Khan. They were eventually defeated by the Jaskani party under the leadership of Diwan Ladda Ram, and their chief, Gula Khan, having been killed in this action, the Sarganis came to terms with Muhammad Khan, and were bought off with the Munda Shergarh country, which was granted to them in *jagir*.

Hayat Khan, Jaskani, A.D. 1779-87.

Muhammad Khan, Jaskani, A.D. 1787-89.

Contemporary History of Dera Ghazi Khan.

Reference must now be made again to the affairs of Dera Ghazi Khan, whose chief had always exercised a good deal of influence, if not authority, over the Leiah portion of the Jaskani dominions. The Dera Ghazi history is mostly fragmentary and conflicting. It appears that all through the reign of Ahmad Shah, Abdali (A.D. 1747-73), the old Mirrani family was being gradually crushed out in the conflict between the Durrani king and the Kalhoras of Sindh; and during the whole of this time Mahmud Khan, Gujar, wazir under the last of the Ghazi Khans, was playing a double game for his own hand, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other. When the country west of the Indus was ceded to Nadir Shah in A.D. 1739, he confirmed Mahmud Khan as governor; and Mahmud Khan seems also to have been continued by Ahmad Shah when he passed through Dera Ghazi Khan in A.D. 1748. All this time, however, the Kalhora rulers of Sindh claimed the sovereignty of the country; and, though Sindh itself was nominally a portion of the territory ceded to Kabul by the Emperor of Delhi, still the hold of the Kabul king, even over Dera Ghazi Khan, was weak

Conflict between Durrani Monarch and Kalhoras of Sindh.

and intermittent, and no revenue could be obtained from Sindh without hard fighting. The Kalhora princes at this time were Nur Muhammad, generally called Nur Muhammad, Serai, and after his death his son Ghulam Shah. This is the Nur Muhammad who fought with the Hots of Dera Ismail Khan, and is said by Captain Mackenzie to have governed Leiah and the Sindh-Sagar Doab to the Chenab. Captain Mackenzie writes that he pushed back the Jaskanis, and took possession as far as Darya Khan, but this does not agree with what seems to be the correct account. The Jaskanis continued to hold Leiah till A.D. 1787, while Darya Khan was never held by them at all. It is quite possible, however, that the Jaskani chiefs may, for a time prior to the invasion of Nadir Shah, have admitted the supremacy of the Kalhoras, who were then practically independent princes of a large and wealthy province, and might well have extended their authority over the smaller chiefs to the north. At Dera Ghazi Khan the last chiefs of the Mirrani line and Mahmud Khan Gujar, who, though titularly their wazir, appears really to have been more powerful than his nominal masters, also held their Government in subordination to the Kalhoras; and, though the rule of the latter, after Ahmad Shah's accession, was rather intermittent, still they do not appear to have given up their claim to Dera Ghazi Khan till they were themselves driven out of Sindh. In A.D. 1758 the king sent a force under Kaura Mal, by whom the Sindh party was defeated in a fight near the town of Dera Ghazi. The Mirranis at this time were split up into rival factions who took opposite sides, and many of them after this event migrated to the neighbourhood of Leiah, where they are still found in considerable numbers. This Kaura Mal was afterwards Governor of Multan, and exercised a sort of authority under the king both over the Mirranis of Dera Ghazi and over the Jaskanis of Leiah. In A.D. 1769 Ghulam Shah, Kalhora, again attacked Dera Ghazi, and finally drove out the Mirranis. He put in Mahmud Khan, Gujar, as governor, and Mahmud Khan was succeeded by his nephew Barkhurdar, who was killed in A.D. 1779, when the province was put under governors appointed direct from Kabul. Neither Mahmud Khan, Gujar, nor Barkhurdar exercised any authority over Leiah and the cis-Indus country. They were purely governors of Dera Ghazi Khan. Ghulam Shah took Dera Ghazi in A.D. 1769; but in A.D. 1772 the Kalhoras were themselves driven out of Sindh by the Talpurs. This threw them entirely into the hands of the Kabul king, and they retired with their following to the Dera Ghazi Khan District, where they were granted considerable *jagirs*; henceforth they are known as Serais, instead of by their old name of Kalhoras. The Serais, finding themselves stranded at Dera Ghazi Khan with a large armed following, now commenced to look about for some territory in which to found a new principality. The

Mirranis driven out of Dera Ghazi Khan, A.D. 1758.

Mahmud Khan appointed Governor and succeeded by his Nephew.

Kalhoras driven out of Sindh, A.D. 1772.

Henceforth known as Serais.

CHAPTER I, B.
HISTORY.
Under Abdul Nabi Serais drive Jaskanis out of Leiah.

Jaskani country, torn by internal faction, and attached by old tradition to the province of Dera Ghazi Khan, was close at hand, and in every way suited for the purpose. Armed therefore with a *sanad* from Taimur Shah, Abdul Nabi, Serai, brother of Ghulam Shah, entered into a league with the turbulent Sarganis, and in 1789 marched against Leiah. Muhammad Khan, Jaskani, was defeated, and fled to the Tiwana country and thence to Bahawalpur. The Nawab of Bahawalpur would probably have assisted him to recover his country, but Muhammad Khan, with the pride of a Biloch, insultingly refused to give the nawab a valuable work on hawking for which he had asked, and ended his days as a dependant on Hasad Khan, the Nutkani chief of Sagar. The present representatives of the Jaskani family are mentioned in the notes on leading families.* Thus ended the line of the Jaskani chiefs after a rule of more than 200 years. Abdul Nabi, Serai, held the Leiah Government only for three years. Complaints were made to the king of his tyrannical rule, while an appointment was wanted for Muhammad Khan, Saddozai. The latter was cousin to Muzaffar Khan, Nawab of Multan, for whom he had for some time acted as Governor of Multan to the satisfaction of the king. A *sanad* therefore was soon drawn out appointing Muhammad Khan Nawab and Governor of the Sindh-Sagar Doab from Kallur Kot to Mahmud Kot and from the Indus to the Chenab. Muhammad Khan had still to take possession, which was not to be done without fighting. He was met by Abdul Nabi near Leiah, and in the battle that ensued the Serais had at first the advantage, and the nawab's people fled. Nawab Muhammad Khan himself was ready to fly, saying: "What can a king do without an army?" but was stopped by his jamadar, who said: "Better die than fly." Eventually he rallied a part of his forces, and meanwhile some Labanas crept up through a *bhang* field and, attacking the Serais from behind, killed Muhammad Arif, the son of Abdul Nabi, who had been the soul of the fight, and the Serais, being disheartened, gave in. The Serais were allowed a day to remove their property and departed by boat to their own country to the south.†

Extinction of Jaskanis as Ruling Family, A.D. 1789. Abdul Nabi, Serai, held Leiah until A.D. 1792.

Appointment of Muhammad Khan, Saddozai, as Governor, A.D. 1792. He fought Abdul Nabi, Serai, near Leiah.

Defeat of Abdul Nabi.

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* Section C of this chapter.

† Mr. Turker, from whose settlement report this account is taken, writes: "I have gone more into detail with regard to the contemporary history of the Dera Ghazi Khan District than would otherwise have been necessary because Captain Mackenzie, in his Settlement Report of the Leiah and Bhakkar Tahsils, gives his opinion that Ghulam Shah actually ruled in the Leiah country at a period antecedent to the ascendancy of the Jaskanis, and questions the correctness of the Dera Ghazi Khan histories on which my own account was based. All the intelligent natives, however, that I have questioned deny that the Serais twice ruled the country—once before, and once after, the Jaswani dynasty—as suggested by Captain Mackenzie."

CHAPTER I, B.

HISTORY.

Meanwhile Taimur Shah had died in A.D. 1793. He was succeeded by Zaman Shah, whose title was, however, disputed by Prince Humayun. In A.D. 1794 Humayun made his second attempt to recover the kingdom from Zaman Shah, but was defeated and fled to Sagar, where Massu Khan, Nutkani, Chief of Sagar, assisted him and managed to smuggle him across the Dera Fatteh Khan ferry. He got to Leiah and stopped at a well, where curiosity was excited by his paying an *ashrafi* piece for a few sticks of sugarcane that he had taken. The news came to the ears of Nawab Muhammad Khan, who happened to be at Leiah at the time. The nawab suspected that it must be the Prince Humayun, for whose capture strict orders, with promises of untold rewards, had been issued by Zaman Shah. He accordingly collected some horsemen and pursued Humayun, whom he overtook at a well in the Thal some 15 miles from Leiah. Humayun had some 20 or 30 horsemen with him, who in desperation made a good fight. Humayun's young son was killed, and Humayun himself was taken prisoner and brought into Leiah. The nawab at once reported the capture of Humayun to the king, Zaman Shah, who sent orders that Humayun's eyes should be put out and his companions disembowelled. He also conferred on the nawab the name of Sarbiland Khan, and the government of Dera Ismail Khan, in addition to that which he already held. The orders of the king were carried out at Leiah. Among Humayun's attendants who suffered was a brother of Fatteh Khan, Barakzai. Humayun himself passed the rest of his life in confinement.

Prince Humayun, defeated by Zaman Shah, escaped to Leiah, 1794.

Nawab Muhammad Khan captured Prince, and rewarded with Governorship of Dera Ismail Khan.

The province of Dera, of which Muhammad Khan now became governor, extended from the Khasor range to the Sagar country, ruled over by the Nutkani chief. Nawab Muhammad Khan had his headquarters at Mankera and Bhakkar, and governed Dera by deputy. He left his mark on the north of the district by the canals which he dug. It is he that is referred to as the Nawab of the Thal. In A.D. 1815 he died. He left no son, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Hafiz Ahmad Khan.*

Death of Nawab Muhammad Khan, A.D. 1815.

Muhammad Khan was undoubtedly a man of great character, and during his lifetime the Sikhs abstained from attacking the Leiah territories. Immediately on his death a demand for tribute was made on Hafiz Ahmad Khan. On his refusal, the forts of Khangarh and Mahmud Kot were occupied by the Sikhs, and great atrocities were perpetrated on the Muhammadan population of the neighbourhood until Hafiz

His Son-in-law Nawab Hafiz Ahmad Khan succeeds him, and comes into Conflict with Sikhs.

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* In the old Gazetteers of the district it is stated that the Nawab died in 1815, leaving a daughter who was married to Hafiz Ahmad Khan, and their son Sher Muhammad Khan succeeded under the guardianship of his father. I have retained the account which appears in the Mianwali, Leiah and Dera Ismail Khan Gazetteers

CHAPTER I, B.

HISTORY.

Ahmad Khan procured the withdrawal of the Sikh garrisons by the payment of a large sum of money, and thus recovered the forts, with part also of the plunder extorted. After this the Sikh Government continued to press the nawab with all kinds of extortionate demands. Among other things, Ranjit Singh was especially fond of seizing any valuable horses he might hear of, and made the nawab yield up some of his special favourites. In A.D. 1818 Multan, in spite of the gallant resistance offered by Nawab Muzaffar Khan, had been taken by the Sikhs. Hafiz Ahmad Khan had not dared to assist a brother of nawab and kinsman in the struggle, and his own turn was soon to come. In the autumn of 1821 Ranjit Singh, disengaged from more serious matters, determined to reduce him. He accordingly marched with an army through Shahpur to a point on the Indus opposite Dera Ismail Khan. He sent a force of 8,000 men across the river, and on this the town was surrendered by the governor, Diwan Manik Rai. Bhakkar, Leiah, Khangarh and Maujgarh were all successively reduced without resistance. Mankera, fortified by a mud wall and having a citadel of brick, but protected more by its position in the midst of a desert, was now the only stronghold remaining, and a division was advanced for its investment on the 18th November. Sardar Khan, Baddozai, a bold, impetuous man, recommended Hafiz Ahmad Khan to march out at once and attack the Sikhs. "To fight in the plain," said he, "is the business of a lion, to hide in a hole that of a fox." Hafiz Ahmad Khan, however, was not to be persuaded, and preferred to stand a siege. The Sikhs now set *beldars* to dig *kachha* wells for the use of the troops, and in the meantime water had to be brought on camels and bullocks from Maujgarh. The wells were ready by the 25th November, and Ranjit Singh then moved to Mankera with his main force; and on the 26th November the investment was completed The bombardment of the place was continued for ten days after this, but not without loss to the besiegers. At last, one of the minarets of the fort mosque having been broken by the Sikh fire, Hafiz Ahmad Khan, looking on this as an unlucky omen and thinking that enough had been done for honour, proposed terms and agreed to surrender the fort on condition of being allowed to march out with his arms and property, and to retain the town and province of Dera, with a suitable *jagir*. Ranjit Singh granted the terms, and the place was surrendered accordingly. The nawab was treated with great civility and was sent with an escort to Dera. Ranjit Singh now annexed the cis-Indus tahsils. It must not be imagined that under the Sikhs the whole cis-Indus territory formed one compact Government. A great portion of it was held in *jagir*, each *jagirdar* possessing judicial and executive authority within the limits of his *jagir*, and being quite independent of the *kardar* to whom the *khalsa* portion of the district happened to

Multan captured by Sikhs in A.D. 1818.

Ranjit Singh besieged and took Mankera in A.D. 1821.

Jagirs under Sikh Rule.

be leased. These *jagirdars* were almost invariably non-residents, and put in agents, known as *hakims*, to manage their estates. These *hakims* were more or less in the habit of raiding on one another and lifting cattle; and the country until the time of Diwan Sawan Mal was generally in a disturbed state. These *jagirs* were mostly in the Thal. The whole of the cis-Indus *jagirs* granted by the Sikh Government, with the exception of one or two small villages, have now been resumed.

Union of Four Governments.

The history of the four Governments has now been brought to the point where they begin to fall and to become united under one head. The process was completed between A.D. 1790 and 1821. Bahawal Khan II had the district lying open to him by the shifting of the Indus to the west, and having just seized those *talukas* which now form the Alipur Tahsil. In the part of the district which had been ruled from Dera Ghazi Khan there prevailed the anarchy which followed the rule of Mahmud Khan, Gujar. Between A.D. 1790 and the end of the century Bahawal Khan II took possession of the *talukas* of Arain, Kinjhar, Khor, Mahra, Seri and Tiband, which now form the southern and western parts of the Muzaffargarh Tahsil. This country and the Alipur Tahsil were called Kachhi Janubi, opposed to the Kachhi Shumali of the Thal nawabs. He and his successor Sadik Khan II and Bahawal Khan III brought the country under a settled government, encouraged cultivation and excavated canals. The dates of their accessions and deaths are not on record until the time of Bahawal Khan III, who was the governor that helped Edwardes at the siege of Multan. He died in A.D. 1852. In A.D. 1818 the Sikhs took Multan, and the *talukas* formerly governed by Muzaffar Khan, *viz.* Rangpur, Muradabad, Muzaffargarh, Khangarh and Ghazanfargarh, were henceforward administered by the Sikh governor of Multan. In 1819 the Sikhs took Dera Ghazi Khan but Bahawal Khan remained in possession of his conquests. In 1821 the Sikhs took Mankera, from which the north of this district was governed. Bahawal Khan submitted to the Sikhs and thus the whole district became united under the rule of Ranjit Singh. A redistribution then took place. Bahawal Khan was confirmed in his conquests, which were farmed to him for a sum the amount of which is uncertain. The northern part of the district continued to be governed from Mankera, and Muzaffar Khan's *talukas* were governed from Multan. The Multani Pathans fled the country and went for the most part to Dera Ismail Khan, not to return until the British came in A.D. 1849. In 1822 the celebrated Diwan Sawan Mal, who was *peshkar* to the Governor of Multan, Misr Badan Hazari, fell out with his master in office and the *talukas* of Muzaffargarh, Muradabad and Ghazanfargarh were given to him by Ranjit Singh

CHAPTER I, B.

HISTORY.

in farm. Bahawal Khan failed to pay the sum for which his country was farmed to him. General Ventura was sent from Lahore with an army, and drove the Bhawalpurians out of the district and across the Chenab, which has since formed the boundary between this district and Bahawalpur. Eventually, in 1837, the whole of the present district of Muzaffargarh was united under Diwan Sawan Mal, Governor of Multan, under the Sikhs.

United Government under Diwan Sawan Mal.

Though under the Bahawalpur nawabs, parts of the district had enjoyed a fairly settled administration; Diwan Sawan Mal's government was better than anything that had preceded it. Its sole object was the accumulation of wealth for the diwan. The execution of public works, the administration of justice and security of life and property, were a secondary consideration, and were insisted on only because without them agriculture would not prosper, and the revenue would not be paid. His revenue system is noticed in chapter III. During his time a large number of Labana colonists from the Punjab was settled in the district.

Diwan Sawan Mal died on the 29th September 1844, and was succeeded by his son Mul Raj, of whom nothing particular connected with the district is known.

Multan War, 1848.

In April 1848 Sir Herbert Edwardes, then Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, heard of the news of the outbreak at Multan and the murder of Vans Agnew. He was then at Dera Fatteh Khan. He immediately crossed the river to Leiah, but retreated on the advance of a force sent by Diwan Mul Raj. The next month passed in movements and counter-movements in the neighbourhood of Leiah. Meanwhile, Edwardes had collected a mixed force made up of mainly Multani Pathans and of men of the Pandapur, Ustrana and other border tribes. On the 21st May he heard of the occupation of Dera Ghazi Khan by a force that he had sent down the right bank of the Indus under Van Cortlandt. He then proceeded to move towards Multan. On his march he fought the battles of Kaneri and Sadduzam, in which his rough levies behaved with great gallantry. These same forces took part in the siege of Multan under General Whish. On the taking of Multan, 22nd January 1849, the greater number were discharged and returned to their homes; 2,000, however, of Edwardes' levies were retained in Government employ, and the leading sirdars all received handsome pensions from Government. On the 29th March 1849 the Punjab was annexed and the territories forming the present district, which were for the most part already under the control of British officers, became formally a portion of the British Empire as parts of the Khangarh and Leiah Districts.

Punjab annexed by British Government on 29th March 1849.

CHAPTER I, B.

HISTORY.

The Mutiny.

The following account of the events of 1857 is taken from the Punjab Mutiny Report. Major Browne observes on this district—

"The district of Khangarh entirely escaped any ill-effects beyond the alarm felt by the European community at the proximity of the mutinous regiments at Multan and the possibility of invasion of the lower portion by bands of robbers from Bahawalpur."

Precautions were, however, necessary. Mr. Henderson, the Deputy Commissioner, fortified the jail, the court-house and the chief and district treasuries, armed all Europeans and vigilantly guarded all the ferries which were not closed. He detached Lieutenant Ferris, Assistant Commissioner, to the banks of the Chenab to esablish a chain of posts along it. This object was fully accomplished. The villagers themselves served so willingly that a cordon of 104 posts, extending 26 miles, was soon established. At another time a chain of mounted police was thrown across the district from the Chenab to the Indus to cut off any stragglers of the 14th Native Infantry that might come down from Jhelum. An intelligence department was also organized between Khangarh, Dera Ghazi Khan, Multan and Muzaffargarh.

The Leiah District also remained very tranquil. Only one or two slight punishments were inflicted for offences connected with the mutiny. Much anxiety was caused at one time by the arrival of a wing of the 17th Irregular Cavalry under Captain Hockin, but it remained firm. When the Kharral insurrection broke out in September, Captain Hockin marched against the rebels, leaving at Leiah 40 of his men who had fallen under suspicion. The day before he marched news reached Leiah that the whole of the 9th Irregular Cavalry had mutinied at Mianwali. Captain Fendall says: "I certainly at first thought it was a deep-laid scheme for raising the the whole country that the 9th Irregular Cavalry were to appear before Dera Ismail Khan, be joined by the 39th Native Infantry, come on to Leiah, pick up the wing of the 17th Light Cavalry, go towards Gugera, coalescing with the tribes and march on to Multan where there were two suspected regiments of Native Infantry). It was feasible, and would have temporarily lost us the lower Punjab." But this dreaded junction did not take place. The news proved to be an exaggeration. The mutineers of the 9th Irregular Cavalry, who, strange to say, were all men of the cis-Sutlej States, were only 30 in number, and were entirely destroyed in a desperate fight, in which Mr. Thomson, the Extra Assistant of Leiah, was very dangerously wounded. His gallant conduct in this most spirited little battle was conspicuous.

CHAPTER I, B

HISTORY.

Constitution of District and Change of Boundaries.

The British district of Khangarh contained the present tahsils of Muzaffargarh and Alipur, and the *talukas* of Garh Maharaja and Ahmadpur, which are now in Jhang. Khangarh was first named as the headquarters of the district, but before the end of 1859 they were removed to Muzaffargarh. Khangarh contained four tahsils: Rangpur, Khangarh, with its headquarters at Muzaffargarh, Kinjhar and Sitpur In 1859 the Kot Adu tahsil was separated from Leiah and added to this district, and the district took the name of Muzaffargarh and was attached to the Multan Division. In 1861 the Rangpur Tahsil was abolished. The *talukas* of Garh Maharaja and Ahmadpur were joined to Jhang, and the rest of the tahsil was attached to the Muzaffargarh Tahsil. The Kinjhar Tahsil was abolished and its *talukas* added to Muzaffargarh. The Sitpur Tahsil was moved to Alipur.

Leiah District formed. Leiah District broken up in 1861 and Leiah Tahsil transferred to Dera Ismail Khan District.

Before annexation the cis-Indus tract was included in the government of Diwan Sawan Mal. At the first arrangements of the district the trans-Indus tahsils of the old Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu Districts were formed into the Dera Ismail Khan District, with headquarters at Bannu. The cis-Indus tahsils, that is, Mianwali, Bhakkar and Leiah and till 1859 the Kot Adu Tahsil of Muzaffargarh, formed the Leiah District, with headquarters at Leiah. This arrangement, though in many respects more convenient than the later one, was set aside in 1861 as the charge of so long a border was considered too heavy for the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ismail Khan The northern portions of the two districts were then formed into the Bannu District, the southern into the Dera Ismail Khan District. The original division was longitudinal, the Indus being the boundary the new division was transverse, sections of the country on both sides of the Indus being included in each district.

Headquarters of Commissioner moved from Leiah. Constitution of new Leiah Tahsil.

The new Dera Ismail Khan District consisted of five tahsils. Of these Dera Ismail Khan, Kulachi and Tank were trans-Indus, and Leiah and Bhakkar cis-Indus. On the breaking up of the old Leiah District on the 1st January 1861, the headquarters of the commissionership were transferred from Leiah to Dera Ismail Khan, which, from being an out-station, became the capital town of the division. The new Leiah Tahsil included the southern part of the old Mankera Tahsil broken up in 1853-54, when the Chaubara, Nawankot and Maujgarh *talukas* were transferred to Leiah; the village of Paharpur was transferred from the Kot Adu Tahsil in 1861, and a strip of riverside villages was transferred from the Sanghar Tahsil in 1869. In 1874 Sukhani and six other villages were transferred from the Sanghar (now Taunsa) Tahsil of Dera Ghazi Khan to Leiah.

CHAPTER I, B.

HISTORY.

Commissioners of Leiah.

Colonel Ross was the first Commissioner of the Leiah Division, and held the appointment from 1850 until his death in September 1857; his tomb is in the Leiah cemetery. Major Pollock, Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan, then officiated for a few months, and was followed by Major Brown, who remained till 1860.

Deputy Commissioners of Leiah.

The charge of the old Leiah District was held by the following Deputy Commissioners:—

Captain Hollings	1849-1852
Mr. Simson	1852-1856
Captain McNeile	1856
Captain Bacon	1856-1857
Captain Fendall	1857-1859
Captain Parsons	1859-1860
Lieutenant Smyly	1860

In 1901 Leiah was transferred to new Mianwali District.

On the separation of the North-West Frontier Province from the Punjab, a further reconstitution took place, and on the 9th November 1901 the Mianwali District was formed out of the four tahsils of Isa Khel, Mianwali, Bhakkar and Leiah, the former two being taken from Bannu, and the latter two from Dera Ismail Khan. The headquarters was fixed at Mianwali, the Bhakkar and Leiah Tahsils forming a sub-division, with headquarters at Bhakkar, and the district was included in the Multan Division.

In 1909 Leiah was transferred to Muzaffargarh District.

On the 1st April 1909 the Leiah Tahsil was transferred to the Muzaffargarh District, and became its sub-division.

Multani Pathans

The only political colonists who were introduced during British rule were the Multani Pathans, who returned and partly recovered the lands from which they had been expelled in A.D. 1818 by the Sikhs.

Later History

There has been nothing of importance in the later history of the district. The people have been peaceable and loyal. During the great war in 1914-15 there was unrest, and a series of dacoities was committed which began in rumours that an invasion by the Germans was about to take place. This was communal and economic, however, rather than political, as the Hindus were looted, etc., by the Muhammadans who owed them money. The Hindus have an economic hold on the district as the Muhammadans are greatly in debt to them. This leads to strained relations at times in days of communal strife.

CHAPTER I, B.

HISTORY.

Archæological Remains and Protected Monuments.

There are no places of real archæological interest in the district. The following are the protected monuments under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, VII of 1904:—

(1) Tomb of Tahir Khan, Nahar, at Sitpur;

(2) Mosque of Tahir Khan, Nahar, at Sitpur;

These have brown and yellow tiles and glazed bricks, points of difference to the Multan and Dera Ghazi Khan tombs. Their date is A.D. 1475;

(3) Cemetery at Muzaffargarh; and

(4) Cemetery at Leiah.

The tomb of Hazrat Lal Isan dates back to A.D. 1400, but is not a protected monument. So also the tomb at Daira Din Panah. These are referred to elsewhere. There are mud forts of Ranjit Singh's time at Munda, Chaubara, etc., in the Thal.

SECTION E.—ARTS AND MANUFACTURES.

CHAPTER II, E.

ARTS AND MANUFACTURES.

Cotton-weaving.

Common country cloth is woven in almost every large village. The ordinary cloth is white, but blue cloth, with red or yellow stripes, is also made for women's trousers; and blue sheets, with a red edging, are prepared for wear as *manjhlas*. A kind of counterpane is also made, usually black and white, in checks. At Leiah a particularly excellent form of *khes*, or checked cotton cloth, is manufactured. Blue and white are the favourite colours, though red and yellow are also used. The cloth is of excellent texture and substance, and the woven chequer-work is as neat and firm in execution as it is agreeable in effect. It is suitable for carpet cloths, bed covers, purdahs, etc., and serves its original purpose of a cold-weather wrap as well as any cotton fabric could be expected to do.

Silk-weaving.

There is no silk-weaving in the district.

Printing on Fabrics.

Chhimbas (dyers) print cloth in showy colours with a view to its being used as *bhochhan* (sheet worn by women on the head), *ghagra* (petticoat), cloth for quilts (*sirak*) or *jajam* (flooring cloth) at Karor, Leiah, Daira Din Panah, Kot Adu, Khangarh and Alipur.

Carpets, etc.

No carpets are manufactured in the district, but durries are made at Jahanpur in the Alipur Tahsil.

Blankets.

Country blankets are woven by the local weavers out of sheep's wool, especially in the Thal. Leiah is noted for the excellent quality of its thick and well-felted blankets made in Chaubara and Nawankot.

Snuff.

Snuff is manufactured at Alipur, where there are regular mills, and large quantities are prepared for export to Bahawalpur and Sukkur.

Taddi (Matting) and Baskets.

Taddi (matting) is made of date leaves by Hindus and Muhammadans all over the district, but chiefly at Rampur, Miran Hayat Lutakran, Daira Din Panah and Gujrat. There are two varieties of *taddi*—fine and coarse—the former is used for lying on, and the other for the floor. Mr. Lockwood Kilpling, late Principal of the School of Arts, Lahore, wrote as follows about this manufacture:—

" Rampur, in this district, and probably elsewhere, mats " and baskets are made of *pattha*, leaves of the Afghan " dwarf palm (Chamoerops ritchiana). These last are not " basket-work in the strict sense of the term, *i.e.*, an inter- " lacement of twigs; but they are built up like the rope- " seed-buckets of the Deccan, or similar articles from the

CHAPTER II, E.

ARTS AND MANUFACTURES.

"Zanzibar coast, in a series of coils tightly plaited together, "usually in the shape of large *gharas* and *lotas* with well-"fitting covers. Similar work in the same material is made "in the Bannu District, while the wheaten straw plaiting of "Hazara is another variation of the same principle. All "this work is exceedingly neat and wonderfully cheap."

Bows and Arrows.

Baskets are prepared chiefly in the towns. In Alipur North are made basket "trunks," waste-paper baskets, *moras* (seats), etc., which are quite good.

The primeval trade of bow-and-arrow making is becoming obsolete now for want of demand and owing to the introduction of cheap muzzle-loading guns. The place well known for its pretty bows is Kot Adu. Bows are made of horn and brushwood chips tied up with gut and leather. Each bow takes about six months to complete. When ready, it is very strong and difficult to bend. The bows are beautifully decorated in colour with foliated patterns in tin, yellow-varnished to simulate gilding, or left white to simulate silver. This method of decoration is called *kamangari*, and the artisans are called *kamangars*. Each *kamangar* prepares two lots of bows in a year, one lot being ready every half-year. The bows are *eknabi*, *donabi* and *senabi* according as the bow has one, two or three furrows at the back. Each furrow adds to the strength of the bow. The price of a bow is from Rs. 10 to 20. Arrows with pointed tips are not prepared unless ordered. The arrow used by the local people for shooting birds is of a peculiar shape, having a thin end and a thick and heavy front.

Ivory-carving

Of recent years ivory-carving has been carried on as a small industry by a few artisans. The work shows considerable skill and neatness of execution; coloured designs are usually combined with carving. The manufactured articles consist mainly of bracelets, rings, studs, scent bottles, pepper and salt casters, necklaces, vases, etc. The "ivory" is probably camel bone!

Kuppis.

Kuppis made of skin were commonly used for holding *ghi* and oil; but, since tins have become much cheaper, *kuppis* are now going out of use. The only places where they are still made and available are Khairpur Sadat, Sitpur and Karor.

Other Industries.

No other industries are deserving of notice. Every large village has its local artisans who can supply the cotton, woollen fabrics, leather goods and all the implements of husbandry which the rustic peasant requires. Wool is exported, especially from the Thal.

Cotton Factories.

There is a cotton-ginning factory at Muzaffargarh. It is, however, not a very large concern. The Muzaffargarh

factory has also a cotton press attached to it. Similar factories at Khangarh, Rohillanwali, Wasandewali, etc., have closed down.

Rice and Flour Mills.

There are rice and flour mills in various places. Details are given in table 28 of volume B.

Leather-tanning.

Leather-tanning is carried on in almost every large village, but the *mochis* (shoemakers) follow the old crude methods of curing skins with lime and tanning them with the bark of *kikar* (Acacia arabica). The trough is called *kunal*, and skins filled up with the tanning fluid are hung to trees or wooden posts erected for the purpose.

Rope-making.

Rope-making is an important industry which is mainly in the hands of the Labana Sikhs. They buy up *munj kana* (Saccharum munja) and beat the bark of the reed (*munj*) into fine fibres. These fibres are then twisted together on a kind of spindle and made into ropes. Ropes are also made of date leaves by a similar process. Ropes are used locally and also exported.

Munj Matting.

Some *munj* matting is made at Thatta Gurmani in the Kot Adu Tahsil mainly by ex-convicts, and mats are supplied to schools in the Multan Division on a fairly large scale. The mats are like those made in jails, where the work was learnt.

Wood-work.

There is also some good wood-work—spinning-wheels, legs of beds, *dabias*, *madhanis*, etc.—made at Kotla Gamun in the Alipur Tahsil and at Paharpur in the Leiah Tahsil and at Karor.

Labour Supply.

The demand for labour is small, and is supplied locally.

Industrial Education.

The high schools at Leiah and Kot Adu are now giving instruction in hand-work. There is also a private industrial school at Kot Adu for Hindus.

CHAPTER IV.—Places of Interest.

CHAPTER IV.

PLACES OF INTEREST.

Muzaffargarh.

Muzaffargarh has been the headquarters of the district since 1859. The municipality was first constituted in 1874. It is now a municipality of the second class, and the committee consists of seven elected and two nominated members. The official element has been withdrawn, and the committee has a non-official president since 1921.

The town is situated on the road from Multan to Dera Ghazi Khan which passes it in a north-westerly direction. while the main road leading to Alipur lies to its west. The old town consisted of a fort formed by a circular-shaped wall 30 feet high and 13 feet wide. It has fallen at many places, and is being sold to the owners of the adjoining houses. The plan of the town within the fort is symmetrical, consisting of a chauk in the centre, with the four bazars meeting therein. The town has now largely extended beyond the old wall. The houses on the north are almost all built with burnt bricks. Midway between the town and the railway station there is a regular bazar consisting of shops and houses on both sides of the road, with a public sarai. The traders are mostly outsiders from the Multan and Shahpur Districts.

The district courts are situated on the Multan-Dera Ghazi Khan road. Muzaffargarh is also the headquarters of a Superintendent of Post Offices, an Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies, an Extra Assistant Director of Agriculture and the Executive Engineer, Muzaffargarh Canals.

Drinking water is obtained mostly from hand-pumps fixed almost in every house and on roads and streets.

There are the Central Co-operative Bank and a branch of the Lyallpur Bank, Ltd.

The office of the Superintendent of Post Offices, the district board veterinary hospital and the office of the District Board lie on the road leading from the railway station to the district courts. The Deputy Commissioner's and the Civil Surgeon's residences, the Church (St. Mary's), the Police Lines, the Civil (King Edward Memorial) Hospital, Government High and Normal Schools, the office of the Executive Engineer, Muzaffargarh Canals and his residence and the canal rest-house are situated on the road leading from the district courts to Alipur, while the Superintendent of Police's residence, the treasury, the thana, the dak bungalow and the tahsil are on the main road leading to Dera Ghazi Khan. A short branch road leads from the Dera Ghazi Khan road along the western edge of the district courts to the subjail. The Victoria Memorial Hall was built in 1909 by public

CHAPTER IV.

PLACES OF INTEREST.

subscription, and was constructed under the personal supervision of Lala Kedar Nath, the then District Judge. The building has attached to it spacious grounds with a garden, which is used for tennis, etc., by the Muzaffargarh Club, which was started in the same year. The Municipal Library, which was started in 1920-21, has also been located in the building. It was used by the district board until the board built its own office, which has a large hall suitable for meetings. Arabian dates have been planted in the garden attached to the hall. This would form an excellent Town Hall and Municipal Office. The present Municipal Office is unsuitable, and very small.

The only public garden is the Tiliri Garden situated at a distance of about a mile to the east of the town. It is the only place of resort by the public on festivals and other occasions. The garden has of late been extended for Arabian date plantations which are now yielding fruit. A tube-well has also been sunk in the garden for irrigation in winter. It is likely that Government will take over the garden from the district board.

A Government sarai close to the town has recently been rebuilt by the district board. It has accommodation both for the gentry and for poor people. There is also a public sarai erected by Mussammat Dhanni Bai, widow of Khan Chand, in memory of her husband, near the town wall on the east, and is used by Hindu travellers. Another sarai has recently been built in the heart of the town by Chaudhri Mul Chand Sukhija which is also used by Hindu travellers. A sarai near the railway station was built in the year 1929 in memory of Lala Jesa Ram Pablani. It is a *kachha* and unpretentious building, and is used both by Hindus and Muhammadans.

Between the district courts and the railway station there is an old ginning factory and cotton press. In the town there are four flour mills worked by oil engines and one worked by a gas engine.

Muzaffargarh is now the centre of motor traffic between Multan and Dera Ghazi Khan and Alipur. About 20 motor lorries are plying for hire.

There is a hostel for Muhammadan orphans and poor students on the Muzaffargarh-Mahmud Kot road at a distance of half a furlong from the district courts, and a Hindu orphanage on the bank of the Ganeshwah Canal on the Muzaffargarh-Alipur road near the office of the Executive Engineer, Canals.

There is a sessions house.

There is also a military encamping-ground where the troops in Multan usually halt while doing annual training.

The cemetery is a protected monument.

The district board holds an annual fair in March or April.

Khangarh.

Khangarh is situated on the road leading from Muzaffargarh to Alipur, and is 11 miles from the former and a mile or so from the high bank of the river Chenab. It was the headquarters of the district till 1859. It is a municipal town, and was constituted as such in 1874, and is of the second class. The committee now consists of 7 elected and 2 nominated members and has a non-official president. The land around the town is fertile and more highly cultivated than any other land in the district The town is compactly built of bricks, with one principal bazar running north and south from which the narrow lanes branch off to the west and east, but the buildings are not cared for. There are a police station, a city police post, a district board high school, a municipal dispensary and a canal rest-house situated on the main road leading to Alipur. There is also a post and telegraph office near the northern gate of the town, primary schools for boys and girls and a municipal office. There is an Honorary Magistrate and Sub-Judge, Khan Abdullah Khan, who is president of the municipal committee. There is a cotton ginning factory (not in use now), and a bazar on the road to Alipur.

Rangpur.

Rangpur is a large village at the extreme north-east of the district near the Jhang District. It has been declared by the local Government as a town for purposes of the Preemption Act. It is called Rangpur Kherian Wala after the Khera tribe which predominates in this tract. It is a subtahsil of Muzaffargarh, and has a police station, a canal rest-house, a district board dispensary, a district board veterinary hospital, a middle school, a girls' school and a sub-tahsil. It is the largest village in the neighbourhood, and is a trading centre both for the tract adjoining the Chenab and for the eastern half of the Kot Adu Thal. The lands are productive, but much of the lands has now been washed away by the Chenab River. The place is well known for the famous story of Hir and Ranjha which was enacted here. Hir was a Sial Jatti of Jhang Sial, and was given in marriage to a Khera Jat of Rangpur against her parents' wishes. Ranjha, a Dhido Jat of Thakat Hazara, was in love with her, and followed her in the guise of a fakir, He got initiated into the order, and died as a disappointed lover at Rangpur.

Kinjhar.

A fairly large village about 11 miles west of Khangarh. It has a thana, a rural dispensary, a middle school and a canal rest-house. It was more prosperous at one time.

CHAPTER IV.

PLACES OF INTEREST.

Rohillanwali.

Situated 24 miles from Muzaffargarh on the road to Alipur. There are a rural dispensary, a district board veterinary hospital, a thana, a canal rest-house, etc.

Alipur.

Alipur town is situated on the main road leading south from Muzaffargarh at a distance of 51 miles from the railway station, 6 miles from the Chenab and 15 miles from the Indus. The municipality was first constituted in 1874, and is of the second class. The committee consists of 7 elected and 2 nominated members. It has a non-official president. It is a tahsil headquarters and a sub-division. There is also a Sub-Judge. It is an agricultural centre in a well-cultivated tract. It also has a considerable trade in indigo, snuff and grains.

There are a Government high school, 2 primary schools, a girls' school, a municipal hospital, a district board veterinary hospital, a tahsil, the Sub-Judge's court, thana, judicial lock-up, the Sub-Divisional Officer's court and residence, a rest-house and a post and telegraph office. There is motor traffic to and from Alipur.

The town is compactly built, and most of the streets are well paved and provided with drains.

Khairpur Sadat.

The town of Khairpur Sadat is situated 7 miles to the south-west of Alipur, and is about equidistant from the Chenab and the Indus. It is compactly built, chiefly of bricks, many of the houses being two or three-storeyed. The bazar is well paved, but the streets are too narrow to admit of any wheeled traffic. There are a rural dispensary, a middle school, a girls' school and a post office. It was once a municipality, constituted in 1874, but was abolished in 1909. It is now a small town, constituted in 1924, and the committee consists of 4 elected members and 1 nominated member. It has a non-official president. The small town is a poor one. It was an important place once, when the Indus was nearer and there was trade by boat with Sukkur, but its past glory has long departed.

There is a *thakardwara* sacred to Gopi Nath, and a community of river traders has propitiated the river lord (Daraya Sahib) by building him a temple.

Shahr Sultan.

Shahr Sultan is an important village in the Alipur Tahsil, and is situated on the main road leading from Muzaffargarh to Alipur at a distance of 37 miles from the former and 14 miles from Alipur. It is 1½ miles from the Chenab.

There is the famous shrine of Sultan Ahmad Katal, and a fair takes place annually. The district board also holds an "uplift fair" at the same time. There are a middle school, a primary school, 2 girls' schools, a district board dispensary, a district board rest-house and a post office.

A road branches off from here to Jatoi. The position of the river is suitable for trade in country produce, and there is still some trade by boat with Sukkur.

It was a municipality, constituted in 1874, but was abolished in 1886. It is now proposed to constitute it a small town.

Sitpur.

Sitpur is an important village in the Alipur Tahsil, and is situated on the main road of the district 11 miles south of Alipur and 3 miles from the Chenab. The country around everywhere testifies to the violent action of the floods. Communication is cut off by floods every year with the north, but only for a short time. In the winter months the ground in these parts is damp. The houses are built on irregular eminences of accumulated debris, which by their extent testify to its antiquity. It is in fact the only place of antiquity in this district. It is divided into two parts—Khanani and Sheikhani—and built irregularly, and has a dilapidated appearance. The buildings of antiquarian interest are the mosque and tomb of Tahir Khan Nahar at the west end of the bazar, both being protected monuments. There is also the shrine of the Makhdum of Sitpur. The present Makhdum, Khan Sahib Sheikh Muhammad Hassan, is an Honorary Magistrate, 1st class, Judge and Provincial Darbari. There are a thana, a middle school, 2 girls' schools, a district board dispensary, a police rest-house and a post office. It was once a municipality, constituted in 1874, but was abolished in 1886. It is now proposed to constitute it a small town.

Jatoi.

Jatoi is situated 11 miles north-west of Alipur and 4 miles from the River Indus. It was once a municipality, constituted in 1874, but was abolished in 1886. It is now a small town, constituted in 1924. The committee consists of 5 electel members and 1 nominated member. The Tahsildar of Alipur is president. The bazar is well paved with bricks, and, like the other towns in Alipur, by matting spread over it, it forms an arcade. There are a police thana, a canal rest-house, a primary school, a middle school and 2 other girls' schools, a post office, a district board veterinary hospital and a district board dispensary. It is also a canal sub-division, with a canal telegraph office. Khan Bahadur Sardar Kaure Khan, Jatoi, a leading man of the place, died sonless and bequeathed some of his property to the district board. This gives about Rs. 8,000 per annum, and is used by the board for stipends and scholarships, etc., mainly to Muhammadan boys.

Leiah.

The town of Leiah is situated in a sandy plain on the old left bank of the Indus. The Lala creek of the river runs about a mile to the west of the town and drains the country.

CHAPTER IV.

PLACES OF INTEREST.

To the east the Thal has a firm sandy soil. To the west, on the edge of the *Kachchhi*, are several well-stocked gardens.

It is the headquarters of a tahsil and a sub-division. It was transferred to the Muzaffargarh District in 1909 from the Mianwali District.

It was once the headquarters of a commissionership and of a district. The old sessions court is now used as a rest-house. There is an old ruined salt patrol house. The cemetery is interesting, and is a protected monument. The gardens are the only remains of the old civil station.

The Sub-Divisional Officer's and the Sub-Judge's courts, the post and telegraph office, the tahsil and police buildings, the municipal office and the district board veterinary hospital are situated on the main Muzaffargarh road which runs along the western edge of the town. The Sub-Divisional Officer's residence and the rest-house are also situated near the Sub-Divisional Officer's court on the road leading to Basti Shah Habib.

On the north-west corner of the town a road leads from the Muzaffargarh main road to the railway station along the northern edge of the town. The railway line passes along the eastern edge of the town, and the station lies near the north-east corner of the town.

While entering the town there is a remarkable dharamsala, constructed by Harjis Rai Gaba in 1904, and it is also used as a sarai for both Hindus and Muhammadans. In front of this building is the excellent building of the Bharatri High School. The building was erected in the name of Indar Bhan, Dhingra, who paid Rs. 50,000 for this purpose. The civil hospital and Government high school are situated on the southern edge of the town.

On the western side of the rest-house there is a district board garden containing a plantation of Arabian date-palms.

The town is known for the manufacture of excellent cotton *khescs* and ivory articles, such as necklaces, napkin-rings, bangles, scent-sprinklers, cigarette and cigar-holders, egg-holders, flower-vases, wine-glasses, small boxes, studs, etc.

The town has a long bazar running north and south, and the other small bazars branch off from it to the east and west. It is compact, chiefly built with bricks, and the bazars are provided with drains. It was constituted a municipality in 1887, and is now a municipality of the second class with 8 elected and 2 nominated members. The president is a non-official.

Situated in the Thal, 40 miles from Leiah, contains a thana, a middle school, a rest-house and a rural dispensary. There is a ruined mud fort of Ranjit Singh's time.

Chaubara.

Situated 15 miles from Chaubara, in the Thal. Quite a big place, with good trade in wool. etc. Has a middle school. There is a ruined fort of Ranjit Singh's time.

Nawankot.

Karor.

Karor, like Leiah, is situated on the old bank of the Indus. It was constituted a municipality in 1887, and is now a municipality of the second class with 7 elected members and 1 nominated member. The Sub-Divisional Officer, Leiah, is president. The main bazar and many of the streets have been paved, and most of the shops and buildings have *pakka* masonry fronts.

Surrounding the town is a circular road planted with trees, but the trees are fast disappearing. To the east runs the main Muzaffargarh-Mianwali road, and on it are situated the middle school, the municipal hospital, the thana, the rest-house and the municipal office. A short branch road leads off from it to the railway station, which is about three-quarters of a mile from the town. On this branch road there is a Dayanand Anglo-Vedic high school, with its boarding-house. The road from the railway station to the town is metalled. A district board veterinary hospital is to be built shortly.

There is a post and telegraph office in the town.

There is the famous shrine of Makhdum Lal Isan, which lies to the east of the town and is well outside the town. Its design and colouring are very tasteful and artistic. The whole is surmounted by a plaster dome which renders the tomb a conspicuous feature of the landscape. Round the tomb, and extending to the north-east, lies an immense cemetery. There is a committee of 5 persons, descendants of Lal Isan, who keep accounts, etc. A muharrir on Rs. 10 per mensem has been appointed by the committee to collect the income, and he records the amount in a register and makes it over every fortnight to the treasurer. The income of the shrine, it is said, is only utilized on the repairs, etc., of the shrine, which are made under the control of the shrine committee. Descendants and disciples are buried in the courtyard which contains the tomb of Ismail Khan. People from all around bring their dead here.

A fair takes place on 14th Bhadon, and lasts for one week; some 30,000 people attend from all parts. There was a larger attendance when the Leiah Tahsil was attached to the Mianwali District as the people of that district took more interest in *doda* and *kushti*, which are much appreciated in this part. The district board holds an " uplift fair " at the same time.

CHAPTER IV.

PLACES OF INTEREST.

There are two flour mills in the town.

Kot Sultan.

This is an important village in the Leiah Tahsil, and has a railway station. It is 14 miles south of Leiah.

There are a middle school, a thana, a canal rest-house and a rural dispensary which are situated on the main Muzaffargarh road running along the eastern side of the village. A branch road leads off from this road to the railway station which is half a mile from the village. On the western side of the town there is a dharamsala.

The pilgrims for Rauza Hazrat Suleman at Taunsa in the Dera Ghazi Khan District detrain at this station. There is a sarai near the railway station constructed by the descendants of Hazrat Suleman for the convenience of pilgrims going to Taunsa.

There is a post office in the town in the charge of a shopkeeper, and telegrams are booked at the railway station.

Daira Din Panah.

This is an important town in the Kot Adu Tahsil situated on the north side of the road from Muzaffargarh to Dera Ghazi Khan. It has a railway station, and is 7 miles north of Kot Adu. Its importance is due to the shrine of Din Panah, of which Khan Bahadur Makhdum Ghulam Qasim is in charge.

A short road leads off from the main road to the railway station, and there is a rural dispensary near the railway station There are a middle school, a thana and a district board rest-house to the north of the town on the road to Muzaffargarh

It was a municipality in 1881-82, but this was abolished in 1886. It is now a small town, constituted in 1924, and the committee consists of 4 elected members and 1 nominated member. The present Makhdum is president.

Kot Adu.

This is an important town, with a tahsil headquarters and a canal sub-division. It lies on the east side of the road from Muzaffargarh to Mianwali.

The place was known for the manufacture of bows and arrows, but the art is dying out.

There are a Government high school, a normal school, a district board veterinary hospital, a thana, a district board and a canal rest-house, a district board dispensary, a post and telegraph office, 2 boys' primary schools and 2 girls' schools —all district board.

The Kanshi-gir Fair is held every year in Bhadon. Some 8,000 persons attend the fair. The district board intends to hold a fair at the same time.

It was a municipality in 1881-82, but this was abolished in 1886. Again it was constituted a notified area in 1915, but was converted into a small town in 1924. The official president has recently been withdrawn, and now there are 6 elected and 2 nominated members of the small town committee.

Munda.

Situated 20 miles from Daira Din Panah in the Thal. Quite a big trading centre—wool, etc. There are a middle school, and a police post and police rest-house. There is a fort of Ranjit Singh's time in a fair condition of preservation.

Sanawan.

It is an important village in the Kot Adu Tahsil. It was previously the tahsil headquarters, which were, however, moved to Kot Adu on account of water-logging. The Muzaffargarh-Mianwali road runs along its western side. It has a railway station.

There are a middle school, a district board hospital, 2 girls' schools, a canal rest-house and a police post.

Mahmud Kot.

This is the only railway junction station in the Muzaffargarh District. The passengers for Ghazi Ghat and Dera Ghazi Khan detrain here, and a shuttle train runs from Mahmud Kot to Ghazi Ghat, where tongas and motors are usually available for Dera Ghazi Khan. There is a ferry steamer in the flood season when the bridge of boats is dismantled.

There are a railway dispensary, a rest-house and a post office at the railway station. There are also a few shops and a flour mill near the railway station. The village of Mahmud Kot lies at a distance of about 2 miles towards the east from the railway station. In the village there are a middle school, a post office, a police rest-house, a thana and 2 girls' schools.

PUNJAB DISTRICT GAZETTEERS.

VOLUME XXXIV-A.

PART II A AND B.

MUZAFFARGARH DISTRICT

LEIAH TAHSIL

WITH 3 MAPS.

1916.

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PREFACE.

THE Gazetteer of the Leiah *tahsil* has been prepared from the 1883-84 Gazetter of the Dera Ismail Khan district, the information being brought up to date by Mr. J. Parsons, I.C.S.

PART A.

CHAPTER I.—DESCRIPTIVE.

Section A.—Physical aspects.

Position and area.

LEIAH forms the most northern of the four *tahsils* of the Muzaffargarh district and is a roughly rectangular block of territory 2,417 square miles in area, its greatest length from north to south being 50 miles and its greatest width from east to west being 64 miles.

Boundaries—North and south.

On the north it is bounded by the Bhakkar *tahsil* of the Mianwali district and on the south by the Sanawan *tahsil* of its own district. The river Indus flowing practically due south meanders over the western boundary which, however, has been recently fixed and no longer depends upon the vagaries of that mighty stream. Beyond the river lie the districts of Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan; of the former district the Dera Ismail Khan *tahsil* forms the boundary for the first three miles and the Kulachi *tahsil* for the next seventeen. The Sangarh *tahsil* of Dera Ghazi Khan then succeeds and continues to the extreme south-west corner. On the east the Leiah *tahsil* marches with the Shorkot *tahsil* of Jhang and the Muzaffargarh and Sanawan *tahsils* of its own district.

West.

East.

Tahsil head-quarters.

The administrative head-quarters of the sub-division and *tahsil* are located in the town of Leiah which is situated on the Sind-Sagar railway line. This line traverses the *tahsil* from north to south parallel to the Indus and at an average distance of 12 miles from it, and brings Leiah within a three hours' journey of the district head-quarters.

Position of Leiah town.

The exact position of Leiah town is in 36° 58″ north latitude and 70° 58″ east longitude and is about 500 feet above sea level.

Physical features.

The most striking physical feature of the *tahsil* is the startling divergence between the Indus valley on the west and the desolate uplands which form the central and eastern portions of this territory.

Indus river bed.

The bed of the Indus is wide and straggling and all through the winter there are broad stretches of barren sand along its course, while the channels are numerous and perpetually shifting. The tract usually occupied by the main stream is roughly four miles in width, containing innumerable islands and shoals.

Kachhi or Nasheb.

Along the whole length of the river lies the broad belt of alluvial land known as the Nasheb or Kachhi, intersected by

B

CHAP. I-A.

Physical aspects.

creeks and usually flooded during the monsoon season when the Indus rises.

Kachhi or Nasheb

This belt is on the average some eight miles wide, and is abruptly succeeded on the east by the high-lying sandy plain of the Sind-Sagar Doab of which the whole of the rest of the *tahsil* is constituted.

Thal

This desolate area is known locally as the Thal as opposed to the Kachhi. The line of demarcation consists of a bank some 20 feet high in the north of the *tahsil* but rapidly falling away to the south until below Kot Sultan it is not more than 2 or 3 feet high and ceases to be the clear landmark which it was further north. This bank is undoubtedly an old river bank of the Indus.

Meaning of the term Kachhi

The term Kachhi literally means an armpit and is applied to low tracts lying under a high bank. It must not be confused with the term *kacha* which implies a liability to fluvial action. All the Thal proper is high above the reach of inundation even in the greatest floods, but below Leiah the Indus occasionally overflows the Thal lands immediately adjoining the Kachhi.

Description of the Kachhi

The Kachhi is on the whole a pleasant country, 286,418 acres in extent or one-third of the whole *tahsil*. About half its area is cultivated, the remainder being overgrown with tall *munj* grass and near the river with low tamarisk jungle or *lai* (tamarix dioica).

Most of the creeks intersecting the country have well-defined beds of moderate size and for the greater part of the year they flow up to their banks. In years of low flood small embankments are thrown across the channels to retain the water where required. Wells, *jhalárs* and occasional villages are scattered along their sides and the cultivated fields come down to the water's edge.

The river islands.

The river islands are mostly overgrown with a dense grass jungle which is a favourite cover for wild pig and hog deer (*párha*); this grass is saccharum spontaneum, locally known as *kan* and must be distinguished from the *kána* or *munj* grass (saccharum sara) which at a distance it somewhat resembles

The Kacha circle of the Kachhi.

The outer portion of the Kachhi towards the Indus is very much at the mercy of the river and its caprices and is in consequence mostly destitute of wells, the cultivation being all *sailába* Here and there, however, as at Mochiwala, where the well area extends further than usual from the Thal bank, wells are to be seen on the very edge of the present stream.

This part of the country has few or no trees, though here and there, especially to the south, there are stretches of *jhand*

CHAP. I-A. Physical aspects. The Kacha circle of the Kachhi.

jungle. The *bhani* is a kind of poplar (populus Euphratica), somewhat resembling the birch in general appearance and colour of the bark; where allowed to grow, as in the Khokkarwala *rakh*, it attains a moderate size but elsewhere it rarely exceeds 15 or 20 feet.

Large waste areas of unculturable sand or thin deposits of new soil are found, and besides estates actually in the river bed there are others which are only inhabited during the winter and early summer.

This outer area forms the *Kacha* assessment circle of the Kachhi as opposed to the *Pakka* circle or inner portion of the Kachhi.

The Pakka circle of the Kachhi.

All through the Pakka there are almost invariably pleasant clumps of trees round the villages and wells and the country is fairly wooded. *Sisham* here called *tahli* (dalbergia sissu), tamarisk, here called *tuhla* and *kaggal* (tamarix orientalis), *siris* (acacia speciosa), *ber* (zizphus jujube), *kikar* (acacia arabica), and *jand* (prosopis spicigera) predominate, while *pipal* (ficus religiosa) is less seldom seen; there are some groves of date palms (phœnix dactylifera) generally near the Thal bank, and small clumps are to be found scattered throughout the whole circle.

The Kachhi, where uncultivated and not overgrown with jungle, is always grassy. A coarse grass called *dráth* predominates, but there is a good deal of *talla*, a kind of *dub*, especially on the banks of creeks and *nullas*.

In the cultivated lands, especially such as have long been under the plough, thistles and camel thorn *jowása* grow in great profusion and occasion considerable trouble to the reapers. Among the commoner weeds are *maina* and *singi* species of trefoil which afford useful cattle fodder.

Crops in the Kacchi never fail altogether, though without good floods the yield may be very short. In years of deficient flood the unirrigated portions remain quite waste. The portion which suffers most readily from want of water is naturally the strip nearest the Thal bank, but, on the other hand, it suffers least in years of excessive floods

The dwellers in the Kachhi are too slothful to move their cut crops out of danger and they stack them on what raised ground is available, in consequence of which they sometimes suffer heavy loss when the Indus rises higher than usual.

Their method of agriculture is haphazard; as little ploughing is done as possible and weeding seems practically unknown.

CHAP. I-A.
Physical aspects.
Importance of rainfall.

The Kachhi containing no real *bárání* the rainfall does not directly affect the area sown, but it materially affects the area matured and the outturn; owing to its scanty amount its receipt in season is of the greatest moment, and even in years of average fall its unseasonable character has led to complete failure.

Canal irrigation.

In the vicinity of Kot Sultan a small area of on the average 720 acres receives canal irrigation from the Kot Sultan inundation canal which was constructed in 1884. This canal continues into the Sanawan *tahsil*.

Description of the Thal.

The Thal tract comprises the greater portion of the Leiah *tahsil* being 1,053,649 acres in area or two-thirds of the whole, and it is entirely dependent on well irrigation.

A scanty rainfall, a treeless sandy soil and a precarious and scattered pasturage mark this out as perhaps the most desolate tract now remaining in the Punjab. Much of it is real desert, barren and lifeless, devoid not only of bird and animal life, but almost of vegetation. Highest to the north the country slopes steadily down towards the south. Lines of high sand-hills, running generally north-east and south-west, alternate with narrow bottoms of soil—locally called *laks*—which in places is stiff and hard but is more often itself covered with sand. The central Thal is marked by a broad strip of level ground which beginning at Fattehpur runs down in varying breadth towards Mirhan.

The Thal Kalan.

The whole of this central area is known as the Thal Kalan or great Thal and it is by far the largest tract in the *tahsil* of which it occupies the whole of the eastern and central portions, measuring 803,511 acres in all The country is even more desolate than the Bhakkar Thal to the north, though it seems the site of a much older occupation; the majority of the existing wells owe their origin to the energy of Diwan Sawan Mal, but there is also a very large number of abandoned wells—locally known as *dals*—which are undoubtedly of an older date.

With the exception of the *kari* (capperis aphylla), which hardly deserves the appellation of tree, the country is entirely treeless; the sand is deeper and shifts more persistently under the summer winds than further north, and the *chhember* grass (eleusine plagellifera) is very poor and thin.

Lana (haloxylon salicornicum multiflorum) and the sterile *bui* (panderia pilosa) seem indeed the only things which will flourish in the barren soil.

CHAP. I-A. Physical aspects.

On the southern border the soil is so impregnated with salt that the water is undrinkable and the wells are deserted in the summer months.

The Thal Kalan.

The well owners of this country are only half agricultural for they keep large numbers of stock not only to provide the all necessary manure but as a means of subsistence.

The Jandi Thal.

To the west of the Thal Kalan succeeds the tract known as the Jandi Thal from large numbers of *jand* trees (prosopis spicigera) which constitute its special feature.

The hills are here lower and less regular and the sand less marked ; it comprises an area of 249,958 acres.

It too has a central core of firm flat soil which runs, much as a river might, from north to south down the centre of this tract beginning near Karor. The higher spring level and the presence of a somewhat larger proportion of loam in the sand renders possible much more extensive well irrigation than in the Thal Kalan. The whole area is fairly flat, with a good deal of hard soil—*rapper*—in places. It is a *lána* country, but the shrub grows poorly here and the *chhember* grazing is very poor. In the south the *kána* grass from the Kachhi has invaded the Thal and covers a large part of the country round Kot Sultan.

That the Jandi Thal was once far more widely cultivated than at present is proved by the very great number of abandoned wells scattered over its whole area, and by the tradition which, even where there is no sign remaining of a well, confirms the possession of parts of the waste to particular owners.

The Powah.

To the west of the Jandi Thal proper lies the strip known locally as the Powah and Dhaha, bordering the Thal bank previously described, some three miles wide but narrower to the south. The country is thickly studded with wells, each well forming a little hamlet with its farm sheds and out-houses complete. The large villages are mostly found on the Thal bank overlooking the Kachhi beyond the reach of floods. These lands are all sandy and in some cases inferior to the land of the Jandi Thal proper, but their higher spring level and the facility of obtaining manure from the village sites which stud the Thal bank, together with the proximity of the Kachhi for grazing purposes, give them a superior attraction in the eyes of cultivators. In the extreme south, where the Thal bank practically disappears, some of the Dhaha wells receive a good deal of sub-soil drainage.

CHAP. I-A.
Physical aspects.
Flora of the Thal.

The products of the waste play so important a part in the economy of the Thal that they deserve detailed notice.

There is a clearly defined division of the main flora corresponding to the difference in soils.

Lána and *sain* grow exclusively, and *chemmbar* grows best, on light sandy soil; *jál* and *phog* grow best on the firmer soils, and the two sets of plants are seldom combined.

Lána (haloxylon salicornicum multiflorum should be distinguished from *khar* or *sajji lána* (haloxylon recidivum) and also from *láni* or *phisak láni* (sueda fruticosa) and *gora lána* (salsola fœtida). It is the main food of camels during the summer months and the young shoots also afford browsing to sheep and goats in the spring.

Chemmbar is eleusine flagellifora, a prostrate plant with runners and spiklets which rise to about a foot in height; it springs up in the sand with most astonishing speed after rain, but unfortunately dies down with equal rapidity; it seeds both in spring and autumn. It is excellent fodder for all stock, and the prosperity of the tract depends largely on its growth.

Sain (elionurus hirsutus) is a tall grass the roots of which form usually a compact clump; it seeds in autumn when it often stands waist high; it is an excellent fodder for cattle and horses. A grass very similar in appearance called *phit-sain* is also found, but in reality this is probably primisetum dichotomum; it is usually described as useless, but twice a year it throws out shoots which are eaten by cattle and sheep.

Phog (kailigonum polygonoides) is a small leafless woody shrub which gives out shoots in spring, when it is grazed by sheep and goats; it grows mainly in the firmer soils. The fruit called *phogli* is sometimes eaten but is unwholesome.

The *bui* (panderia pilosa) is universal in the sandier parts of the waste, and this little shrub with its withered twigs and white woolly tufts seems to embody the very spirit of desolation.

About March it throws out a few dingy shoots which sheep and goats will eat when hard pressed but mostly with discouraging results.

Ak (calotropis gigantea) is common, and *akri* (withania coagulans), a smaller plant of much the same appearance, is also found; goats will eat the young shoots.

The small leafless brooms *kip* (crotalaria burhia) and *barari* (periploca aphylla) are very common and generally accompany *bui*; their only use is for hutting or fuel.

Section B.—History.

Want of information as to the early history of the country.

Nothing is known of the early history of the Leiah *tahsil* The Thal if left to a state of nature and without wells would be a desert, and the probability is that in early historic times nearly the whole country was a barren waste. Alexander the Great, according to Arrian, sailed down the Jhelum to its junction with the Indus, while his land forces marched in two bodies on either side of the river. Craterus, who was on the right bank, must have skirted the Sind-Sagar Thal. Alexander seems to have thought nothing of making a fifty miles' march across

CHAP. I-B. History. Want of information as to the early history of the country.

the Bar, through a country devoid of water to get at some towns on the Ravi; and had there been any inhabited towns of importance on the Thal side, these would certainly have been the subject of a plundering expedition. The absence of all notice of any such expedition affords a presumption that the Thal was then a poorer country than it is now.

Absence of antiquarian remains.

The general absence of ruins and monuments of antiquarian interest would also tend to prove that the district can never have been the site of a rich and populous Government. In the Kachhi tract of course such remains could hardly survive the action of river floods, and at one time the Kachhi tract must have been much wider than it is now. The Thal, however, is admirably suited for the preservation of antiquarian remains, had any such ever existed; the rainfall is small, and the land is entirely beyond the reach of inundation. As a fact the Thal is devoid of any such remains, with the exception of a few tombs, the principal of which, those at Karor and Muhammad Rajan, date from the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries only. They are built of brick, and ornamented with enamelled coloured tiles, after the Multan fashion.

Colonisation from the South by Jats and Biloches.

The political history of the *tahsil* is so interwoven with and dependent on the history of its colonisation by the tribes which at present inhabit it, that it will be well briefly to sketch the latter before we discuss the former. The country has been almost entirely settled by an immigration of Jats and Biloches up the valley of the Indus from the south. Before the fifteenth century the lower portion of the *tahsil* was probably occupied by a few scattered tribes of Jats, depending on their cattle for subsistence. The valley of the Indus was a dense jungle, swarming with pig and hog-deer, and frequented by numerous tigers; while the Thal must have been almost unoccupied

Jat immigration in the 15th century A. D.

All the traditions of the people go to show that an immigration of mixed tribes of Jats (Siyars, Chinahs, Khokhars, &c.) set in about the beginning of the 15th century from the Multan and Bahawalpur direction, and that they gradually passed up the valley of the Indus to the Mianwali *tahsil*, occupying the intervening country. Most of their villages would have been located on the edge of the Thal and a portion of the immigrants probably crossed the river and settled along its right bank.

Biloch immigration, their position rather a military than a cultivating occupation.

After these came the Biloches. They also came from the south, but in large bands under recognized leaders. In the cis-Indus tract they appear to have taken military rather than proprietary possession of the country. They were the ruling caste, and

served under their Chiefs in the perpetual little wars which were then going on in every direction. It is probable that the Jat immigration continued for some time after the Biloches first came into the country.

Division of the country into *hads*.

However it may have been, all the Kachhi immediately adjoining the Thal bank seems to have been parcelled off to Jat families. Each block was accompanied with a long strip of Thal to the back. These estates are the origin of the present *mauzas*, which are almost all held by Jats. Here and there shares are held by Biloches, but these have mostly been acquired in later times by purchase. In the same way the unoccupied lands towards the river were divided off into blocks, and formed into separate estates; and sometimes, where the *hads* first formed had too much waste land, new *hads* were formed in later times by separation of outlying portions of the old estates. In course of time, as the Biloches settled down in the country, individuals acquired plots of land for wells, but generally in subordination to the *had* proprietors or lords of manors. Here and there a small clan settled down together like the Gurmanis of Bet Dabli, or the Sarganis of Sargani, but this was the exception. Biloches are still tolerably numerous all through the Kachhi, but though they were originally the ruling race, still as regards proprietary rights in the land, they hold a position inferior to that of the Jats and Saiyads, by whom the superior proprietorship of *hads* is generally held. In the Thal the population is nearly entirely Jat.

Distribution of Biloch population and their character.

In the Leiah *tahsil* Biloches in the Pakka circle are as one to five to the Jats; there are very few in the Thal Kalan circle, or in the Thal villages behind Kot Sultan; in the Kot Sultan Kachhi, on the other hand, they are nearly as numerous as the Jats, and in this part of the country their position more resembles what it is in the adjoining trans-Indus tract.

Mixed character of the Jat population.

The Biloches, with the exception of the Kasranis who are settled together in considerable numbers, and a few tribes of minor importance, are much broken up, and have altogether lost their old tribal organisation.

All through the Kachhi the mass of the villages are named after Jat families, who form the bulk of the proprietors. These are generally the descendants of the original founders, and have stuck together. In the Thal there are a large number of villages held in the same way by men of particular families; but in

CHAP. I-B.

History.

Mixed character of the Jat population.

most the population is very mixed, nearly every well being held by a man of a different caste. The Jats are still more broken up than the Biloches, and it is necessary to mention that these Jats have no community of race among themselves. In this *tahsil* Sials, Awans, and a host of petty tribes of miscellaneous origin are all grouped together under the common name of Jat, and the variety of tribal appellations among them is nearly as great as that of surnames among ourselves. Few of these Jat tribes are to be found here in any considerable numbers.

Having thus sketched the gradual colonization of the country by its present inhabitants, we now turn to what is known of its history down to the present time.

Part of the Mughal Empire until 1739 A. D.

The Leiah *tahsil* continued to form part of the Mughal Empire until the invasion of Nadir Shah in A. D. 1738, when the country generally was plundered. In 1739 A. D. the country west of the Indus was surrendered by the Emperor to Nadir Shah, and passed after his death to Ahmad Shah Abdali. The armies of Ahmad Shah marched repeatedly through the district, the cis-Indus portion of which was, with the rest of the Punjab, incorporated in A. D. 1756 in the Durani Kingdom. During the greater portion of the reign of Ahmad Shah no regular governors were appointed by the Kabul Government. The country was divided between the Hot and Jaskani Chiefs, and a number of nearly independent border tribes. Occasionally, one of the King's Sirdars marched through the country with an army, collecting in an irregular way and often by force the revenue that might have been assessed on the different *ilaquas*; but little or no attention was paid to the internal administration of the country until quite the close of the reign of Ahmad Shah. Two or three years before his death Ahmad Shah deposed Nusrat Khan, the last of the Hot rulers of Dera; and after this the province of Dera Ismail Khan was governed by Kamr-ud-Din Khan and other Governors appointed direct from Kabul. Some ten years later the descendants of Mahmud Khan, Gujar, who had succeeded the Mirranies in the Government of Dera Ghazi Khan, were similarly displaced; and in A. D. 1786 the old Jaskani family of Leiah was driven out by Abdul Nabi, Serai, to whom their territories had been granted by the King in *jagir*. Towards the end of the century the whole of the present district on both sides of the river was consolidated into a single Government, under Nawab Muhammad Khan, Saddozai. Before, however, proceeding further, it will be necessary to enter into detail as to the history of the country under the old Biloch families.

Incorporated into the Durani Kingdom in A. D. 1756.

Displacement of the old ruling families of the tract.

Formation of a single Government under Nawab Muhammad Khan, Saddozai.

CHAP. I-B.

History.

Settlement of the old Biloch Chiefs, who founded Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan, A. D. 1469.

References to the settlement of the first Biloch Chiefs along the Indus are found in *Ferishta*, and in a Persian manuscript translated by Lieutenant Maclagan. The account given by the latter is that in 874 Hijri (A. D. 1469) Sultan Hussain, son of Kutab-ud-Din, obtained the Government of Multan. He held the forts of Shor and Chuniewat (in Jhang district), and of Kot Karor (Karor Lal Isan) and Dinkot (near Kalabagh). Soon after, Malik Suhrab, a Dodai Biloch, along with his son, Ismail Khan, and Fateh Khan and others of his tribe arrived from Kech Mekran, and entered the service of Sultan Husain. As the hill robbers were then becoming very troublesome in the province of Multan, Sultan Husain rejoiced in the opportune arrival of Malik Suhrab, and assigned to him the country from the fort of Karor to Dinkot. "On this becoming known, many Biloches came from Kech Mekran to the service of Sultan. The lands, cultivated and waste, along the banks of the Indus were assigned to the Biloches, and the royal revenue began to increase. The old inhabitants of Dera Ghazi Khan and Multan relate that after Suhrab's arrival, Haji Khan, with his son Ghazi Khan and many of their kindred and tribe, came from Kech Mekran to enter the service of Sultan. When the tracts along the Indus were in the hands of Malik Suhrab and Haji Khan, Malik Suhrab founded a Dera named after Ismail Khan, and Haji Khan another, with the name of Ghazi Khan." This account is confirmed, though in less detail, by the historian *Ferishta*.

Submission of these Biloch Chiefs to the Emperor Sher Shah, A. D. 1540.

We next hear of these Chiefs in A. D. 1540 In that year the Emperor Sher Shah visited Khushab and Bhera in the Shahpur district, and made arrangements for bringing into submission the south-western portions of the Punjab. Among other Chiefs, who then appeared and tendered their submission were Ismail Khan, Ghazi Khan, and Fateh Khan, Dodai Biloches. These were probably descendants of the men mentioned in the former reference, it being the custom in these families to have a common name by which the ruling Chief for the time being was always known Thus the Hot Chiefs of Dera Ismail were always called Ismail Khans, while the Mirranis of Dera Ghazi were called Ghazi Khans and Haji Khans. The Biloches are spoken of in the accounts of that time as a barbarous and daring tribe, that had long been settled in great numbers in the lower Punjab. Mr. Fryer in his Settlement Report of the Dera Ghazi Khan District mentions that the first Ghazi Khan is proved by the date on his tomb to have died in A. D 1494. This would agree with the date in the manuscript quoted above, and would fix the latter half of the fifteenth century as the period when the main Biloch immigration took place. It would also allow sufficient time for

CHAP. I-B.

History.

Submission of these Biloch Chiefs to the Emperor Sher Shah, A. D. 1540.

the Biloch headmen to have become recognised Chiefs of the country by the time of Sher Shah's visit to Khushab in A. D. 1540. The history of these Biloch settlements is involved in a good deal of doubt and confusion, caused in a great measure by the common custom of the local historians of assigning the founding of the principal towns and villages to the Chiefs of the early settlers or their sons, from whom they are supposed to be named.

Main facts to be gathered from the early histories.

The main facts established appear to be that the early settlers were grouped under two leading families, the Ismail Khans and Ghazi Khans. Both of these were probably of one stock, *viz.*, Dodai Biloches; but this name Dodai disappears altogether, and in the local history Ghazi Khan's tribe are known as Mirrani Biloches, and Ismail Khan's as Hot Biloches. The Dodais are, according to the Biloches, a mixed tribe of Jat origin belonging to the Satha-Surma clan, now represented by the Surma of Leiah; Doda their founder married a Biloch wife. This tribe owned Dera Ghazi Khan before the Biloch irruption, and retained it, being assimilated by the Biloches. The Mirranis of Dera Ghazi Khan were Dodais; the Hots on the contrary were Biloches of pure blood. The Hots according to Biloch tradition are one of the five main branches into which the Biloches originally divided, *i.e.*, Rind, Lashari, Hot, Korai and Jatoi, who took their names from the four sons and the daughter of Mir Jalalan, the common ancestor. They could scarcely therefore be a branch of the Dodai. The Governor of Multan seems to have assigned to these two families the land along the Indus, including both banks from its junction with the Chenab upwards. They first established themselves on the right bank, but by degrees threw out parties who took possession of the eastern bank as well. Very little is known about these Hot Chiefs. They ruled continuously at Dera Ismail Khan from their first settlement till about A. D. 1770, when the last of them, Nusrat Khan, was deposed by King Ahmad Shah, and taken as a prisoner to Kabul. In 1794 A. D the Government of the Province was transferred to Muhammad Khan, Suddozai. The Hots now disappear from history.

Last Hot Chief Nusrat Khan displaced in A.D 1770 by Ahmad Shah.

Rule of the Mirrani Chiefs in Leiah.

The lands of the Leiah *tahsil*, along the southern boundary of the old Dera Ghazi Khan district, appear to have been included in that section of the Indus valley which had been assigned to the Mirranis. These are said to have founded Kot Adu, Kot Sultan, Leiah and Naushera. Beyond Naushera the country probably at first belonged by the terms of the original assignment to the Hots. The towns above mentioned are said to have been founded about 1550 A. D. by the four sons of the Ghazi

CHAP. I-B. History

Rule of the Mirrani Chiefs in Leiah.

Khans. The eldest of these Kamal Khan, the founder of Leiah, is said to have held a sort of supremacy over his brothers. It appears, however, that the Mirranis never held Leiah as an independent Government. The Ghazi Khans held the Leiah province as part of the Ghazi territory, much as the Hots of Dera held Darya Khan, neither of them having their head-quarters in the Cis-Indus *tahsils*. It was under these circumstances that the Jaskanis rose to power. Mir Chakár was a leading man among the earliest of the Biloch settlers of the Leiah province. One of his descendants, Daud Khan, established himself as a robber Chief in the jungles between Karor and Leiah, with head-quarters at Wara Gish Kauri He collected a large number of followers, and at the head of 500 horse he defied both the Mirranis of Dera Ghazi Khan and the Hots of Dera, on whose borders he was established. This was during the reign of Akbar in the latter half of the 16th century. Eventually the Emperor Akbar sent a force against him, and he was killed and his band broken up. The tribe seem, however, to have again gathered together, and in the beginning of the 17th century Biloch Khan, their Chief, received from the Emperor a grant of the country from Mahmud Kot in Muzaffargarh to Khola in Mianwali. The Jaskanis do not appear, however, to have succeeded in getting possession of the portion of the tract granted lying to the north of Darya Khan. This was held by the Hots of Dera till the end of the 18th century. Probably the Jaskanis got nothing more than what they already possessed in fact, though perhaps in nominal subordination to the Hots and Mirranis. Henceforth they were independent, and the Mirranis lost their hold on the Leiah province altogether. The Mirranis are said to have been finally ousted from Leiah about A. D. 1620. The leading Biloch tribes of the Bhakkar and Leiah *tahsils* all claim descent from Biloch Khan. They are the Jaskanis, Mandranis, Mamdanis, Kandanis, Sardanis and Malianis. Biloch Khan was succeeded by Jasak Khan, Bhakkar Khan, Langar Khan and other Chiefs of his family, whose deeds are much exaggerated by local tradition. At the beginning of the 17th century the Jaskanis ruled over Bhakkar and Leiah, and across the Thal to the Chenab side. They seem to have been more or less at war with the Sials of Uch and also came occasionally into contact with the Sikhs who were then becoming a power in the Punjab. Biloch Khan the Blind, one of the most famous of these Jaskanis, is said to have been killed in A D. 1746 in a fight with Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh, the Sikh leaders. It is probable that the real date of this event was somewhat later, and that this is probably

Rise of the Jaskanis in the latter half of 16th century.

Leading Jaskani clans

Extent of the Jaskani territory.

Under Biloch Khan the Blind they come into conflict with the Sikhs

CHAP. I-B.

History.

Under Biloch Khan the Blind they come in to conflict with the Sikhs.

the same Jhanda Singh who took Multan in A. D. 1772. In Cunningham's History of the Sikhs it is mentioned that from 1772 A. D. to the retaking of Multan by the Kabul King, the Bhangi Sikhs were predominant in all the Southern unjab, and that "they seem to have possessed Mankra as well as Multan, and to have levied exactions from Kálabagh downwards." Local tradition is against Mankera having been occupied by the Sikhs before its final capture by Ranjit Singh, and any expedition made by them in this direction can have been little more than a transitory raid. The history of these times is wrapped in much obscurity, and the accounts being based only on tradition are often contradictory.

Fatteh Khan, Jaskani, A D 1743-70

Fatteh Khan succeded his father, Biloch Khan the Blind. Towards the end of his rule, Nusrat Khan, Hot, of Dera Ismail Khan, crossed over to Bhakkar, and defeated Fatteh Khan's son, also named Nusrat, whom he took prisoner with him to Dera. Hasan Khan, Laskrani, who was Wazir to Fatteh Khan, was ordered on this to attack Dera, but he made excuses; and an attempt of Nusrat Jaskani's mother to obtain his release led to her attempted violation by Nusrat Khan, Hot. Nusrat, Jaskani, was after this released, but both he and his father Fatteh Khan poisoned themselves through shame at the disgrace. The whole affair was a great scandal; and as Nusrat Khan Hot bore a bad character as a tyrant and winebibber, the King, Ahmad Shah, who was desirous of tightening his hold over these semi-independent provinces, took advantage of the excuse to deprive him of his government and to remove him as a prisoner to Kabul.

Wazir Hassan Khan, Laskrani, A D 1770-79.

Meanwhile Hassan Khan, Laskrani, ruled the cis-Indus country in the name of Haiyat Khan, the grandson of the former Chief, Fatteh Khan. Being desirous however to keep the government in his own hands, he continued to keep Haiyat Khan under close surveillance in the fort of Mankera, even after the latter had attained his majority. Haiyat Khan eventually managed to escape, and getting together a party he defeated Hassan Khan, and took him prisoner. Hassan Khan was soon afterwards murdered by some of Haiyat Khan's attendants, who were opposed to him. The government of the Jaskanis, however, was now fast breaking up. The Sarganis, who were then a strong tribe and had been much pampered by Haiyat Khan, took offence at an expedition fitted out by Haiyat Khan against one Gul Muhammad of Ooch, a holy individual who had been trying to establish his independence in the Chenab country.

Haiyat Khan, Jaskani, A D 1779-87.

CHAP. I-B. History.

They accordingly attacked him treacherously and murdered him in his fort of Mankera in A. D. 1787. After this the Sarganis, under their chief, Gula Khan, held out for some time against Muhammad Khan, the brother and successor of the deceased Haiyat Khan. They were eventually defeated by the Jaskani party under the leadership of Diwan Ladda Ram, and their chief Gula Khan having been killed in this action, the Sarganis came to terms with Muhammad Khan, and were bought off with the Munda Shergarh country, which was granted to them in *jágír*.

Muhammad Khan, Jaskan A. D. 1787-89.

Contemporary history of Dera Ghazi Khan.

We must now return to the affairs of Dera Ghazi Khan, whose Chief had always exercised a good deal of influence, if not of authority, over the Leiah portion of the Jaskani dominions. The notices of the Dera Ghazi history are mostly fragmentary and conflicting. It appears that all through the reign of Ahmad Shah, Abdali (A. D. 1747-73) the old Mirrani family was being gradually crushed out in the conflict between the Durani King and the Kalhoras of Sindh; and during the whole of this time Mahmud Khan, Gujar, Wazir under the last of the Ghazi Khans, was playing a double game for his own hand, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other. When the country west of the Indus was ceded to Nadir Shah in A. D. 1739, he confirmed Wazir Mahmud Khan as Governor; and Mahmud Khan seems also to have been continued by Ahmad Shah, when he passed through Dera Ghazi Khan in A. D 1748. All this time however the Kalhora rulers of Sindh claimed the sovereignty of the country; and though Sindh itself was nominally a portion of the territory ceded to Kabul by the Emperor of Delhi, still the hold of the Kabul King, even over Dera Ghazi Khan. was weak and intermittent, and no revenue could be obtained from Sindh without hard fighting. The Kalhora princes at this time were Nur Muhammad, generally called Nur Muhammad, Serai, and after his death his son Ghulam Shah. This is the Nur Muhammad who fought with the Hots of Dera Ismail Khan, and is said by Captain Mackenzie to have governed Leiah and the Sindh-Sagar Doab to the Chenab. Captain Mackenzie writes that he pushed back the Jaskanis, and took possession as far as Darya Khan, but this does not agree with what seems to be the correct account. The Jaskanis continued to hold Leiah till 1787 A. D, while Darya Khan was never held by them at all. It is quite possible, however, that the Jaskani Chiefs may, for a time prior to the invasion of Nadir Shah, have admitted the supremacy of the Kalhoras, who were then practically independent princes of a large and wealthy province, and might well have extended their authority over the

Conflict between the Durani monarch and the Kalhoras of Sindh.

CHAP. I-B.
History.

Conflict between the Durani monarch and the Kalhoras of Sindh.

Mirranis driven out of Dera Ghazi Khan, A. D. 1758.

smaller Chiefs to the north. At Dera Ghazi Khan the last Chiefs of the Mirrani line and Mahmud Khan Gujar, who though titularly their Wazir, appears really to have been more powerful than his nominal masters, also held their Government in subordination to the Kalhoras; and though the rule of the latter, after Ahmad Shah's accession, was rather intermittent, still they do not appear to have given up their claim to Dera Ghazi Khan till they were themselves driven out of Sindh. In 1758 A. D. the King sent a force under Kaura Mal, by whom the Sindh party was defeated in a fight near the town of Dera Ghazi.. The Mirranis at this time were split up into rival factions who took opposite sides, and many of them after this event migrated to the neighbourhood of Leiah, where they are still found in considerable numbers. This Kaura Mal was afterwards Governor of Multan, and exercised a sort of authority under the King both over the Mirranis of Dera Ghazi and over the Jaskanis of Leiah. In A. D. 1769, Ghulam Shah, Kalhora, again attacked Dera Ghazi, and finally drove out the Mirranis. He put in Mahmud Khan, Gujar, as Governor, and Mahmud was succeeded by his nephew Barkhurdar, who was killed in A. D. 1779, when the province was put under Governors appointed direct from Kabul. Neither Mahmud Khan, Gujar, nor Barkhurdar exercised any authority over Leiah and the cis-Indus country. They were purely Governors of Dera Ghazi Khan. Ghulam Shah took Dera Ghazi in A. D. 1769; but in A. D. 1772 the Kalhoras were themselves driven out of Sindh by the Talpurs. This threw them entirely into the hands of the Kabul King, and they retired with their following to the Dera Ghazi Khan district, where they were granted considerable *jágirs*; henceforth they are known as Serais instead of by their old name of Kalhoras. The Serais, finding themselves stranded at Dera Ghazi Khan with a large armed following, now commenced to look about for some territory in which to found a new principality. The Jaskani country, torn by internal faction, and attached by old tradition to the province of Dera Ghazi Khan, was close at hand, and in every way suited for the purpose. Armed therefore with a *sanad* from Timur Shah, Abdul Nabi, Serai, brother of Ghulam Shah, entered into a league with the turbulent Sarganis and in 1789 marched against Leiah. Muhammad Khan, Jaskani was defeated, and fled to the Tiwana country and thence to Bahawalpur. The Náwab of Bahawalpur would probably have assisted him to recover his country, but Muhammad Khan with the pride of a Biloch insultingly refused to give the Nawab a valuable work on hawking for which he had asked, and ended his days as a dependant on

Mahmud Khan appointed Governor and succeeded by his nephew.

The Kalhoras driven out of Sindh, A. D. 1772.

Henceforth known as Serais.

Under Abdul Nabi the Serais drove the Jaskanis out of Leiah. Extinction of the Jaskanis as a ruling family, A. D. 1789

CHAP. I-B.

History.

Hasad Khan, the Nutkani Chief of Sagar. The present representatives of the Jaskani family are mentioned in the notes on leading families at the end of Section C of this chapter. Thus ended the line of the Jaskani Chiefs after a rule of more than 200 years. Abdul Nabi, Serai, held the Leiah Government only for three years. Complaints were made to the king of his tyrannical rule, while an appointment was wanted for Muhammad Khan, Saddozai. The latter was cousin to Muzaffar Khan, Nawab of Multan, for whom he had for some time acted as Governor of Multan, to the satisfaction of the King. A *sanad* therefore was soon drawn out, appointing Muhammad Khan, Nawab and Governor of the Sindh-Sagar Doab from Kallur Kot to Mahmud Kot and from Indus to the Chenab. Muhammad Khan had still to take possession, which was not to be done without fighting. He was met by Abdul Nabi near Leiah, and in the battle that ensued the Serais had at first the advantage, and the Nawab's people fled. Nawab Muhammad Khan himself was ready to fly, saying, "What can a king do without an army?" but was stopped by his *jamadár*, who said, "Better die than fly." Eventually he rallied a part of his forces, and meanwhile some Labanas crept up through a *bhang* field and, attacking the Serais from behind, killed Muhammad Arif, the son of Abdul Nabi, who had been the soul of the fight, and the Serais being disheartened gave in. The Serais were allowed a day to remove their property and departed by boat to their own country to the south.*

Abdul Nabi, Serai held Leiah until A. D. 1792.

Appointment of Muhammad Khan, Saddozai, as Governor, A. D 1792.

He fought Abdul Nabi, Serai, near Leiah.

Defeat of Abdul Nabi

Meanwhile Timur Shah had died in A. D. 1793. He was succeeded by Zaman Shah, whose title was however disputed by prince Humayun. In A. D. 1794, Humayun made his second attempt to recover the kingdom from Shah Zaman, but was defeated and fled to Sagar, where Massu Khan, Nutkani, Chief of Sagar, assisted him and managed to smuggle him across the Dera Fatteh Khan ferry. He got to Leiah, and stopped at a well, where curiosity was excited by his paying an *ashrafi* piece for a few sticks of sugarcane that he had taken. The news came to the ears of Nawab Muhammad Khan, who happened to be at Leiah at the time. The Nawab suspected that it must be the prince Humayun, for whose capture strict orders, with promises

Prince Humayun defeated by Zaman Shah escaped to Leiah, A. D. 1794.

Nawab Muhammad Khan captured the prince, and rewarded with the Governorship of Dera Ismail Khan.

* Mr. Tucker, from whose Settlement Report this account is taken, writes, "I have gone more into detail with regard to the contemporary history of the Dera Ghazi Khan District than would otherwise have been necessary, because Captain Mackenzie, in his Settlement Report of the Leiah and Bhakkar *tahsils*, gives his opinion that Ghulam Shah actually ruled in the Leiah country at a period antecedent to the ascendancy of the Jaskanis, and questions the correctness of the Dera Ghazi Khan histories on which my own account was based. All the intelligent natives, however, that I have questioned, deny that the Serais twice ruled the country—once before and once after the Jaskani dynasty, as suggested by Captain Mackenzie."

CHAP. I-B. History.

Nawab Muhammad Khan captured the prince, and rewarded with the Governorship of Dera Ismail Khan.

of untold rewards, had been issued by Zaman Shah. He accordingly collected some horsemen and pursued Humayun whom he overtook at a well in the Thal, some fifteen miles from Leiah. Humayun had some 20 or 30 horsemen with him, who in desperation made a good fight. Humayun's young son was killed, and Humayun himself was taken prisoner and brought into Leiah. The Nawab at once reported the capture of Humayun to the King Zaman Shah, who sent orders that Humayun's eyes should be put out and his companions disembowelled. He also conferred on the Nawab the name of Sarbiland Khan, and the Government of Dera Ismail Khan, in addition to that which he already held. The orders of the King were carried out at Leiah. Among Humayun's attendants who suffered was a brother of Fatteh Khan, Barakzai. Humayun himself passed the rest of his life in confinement.

Death of Nawab Muhammad Khan, A. D. 1815.

The province of Dera, of which Muhammad Khan now became Governor, extended from the Khasor range to the Sagar country, ruled over by the Natkani Chief. Nawab Muhammad Khan had his head-quarters at Mankera and Bhakkar, and governed Dera by Deputy. In A. D. 1815 he died. He left no son, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Hafiz Ahmad Khan.

His son-in-law Nawab Hafiz Ahmad Khan succeeds him and comes into conflict with the Sikhs.

Muhammad Khan was undoubtedly a man of great character, and during his lifetime the Sikhs abstained from attacking the Leiah territories. Immediately on his death a demand for tribute was made on his successor, Hafiz Ahmad Khan. On his refusal, his forts of Khangarh and Mahmud Kot were occupied by the Sikhs, and great atrocities were perpetrated on the Muhammadan population of the neighbourhood, until Hafiz Ahmad Khan procured the withdrawal of the Sikh garrisons by the payment of a large sum of money and thus recovered his forts, with part also of the plunder extorted. After this the Sikh Government continued to press the Nawab with all kinds of extortionate demands. Among other things Ranjit Singh was especially fond of seizing any valuable horses he might hear of, and made the Nawab yield up some of his special favourites. In A. D. 1818

Multan captured by the Sikhs in A. D. 1818.

Multan in spite of the gallant resistance offered by Nawab Muzaffar Khan, had been taken by the Sikhs. Nawab Hafiz Ahmad Khan had not dared to assist his brother Nawab and kinsman in the struggle, but his own turn was soon to come. In

Ranjit Singh besieged and took Mankera, 1821.

the autumn of 1821, Ranjit Singh, disengaged from more serious matters, determined to reduce him. He accordingly marched with an army through Shahpur to a point on the Indus opposite Dera Ismail Khan. He sent a force of 5,000 men across the

river, and on this the town was surrendered by the Governor Diwan Manik Rai. Bhakkar, Leiah, Khangarh and Maujgarh were all successively reduced without resistance. Mankera, fortified by a mud wall and having a citadel of brick, but protected more by its position in the midst of a desert, was now the only stronghold remaining and a division was advanced for its investment on the 18th November. Sardar Khan, Badozai, a bold impetuous man, recommended the Nawab to march out at once and attack the Sikhs. "To fight in the plain" said he " is the business of a lion, to hide in a hole that of a fox." The Nawab, however, was not to be persuaded, and preferred to stand a siege. The Sikhs now set *beldárs* to dig *kacha* wells for the use of the troops, and in the meantime water had to be brought on camels and bullocks from Maujgarh. The wells were ready by 25th November and Ranjit Singh then moved to Mankera with his main force, and on the 26th November the investment was completed. The bombardment of the place was continued for ten days after this, but not without loss to the besiegers. At last one of the minarets of the fort mosque having been broken by the Sikh fire, the Nawab, looking on this as an unlucky omen and thinking that enough had been done for honour, proposed terms and agreed to surrender the fort on condition of being allowed to march out with his arms and property, and to retain the town and province of Dera, with a suitable *jágír*. Ranjit Singh granted the terms and the place was surrendered accordingly. The Nawab was treated with great civility and was sent with an escort to Dera. Ranjit Singh now annexed the cis-Indus *tahsils*. The cis-Indus tract was governed partly by Sikh *kárdárs* and partly by the agents of various *jágírdárs* to whom large portions of it had been assigned.

Ranjit Singh beseiged and took Mankera, 1821.

Leiah annexed by the Sikhs.

Eventually in A. D. 1837, the whole of the cis-Indus country as far as Mianwali was made over to Diwan Sawan Mal, the Sikh Governor of Multan, in whose name it was successively governed by his son Karm Narayan, and his grandson Wazir Chand. Sawan Mal was a wise and able Governor, far famed for the excellence of his revenue administration and for his general encouragement of agriculture. His name is still a household word in the cis-Indus *tahsils*. He died in A. D. 1845, and was succeeded by his son Mul Raj Shortly after this the second Sikh War broke out, and was followed by the annexation of the whole country by the British Government It must not be imagined that under the Sikhs the whole cis-Indus territory formed one compact government. A great portion of it was held in *jágír*; each *jágírdár* possessing judicial and executive authority within the

In 1837 Leiah came under Diwan Sawan Mal, Governor of Multan.

He died in 1845

Jágírs under the Sikh rule.

CHAP I-B.
History.

Jágírs under the Sikh rule

limits of his *jágír*, and being quite independent of the *kárdár* to whom the *khalsa* portion of the district happened to be leased. These *jágírdárs* were almost invariably non-residents, and put in agents, known as *hákims* to manage their estates. These *hákims* were more or less in the habit of raiding on one another and lifting cattle; and the country until the time of Sawan Mal was generally in a disturbed state. These *jágírs* were mostly in the Thal. The whole of the cis-Indus *jágírs* granted by the Sikh Government, with the exception of one or two small villages, have now been resumed.

The Multan war, 1848

In April 1848, Sir H. Edwardes, then Assistant to the Resident at Lahore, heard of the news of the outbreak at Multan and the murder of Vans Agnew. He was then at Dera Fatteh Khan. He immediately crossed the river to Leiah, but retreated on the advance of a force sent by Diwan Mulraj. The next month passed in movements and counter-movements in the neighbourhood of Leiah. Meanwhile Edwardes had collected a mixed force made up mainly of Multani Pathans and of men of the Pandapur, Ustrana and other border tribes. On 21st May he heard of the occupation of Dera Ghazi Khan by a force that he had sent down the right bank of the Indus under Van Cortlandt He then proceeded to move towards Multan. On his march he fought the battles of Kaneri and Sadduzam, in which his rough levies behaved with great gallantry. These same forces took part in the siege of Multan, under General Whish. On the taking of Multan, 22nd January 1849, the greater number were discharged and returned to their homes; two thousand however of Edwardes' levies were retained in Government employ, and the leading Sirdars all received handsome pensions from our Government. On 29th March 1849 the Punjab was annexed, and the territories forming the present district, which were for the most part already under the control of British officers, became formally a portion of the British Empire. In the organisation of the province which immediately followed, the district of Leiah was formed and placed under the charge of Captain Hollings as Deputy Commissioner. British authority was peaceably established and Captain Hollings proceeded to effect a revenue Settlement of Bhakkar and Leiah. The subsequent history of the district is uneventful.

On 29th March 1849 the Punjab was annexed by the British Government

Formation of the Leiah District.

Events during the Mutiny.

In 1857 the Leiah district remained very tranquil. Only one or two slight punishments were inflicted for offences connected with mutiny. Much anxiety was caused at one time by the arrival of a wing of the 17th Irregular Cavalry under Captain Hockin, but it remained firm. When the Kharral insurrection broke out in September, Captain Hockin marched against the

rebels leaving at Leiah 40 of his men who had fallen under suspicion. The day before he marched news reached Leiah that the whole of the 9th Irregular Cavalry had mutinied at Mianwali. Captain Fendall says:—"I certainly at first thought it was a deep-laid scheme for raising the whole country, that the 9th Irregular Cavalry were to appear before Dera Ismail Khan, be joined by the 39th Native Infantry, come on to Leiah, pick up the wing of the 17th Light Cavalry, go towards Gugera, coalescing with the tribes and march on to Multan (where there were two suspected regiments of Native Infantry). It was feasible, and would have temporarily lost us the lower Punjab" But this dreaded junction did not take place. The news proved to be an exaggeration. The mutineers of the 9th Irregular Cavalry, who, strange to say, were all men of the *cis*-Sutlej States, were only 30 in number, and were entirely destroyed in a desperate fight, in which Mr. Thomson, the Extra Assistant of Leiah, was very dangerously wounded. His gallant conduct in this most spirited little battle was conspicuous.

Events during the Mutiny.

Before annexation the *cis*-Indus tract was included in the Government of Diwan Sawan Mal. At the first arrangements of district, the *trans*-Indus *tahsils* of the old Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu districts were formed into the Dera Ismail Khan district with head-quarters at Bannu. The *cis*-Indus *tahsils*, that is Mianwali, Bhakkar and Leiah and till 1859 the Kot Adu *tahsil* of Muzaffargarh, formed the Leiah district with head-quarters at Leiah. This arrangement, though in many respects more convenient than the later one, was set aside in 1861, as the charge of so long a border was considered too heavy for the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ismail Khan. The northern portions of the two districts were then formed into the Bannu district; the southern into the Dera Ismail Khan district. The original division was longitudinal, the Indus being the boundary; the new division was transverse, sections of the country on both sides of the Indus being included in each district.

Leiah district broken up in 1861 and Leiah *tahsil* transferred to Dera Ismail Khan district.

The new Dera Ismail Khan District consisted of five *tahsils*. Of these Dera Ismail Khan, Kulachi and Tank were *trans*-Indus, and Leiah and Bhakkar *cis*-Indus. On the breaking up of the old Leiah district on January 1st, 1861, the head-quarters of the Commissionership were transferred from Leiah to Dera Ismail Khan, which from being an outstation became the capital town of the division. The new Leiah *tahsil* included the southern part of the old Mankera *tahsil* broken up in 1853-54, when the Chaubara, Nawankot and Maujgarh *talukas* were transferred to Leiah; the village of Paharpur was transferred from the Kot Adu

Head-quarters of the Commissioner moved from Leiah.

Constitution of the new Leiah *tahsil*.

CHAP. I-C. Population. Constitution of the new Leiah tahsil.

tahsil in 1861, and a strip of riverside villages were transferred from the Sanghar *tahsil* in 1869. In 1874 Sukhani and six other villages were transferred from the Sanghar *tahsil* of Dera Ghazi Khan to Leiah.

Commissioners of Leiah.

Colonel Ross was the first Commissioner of the Leiah Division and held the appointment from 1850 until his death in September 1857; his tomb is in the Leiah cemetery. Major Pollock, Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan, then officiated for a few months, and was followed by Major Brown, who remained till 1860.

Deputy Commissioners of Leiah.

The old Leiah district was held by the following Deputy Commissioners:—

Captain Hollings	...	...	1849—1852
Mr. Simson ...	...	...	1852—1856
Captain McNeile	...	..	1856
Captain Bacon	...	...	1856—1857
Captain Fendal	...	...	1857—1859
Captain Parsons	...	..	1859—1860
Lieutenant Smyly	...	...	1860

In 1901 Leiah was transferred to the new Mianwali district.

On the separation of the North-West Frontier Province from the Punjab a further reconstitution took place, and on 9th November 1901 the Mianwali district was formed out of the four *tahsils* of Isa Khel, Mianwali, Bhakkar and Leiah, the two former being taken from Bannu, and the two latter from Dera Ismail Khan. The head-quarters were fixed at Mianwali, the Bhakkar and Leiah *tahsils* forming a sub-division with head-quarters at Bhakkar and the district was included in the Multan division.

In 1909 Leiah was transferred to Muzaffargarh district.

On 1st April 1909 the Leiah *tahsil* was transferred to the Muzaffargarh district and became its sub-division.

Section E.—Arts and Manufactures.

Cotton *khes.*

At Leiah a particularly excellent form of *khes* or checked cotton cloth is manufactured. Blue and white are the favourite colours, though red is also used. The cloth is of first rate texture and substance, and the woven chequer work is as neat and

Means of Communication.

firm in execution as it is agreeable in effect. It is suitable for carpet cloths, bed covers, *pardas*, etc., and serves its original purpose of a cold weather wrap as well as any cotton fabric could be expected to do.

Blankets.

Leiah is also noted for the excellent quality of its thick and well-felted blankets.

Ivory-carving.

Of recent years ivory-carving has been carried on as a small industry by a few artisans. The work shows considerable skill and neatness of execution ; coloured designs are usually combined with carving. The manufactured articles consist mainly of bracelets, rings, studs, scent bottles, pepper and salt castors.

There are no factories nor mills, nor any other industries deserving of notice. As elsewhere in the province every large village has its local artisans who can supply the cotton and woolen fabrics, leather goods and all the implements of husbandry which the rustic peasant requires.

CHAPTER IV.—PLACES OF INTEREST.

The town of Leiah is situated on a sandy plain on the old left bank of the Indus. The site lies low, but the ground rises towards its centre. The Lala creek of the river runs about a mile to the west of the town and drains the country.

To the east the Thal is level and has a firm sandy soil: to the west on the edge of the Kachhi are several well-stocked gardens, planted with mango, orange, pomegranate and other fruit trees, which were originally attached to the residences of the Civil Officers of the old Leiah district.

The town was probably founded during the 16th century by Kamal Khan, a Biloch of the Mirrani family of Dera Ghazi Khan: his descendants ruled the surrounding country for some 200 years until supplanted by the Kalhora kings of Sind. On the establishment of Muhammad Khan, Sadozai, in 1792 Leiah gave place to Mankera in Bhakkar as the capital. Under the Sikh Government Leiah became once more the centre of the administration, and on the British occupation in 1849 it rose for some time to the dignity of the head-quarters of the Division. In 1861 the Leiah district was broken up and the town formed the head-quarters of the Leiah *tahsil* of Dera Ismail Khan district until 1901, when the Mianwali district was formed and Leiah became the southern half of the Bhakkar sub-division. In 1909 a further administrative change brought the Leiah *tahsil* into Muzaffargarh district, of which it forms a sub-division.

The origin of the word "Leiah" is unknown: it is locally said to be a corruption of *laian, i.e.*, tamarisk shrub jungle, because when founded the site was on the river bank and covered with this shrub.

The old Sessions Court, which is now used as a combined District rest-house and Sub-Divisional Officer's residence and Court, an old ruined Salt Patrol House and the cemetery are the only relics of the old Civil Station. The town was constituted a municipality in 1873.

The Tahsil and Police Station buildings, the Municipal Office and District Board Veterinary Hospital are situated on the main Muzaffargarh road which runs along the western edge of the town.

The rest-house is situated near the same road about ½ mile further to the south and from this point to the Railway Station the road is metalled.

CHAP. IV. Places of Interest.

Attached to the rest-house is a District Board garden containing a plantation of recently imported Arabian Gulf date palms.

The hospital and school are situated on the southern edge of the town.

The population of the town at the last Census was 8,173 and is on the increase.

Tables in Part B of this volume show the leading statistics relating to the town and municipality.

Karor.—Karor town is situated similarly to Leiah just on the old bank of the Indus which is here a distinct physical feature, the land dropping abruptly some 20 feet to the level of the Kachhi.

The town is in latitude 31° 13′ 30″ north and longitude 70° 69′ 15″ east.

The main *bazar* and many of the side streets have been paved and properly levelled and most of the shops have *pakka* masonry fronts. On the whole the town is clean and well looked after.

Surrounding the town is a circular road well planted with trees. To the east runs the main Muzaffargarh-Mianwali road and on it are situated the Municipal Office, Provincial rest house, the Hospital, Munsiff's Court and the Middle School A short branch road leads off from it to the Railway Station, which is about ¾ mile from the town. The whole distance from the town to the station is metalled. The Shrine of Makhdum Lal Isan lies to the east of the main road and is thus well outside the town. It is a handsome edifice profusely ornamented inside and out with blue glazed Multan tiles which have a very pleasing effect, the designs and colouring being tasteful and artistic. Blue is the prevailing colour, but green also enters into the colour scheme. The whole is surmounted by a white plaster dome which renders the tomb a conspicuous feature of the landscape. Round the tomb and extending to the north-east lies an immense cemetery.

Popular History of Lal Isan.—It is said that Sultan Hassan came here from Arabia and converted the people to Islam—a *karor* of people being converted—and settled at Karor 14 generations before Lal Isan; hence the name "Kot Karor." Five generations later the saint Bahawal Haq was born at Karor and went

to Multan. Lal Isan was born at Multan in the same family and came to Karor and there recited the *surat muzammil* a *karor* of times: at that time the Indus had drowned out half Karor which used to extend below the old bank: the river then retreated six miles. He died at the beginning of the year 1,000 Hijri. The shrine was built shortly afterwards by his descendants. His descendants are still in Multan, Haiderabad (Deccan), Dera Ismail Khan and Mianwali and at Karor itself. Mr. Thorburn, Deputy Commissioner, in 1882 took considerable interest in the shrine and, at his suggestion, a Committee of four persons, descendants of Lal Isan, keep accounts, &c. Ghulam Sarwar Shah, Jahan Pir Shah, Jaman Shah and Sher Muhammad Shah are the present members.

A fair takes place on 14th Bhadon and lasts about three weeks and some 50,000 people attend from all parts. It is a great place of pilgrimage. Descendants and disciples are buried in the courtyard which contains the tomb of Ismail Khan who founded Dera Ismail Khan People from all round bring dead here and the surrounding cemetery is immense. Lal Isan's descendants are in four branches and four lights are kept burning day and night in the shrine. When any descendant is about to die, his lamp burns without oil and at his death goes out. Miracles in the form of sick persons recovering are common.

The fair costs about Rs. 550, of which the Committee pays Rs. 50.

PUNJAB

DISTRICT GAZETTEERS.

RAWALPINDI DISTRICT

1907.

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GAZETTEER OF THE RAWALPINDI DISTRICT, PART A.—1907.

PREFACE.

This volume is issued under the directions contained in the Government of India, Home Department, letter No. 3875, dated the 1st of October 1902. The lines on which the revision of District Gazetteers is to be undertaken are there laid down as follows:—

The chief difficulty which stands in the way of the periodical revision of the existing Gazetteers, and that reason which has caused so large a portion of their contents to become obsolete, is that they contain a mixture of permanent matter, such as that relating to the history, physical characteristics, religion, ethnography, &c., of the district; of matter which changes gradually but, as a rule, slowly, such as that dealing with the agricultural and economic conditions; and of ephemeral matter, mainly statistical, which soon becomes out of date. For this reason, when a new District Gazetteer is issued it should consist of two volumes, A and B, compiled on the following lines:—

"(1) In the first edition all descriptive matter should go into the A volume; but the volume should contain only such general figures (incorporated in the letter-press) as are necessary to give point to remarks in the text. . . . All detailed statistics should be relegated to the B volume, which would at first consist only of these and of such notes as may be necessary to elucidate them.

"(2) On the occasion of the next revision the statistics in the B volume should be re-compiled, and this volume should be expanded by adding to it any matter that might be required to correct or supplement the A volume. Thus if there had been a famine since A was published, if a new railway had been opened, and so forth, information on these points would appear in B as supplementary to the appropriate chapters in A.

"(3) This process would go on till the time had come for revising the A volume. Then all the supplementary text matter should be incorporated in the new A volume, and B would revert to its original form as a statistical appendix with explanatory notes.

"(4) A new edition of the B volume should be brought out after each census. The revision of the A volume must be left to the discretion of the Local Governments. The occurrence of a new settlement will ordinarily be the best time for such revision;* but it may well happen that plenty of copies of the original A volume are still available, and that the settlement and lapse of time have not wrought any important change in the conditions of the district. In that case the revision of A should stand over till the stock of it no longer suffices for the demand; but a brief account of the settlement operations, and of the changes which they have produced or disclosed in the state of affairs, described in the A volume, should be prepared by the Settlement Officer before he is relieved of his duties for inclusion in the next decennial B volume.

"(5) The statistical part of the B volume should be issued with inter-leaved blank pages, so that those who use it can have the figures of later years written in. The tables included in the B volume should be drawn up on uniform lines, and should contain the main administrative statistics of the district and its tahsils or other sub-divisions. . . . It is thought that including the explanatory notes they should not ordinarily exceed a maximum limit of 50 pages."

Instead of issuing the tables with interleaved blank pages as suggested in para. (5) above, it has been found convenient to print the tables themselves with blank spaces in which to insert the figures of future years. The pages occupied by the statistical matter thus include the space which in the original scheme would have been appropriated by the interleaved pages, and consequently are in excess of the maximum fixed in para. (5).

* In the Punjab the Settlement Officer is generally entrusted with the revision of the District Gazetteer, and this plan is commended for adoption in other Provinces.

CHAPTER I.—DESCRIPTIVE.

Section A.—Physical Aspects.

CHAP. I. A. Physical Aspects. Name.

The district takes its name from that of the head-quarters, which means "the village of the Rawals." The present city occupies the site of an old village inhabited by Rawals, a vagabond tribe of oculists, diviners, necromancers and impostors, about whom a good deal of information is given in section 528 of the Report on the Census of the Punjab, 1881.

Area.

The greatest length of the district, from Dewal on the north to Kantrila on the south, is 68 miles, and the greatest breadth along a line running east and west, immediately north of the head-quarters station, is 48 miles. Differences in various places from these measurements are not great, the district being roughly rectangular in shape.

The total area is 2,010 square miles, according to the recent settlement measurements.

Boundaries.

The district is one of the five districts of the Ráwalpindi Division, and comprises the eastern half of the rough plain country which lies between the Jhelum and the Indus and underneath the hills of Hazara, along with a mountainous portion in the north-east corner.

The eastern boundary is the River Jhelum, across which lie Chibbal and Punch, portions of Kashmir territory. On the north the Abbottabad and Haripur Tahsils of the Hazara District, on the west the Attock and Fatehjang Tahsils of the Attock District, and on the south the Chakwal and Jhelum Tahsils of the Jhelum District bound the district, which lies between 32° 6' and 34° 1' north latitude and 72° 47' and 73° 42' east longitude.

General Description.

This tract is divided into four tahsils: Murree Tahsil, triangular in shape and mountainous in character, lies to the north-east. South of it, along the western bank of the Jhelum river, lies Kahuta Tahsil. Due east of Kahuta Tahsil is Ráwalpindi Tahsil, and below Kahuta and Ráwalpindi Tahsils stretches from west to east the comparatively narrow strip known as Gujar Khan Tahsil. All four tahsils take their names from the tahsil head-quarters, whose latitude, longitude and approximate height above sea-level are as follows:—

Town.	North latitude.	East longitude.	Feet above sea-level.
Ráwalpindi	33° 37'	73° 6'	1,707
Kahuta	33° 37'	73° 26'	2,000
Murree	33° 35'	73° 27'	7,517
Gujar Khan	33° 16	73° 21'	1,700

CHAP. I, A.

Physical Aspects.

General Description.

The district head-quarters are at the town of Ráwalpindi, where there are a large civil station, the largest cantonment in the Punjab, the head-quarters of the Civil and Judicial Divisions, and an important station on the North-Western Railway. An Assistant Commissioner is stationed during the summer months at Murree in charge of the Murree sub-division, which comprises the Murree Tahsil.

Ráwalpindi District stands 17th in order of area, 20th in order of population, and 25th in order of cultivated area among the districts of the Province. It contains 2·067 per cent. of the total area, 2·253 per cent. of the cultivated area, and 2·751 per cent. of the population of the British territories of the Punjab.

General Configuration.

A rough description of the district according to its most prominent physical characteristics would divide it into three portions. The first or mountainous portion would consist of the Murree Tahsil and the northern portion of the Kahuta Tahsil, a country of high mountain ridges divided by deep, narrow valleys and here and there connected by short cross spurs.

The second portion would include almost the whole of the Ráwalpindi Tahsil, and would sweep round east through Kahuta and down the west bank of the Jhelum into Gujar Khan Tahsil, till it reached the northern border of Jhelum District. This tract is hilly and submontane. It includes the skirts of the Margalla range, all those sharp-toothed ridges of bare rock by which the Murree hills run far out into the plains to the south, the steep hills on the western bank of the Jhelum, and the wild and surprising country of pebbles or sandstone ridges, sandy plateaus, and pleasant plains which makes up much of Ráwalpindi Tahsil.

The third portion would be called the plain or Pothwar portion. It includes, the whole of the Gujar Khan Tahsil, except the small corner on the east traversed by the hills on the bank of the Jhelum, the south-east portion of the Ráwalpindi Tahsil and the south-west portion of the Kahuta Tahsil. Rough though this tract is and gashed by many torrents, it is more nearly level and can be more correctly described as a plain than any of the adjoining tracts within the district.

The Murree and Kahuta hills.

Such a rough classification would give, in the case of the first portion, a country homogeneous and distinct in nature from the rest of the district.

The Murree and Kahuta hills are the key to the mountain system of the whole district. They consist of a series of spurs, which in any just account must include the Margalla Range running out on the west through Ráwalpindi Tahsil and the line of hot sandstone hills on the Jhelum bank running south to Bagham in Gujar Khan Tahsil. These hills and those of Hazara are part of the outer Himalayan system, gradually falling in height from the peaks of Kashmir in the north down to the hillocks of Bagham in the south, and not altogether unrecognizable in the low hills and pebble ridges of Kahuta and Ráwalpindi Tahsils.

CHAP. I, A.

Physical Aspects.

The Margalla Range.

The Margalla Range which, so far as it lies within the district, is a continuation of a spur running through Hazara District north of the Murree ridges, emerges into the district about the junction of the Murree, Haripur and Ráwalpindi Tahsil boundaries, and runs in a south-westerly direction across the north of the Ráwalpindi Tahsil. For much of its course through this tahsil it maintains a height of over 5,200 feet, and derives from the steepness of its sides and the suddenness with which it starts up from the level, fertile plain below, its some what impressive appearance. As it approaches the Attock border the range begins to sink down. About 15 miles north-west of Ráwalpindi it is crossed by the Margalla Pass, which carries the Grand Trunk Road, and is also marked by a conspicuous monument to General John Nicholson. West of the pass the ridge rises again, continues its course south-west with gradually diminishing altitude and is lost in the plain on the Attock border only a few miles short of the Kherimar and Kala Chitta hills of the Attock District.

The Murree and Kahuta mountains are capable of description on a regular and simple plan. They consist principally of five main spurs, more or less parallel to each other, running in general very sharply down from their highest points north-eastwards to the Jhelum river and more gradually south-westwards towards the plains of Ráwalpindi Tahsil. The five chief spurs are known generally as the Murree, Charihan, Paphundi or Patriata, Narar or Kotli spur, and the Utrina spurs.

The Murree Spur.

Of these the highest and most westerly is the Murree spur, which faces the Hazara District across a deep ravine. It is crowned by the Murree Civil Station, of which the highest point is 7,467 feet above the sea, the highest point in the district. North of Murree this ridge loses its rocky appearance, and gradually sinking as the Kuner torrent approaches the Jhelum, disappears on the river-bank at Kohala in Hazara District. South of Murree its descent is more gradual, and it is still a high and imposing ridge ten miles further south. At Salgraon it is cut through by the Kurang torrent, and though it raises its head again in the Karlot Salgraon ridge and continues its southern course, it is soon lost in the tangled foot hills of the Margalla Range on the border of Ráwalpindi Tahsil.

The Charihan Spur.

Immediately east of the Murree spur, and a few hundred feet lower, is the Charihan spur. The highest point is Lunhatal, opposite Murree Civil Station, north of which the ridge quickly joins the Murree spur. To the south this spur runs almost due south with height little diminished until it is cut through seven or eight miles lower down by the Soan torrent. South of this stream it rises again in the Chawa hill, and receiving the Kachut-Anguri spur from the Murree Range on the west continues south by Khatar. Entering Ráwalpindi Tahsil it runs for out into

CHAP. I, A.
Physical Aspects.

the plains in a long, low strip which finally degenerates into lines of sharp rock starting up suddenly from the surrounding level country.

The Patriata Spur.

The most beautiful of all these ridges, and the most important, is the Patriata spur, which rises to a height of 7,212 feet opposite the Murree Station and intersects this mountainous tract. Rising quickly from the Jhelum bank and soon attaining a great height it runs south-west with lofty and unbroken crest for sixteen or seventeen miles. Cut through by the Soan stream it rises again in the Khairatian hill, and runs out into the plains in the long, narrow ridge which carries Thamair Rakh.

The Kotli or Narar Spur.

East of the Patriata spur is the Kotli spur, running above the Jhelum river, into which it drops by a steep descent. Unlike the other ridge it rises to its highest point in the south, culminating in Kahuta Tahsil in the grand plateau of the Narar mountain, 6,090 feet high, which with its flat top and scarped white sandstone sides dominates the plains in the south and drops in precipitous cliffs into the Jhelum river below. The north, or the mountain part, of the Kahuta Tahsil centres round the Narar mountain and is formed of spurs and ridges surrounding the great hill. To the west this ridge descends more gradually until it strikes the Soan river, which cuts through its western end, and forms a very wild and picturesque gorge. At the southern end of this gorge is situated the renowned old Gakhar fort of Pharwala, which was taken by Baber, and is still the seat of a very celebrated and very much decayed family of Admal Gakhars. Across the Soan the ridge runs out south-west into the Ráwalpindi plain in the bare forbidding rocky ridges of Kirpa and Bhambatrar which finally disappear in the plains only a few miles short of the Khairi Murat Range.

The Utrina Ridge.

The fifth ridge, commonly called the Utrina Ridge, is much shorter and lower than the others. Nowhere does its height exceed 3,800 feet. Starting from Kahuta town it runs east and gradually increases in height till it terminates on the Jhelum river-bank. It is the boundary between the mountainous and the hilly portions of Kahuta Tahsil.

The Jhelum bank Ridge.

South of the Utrina ridge there runs along the bank of the Jhelum a ridge of rough sandstone hills nowhere 3,000 feet higher than sea level and gradually diminishing in height until it loses itself in the low hillocks south of Bagham.

These hills and the valleys between them are often extremely beautiful. The higher spurs are covered with a very varied growth. Only a few *deodars* are to be found in Murree, and these were specially planted and tended, but there are many very handsome trees of the silver fir-species, the ilex oak, the hill oak, the blue-pine, chestnuts, wild-cherry, some fine ash trees, maples, &c., all uniting to form very beautiful forests on the

CHAP. I, A. Physical Aspects. The Jhelum bank Ridge.

Murree and Paphundi spurs. The lower hills are covered in many places with the green-pine and the hill oak. Lower down again we find *kangar*, *khair* and *phaláh* acacias, olives, and lowest of all a luxuriant growth of *sanatha* (bog-myrtle) and *garanda* (*prinsepia utilis*) and other trees and bushes.

The Paphundi hill especially is beautifully wooded, and the scenery in the Murree and Kahuta hills is often very fine indeed, comprising, as it frequently does, a foreground of lovely woodland scenery with a background of lofty snow-clad peaks. Many of the lower valleys, too, are extremely picturesque, especially the Narai Valley, between the Narar and Paphundi spurs. The hillsides on each side of the Narai are covered low down with *sanatha*, the bright-green of which contrasts strongly with the dark-green of the pines above, and a tributary of the Soan runs down the valley in which are many picturesque pools. The scenery, too, near the banks of the Jhelum river also is often fine, especially below the beetling cliffs of the Narar mountain. In many cases small hamlets and little patches of cultivation are found high up on hillsides and on mountain tops, most picturesquely situated, and these add much to the beauty of the landscape.

The submontane tract.

Lying immediately below the mountainous portion of the district, and stretching in a great horse-shoe from west to east, so as to include the western and northern portions of the Ráwalpindi Tahsil and the central portion of the Kahuta Tahsil, is what has been called the hilly and submontane portion of the district. In such a huge tract homogeneity cannot be expected, and it need occasion no surprise to find stretches of the most fertile plain country in a tract described as "broken and hilly throughout its whole area." The component parts of this tract will now be noticed in order.

The Haro villages.

In the extreme north-west of this tract, and north of the Margalla Ridge, a narrow wedge of level, fertile plain runs up between the Attock Tahsil on the west and the Haripur Tahsil on the east, extending up to and crossing the Haro river. Geographically this strip of land belongs to the Attock Tahsil, but it is traversed by the Grand Trunk Road and the North-Western Railway, and communications with Ráwalpindi are so good that administrative facilities have been given precedence over geographical difficulties, and in spite of occasional proposals for the transfer of these villages to Attock, they still remain attached to the Ráwalpindi Tahsil.

The Kharora.

South of the Margalla Range, and stretching from the west border of the district to close to the Ráwalpindi Cantonment is the dry, gravelly plateau known as the Kharora. Underlying rock everywhere crops to the surface and shows in the banks of all ravines. A very prominent feature of the landscape is a high ridge of rock, which runs across the circle for many miles from north to south, finally ending near Ráwalpindi Cantonment.

CHAP. I. A. Physical Aspects. The Kharora.

The ridge consists of a ledge of sandstone tilted perpendicularly from the ground and standing up in a rampart of solid rock some 40 feet high and only a few feet thick. This curious geological phenomenon is known locally as the Chir Par, or the split hill. It is an unusual sight, and legends have clustered about it.

The remainder of this tract in the Ráwalpindi Tahsil along with the western and adjacent portions of the Kahuta Tahsil as far east as Kahuta town is divided in common parlance into the Kachha and the Kandhi. The Kachha is the tract along and among the foot hills of Murree. This is true submontane characterized by copious rainfall, abundant springs and some *abi* cultivation.

The Kandhi.

The Kandhi extends as far east as Kahuta and on the west is usually considered to extend as far as Ráwalpindi. On the east the tract includes the country lying among the low soft sandstone hills, which run out from the main Murree Range near the Kahuta border. On the west it includes the rich plains near Ráwalpindi, which are the most fertile spots in the whole district, but the general characteristic of the tract is the low hills and outcrops of rock from the Murree hills on the north, and this is reflected in the name Kandhi or bank, referring to the foot hills of the Himalayas. Throughout this tract there are level and sometimes very fertile valleys interspersed with spurs of sandstone rock and cut up with pebbly ridges. Between Ráwalpindi and the hills is a comparatively level plain stretching from the Murree Road to the Grand Trunk Road. This is the most fertile tract in the district, and Ráwalpindi itself is the most fertile spot in it. East of this plain ridges of sandstone run down south from the Murree and Kahuta hills and split up the country into valleys and plateaux of sandy soil. South of Ráwalpindi ravines and gorges scar the country, and present the wildest and most desolate aspect.

The Kahru Ilaka.

The only portion of the submontane tract left to be described is that known as the Kahru Ilaka. This lies wholly in the Kahuta Tahsil, of which it forms the eastern and south-eastern portion. The name is derived from the Karhwal or Garhwal section of the Janjua tribe, which holds most of the villages. The eastern portion of this tract is traversed by the Jhelum river-bank line of hills already described, and is thus in nature hilly. The western portion is composed of pebble ridges rising occasionally into prominent hills. To the south the characteristics are low sandstone hills or light sandy soil, and the country resembles the adjoining tract of Gujar Khan Tahsil.

On the whole this is the most rugged portion of the submontane tract. Roughly it may be said that as far as Ráwalpindi Tahsil is concerned the rough submontane tract is bounded on the south by the Soan river, a hill torrent which descending from the Murree hills divides the tahsil in two from north-east to south-west and is the most notable physical feature of the tahsil.

CHAP I, A: Physical Aspects.

The country in its valley is known locally as the Soan Ilaka and is so characteristic and so unlike the plains country next to be described that it must be separately noticed.

The Soan Ilaka.

The Soan valley is a narrow strip of pebbly alluvial soil lying between the gloomy and forbidding hills which shut in the river on either hand. South of the Soan the country is of rather different appearance, and resembles more the plain of Gujar Khan. As in Gujar Khan ravines traverse and re-traverse the country in all directions, pebble ridges are less frequent than north of the Soan, but friable sandstone rocks crop up to the surface in all directions. Along the Soan and the Ling river, and on the extreme south, near the Wadala torrent, the land is scoured into innumerable ravines and deep, earthy depressions, and communications are extremely bad. On either side of the railway, near Mankiala Station, is the fertile Nalla Valley, which forms a pleasant contrast to the rugged gorges which surround it. Except in the Ráwalpindi plain, in the Nalla Valley, and in the tract north of the Margalla Range the whole country is wild and forbidding in appearance, and difficult in character.

The plains.

The remaining portion of the district is an integral part of the great Pothwar plain, which, stretching south from the Soan in Ráwalpindi Tahsil, includes nearly the whole of the Gujar Khan Tahsil, and the southern part of the Kahuta Tahsil, and runs through the Jhelum Tahsil down to the Jhelum river. The Soan is the northern boundary of the Pothwar just as the Jhelum is the southern boundary. Strictly speaking the few villages between the Ling and Soan streams belong ethnologically to the Kandhi, but geographically they belong to the Pothwar. This southern portion of the district is more nearly level and can be described with more correctness as a plain than any other portion of the district. With the exception of the spur of sandstone hills running south from the low hills in Kahuta Tahsil at a height of never more than 450 feet above the town of Gujar Khan and stretching along the bank of the Jhelum river till it joins the Labri Range in the Jhelum District, the whole of Gujar Khan Tahsil is included in it. It contains no hills, but there is very little level land. The whole country is scoured with rain water and intersected by ravines. These have no apparent order or method, but wind and intersect over the tahsil and divide the whole surface into a network. Every village is divided on one side or on all sides from its neighbours by ravines. Village boundaries are generally marked by configurations of the ground. The ravines are of various sizes and of various depths. Sometimes they are scoured out of the sandstone rock underlying the soil, sometimes when the soil deepens they are fissures in the loamy surface; generally they have no name, or the name is different in different places. The larger ravines which receive surface drainage and carry water after rain are known as kas or kassi, according as they are large or small. The smaller ravines have no

CHAP. I, A.
Physical Aspects.

torrent bed, and are scoured out by surface drainage alone. These are known as "bhurá" or dry ravines.

Drainage.

The drainage system of the district is simple. All streams in the district find their way either to the Indus on the west or to the Jhelum on the east. The watershed, starting from the steep cliffs on the east of the Narar plateau runs in a straight line south-west through Kahuta Tahsil, passing three or four miles east of Kahuta, to Mandra and is then marked by the highroad from Mandra to Chakwal. All the country east of this line together with the portion of the Murree Tahsil north of Murree Station drains into the Jhelum. West of this line the slope is towards the Indus, which receives the drainage of this tract chiefly through the Soan.

The Jhelum drainage system.

The Kanshi torrent.

The chief stream of the Jhelum drainage system is the Kanshi. Rising in the Kahru Ilaka of the Kahuta Tahsil near Mator it flows south, receiving, chiefly from the west, several small tributaries which drain the south-west portion of the Kahuta Tahsil. Near the town of Kallar it enters the Gujar Khan Tahsil, runs under Gujar Khan Town, and continues south parallel to the Grand Trunk Road. Near the Jhelum border the stream turns east and runs down through a deep rocky bed to join the Jhelum. For the last 20 miles of its course it is a deep and rushing mountain stream, with rocky banks and numerous tributaries. In the upper part of its course the bed is broad, and generally in Kahuta Tahsil stony, and in Gujar Khan sandy. There is always running water in the torrent bed, but sometimes it disappears and runs under ground, appearing again as a running stream a few miles further on. Its most important tributaries joining it within the district are the Sareih and the Guliana. The Sareih rises in the pebbly ridge south of Nara in the Kahuta Tahsil, flows south through the narrow valley between the Dodili-Mator and Doberan ridges, runs through an opener country by Choa Khalsa, where it receives the drainage of a wider tract, and enters Gujar Khan Tahsil at Bewal. Collecting the drainage of the extreme east of Gujar Khan Tahsil it joins the Kanshi in a wild gorge in the hills.

The Guliana kas rises near Sukho, winds eastward past Guliana village, and joins the Kanshi near the Jhelum border. It runs through a sandy channel only and has less of the mountainous character of the two above-named torrents. The Thaliari kas rises near Jatli on the Chakwal-Mandra Road, and runs due south into Chakwal Tahsil. It is of less importance than the others, but it runs through a Gujar country, and Gujar villages separate on both sides cluster on its banks.

All these streams, and a few other petty streams also, have a perennial water-channel fed by springs, and all become roaring torrents after rain. Along their banks are dotted village sites, and most of the well cultivation of the tract is in the beds of the torrents. Wells are dotted in patches below the high banks of the

CHAP. I, A.
Physical Aspects.
The Jhelum drainage system.
The Kanshi torrent.

streams, where the channel widens, and a patch of good loam and the proximity of water offer a chance of successful irrigation. Nearly all the wells are situated in or near ravines and depressions, and the water-bearing strata lie close along the larger streams. Except as feeding the wells, the torrents are of no use for irrigation. Their channels are scoured far below the surrounding country, and water cannot spill out on either side. In the wider beds, especially in the bed of the "Kanshi" there are scattered patches of cultivation, which are flooded in the rains, and which have been classified as sailab. All the land in the tract recorded as sailab is of this character, but the land is poor; the flood-waters carry more sand than silt, and the best lands are those which receive moisture by percolation from the adjoining stream without being injured by actual flooding.

The Jhelum mountain torrents.

The remainder of the Jhelum drainage system consists of short rapid mountain torrents, which in Murree and Kahuta Tahsils find their way to the Jhelum by narrow glens through the high cliffs which everywhere shut in the river. These streams are usually known from the villages which they pass, the name varying from part to part of the course. Some are known simply as khad or kas. Three in the Murree Tahsil, taking their rise in the high ridge which runs across the tahsil and connects the highest points of the three principal ranges, flow north.

Of these the Kuner forms the boundary of the Rawalpindi and Hazara Districts. It rises in the horse-shoe of hills behind Murree Civil Station in five small streams, which join below Malot Dhundan village, and running due north leaves the district at Dewal and joins the Jhelum near Kohala. The Birgraon-Potha and the Dhirkot kasea drain valleys between the Murree and Patriata and the Patriata Kotli ridges respectively.

The remaining torrents run due east. North of the Utrina ridge they all have very short courses, being shut in between the river and the Kotli-Narar ridge, which runs very close to the Jhelum bank.

These mountain torrents, with the exception of the Kuner, quickly run dry. Their catchment areas are the precipitous and sometimes bare sides of the valleys through which they run. Every drop of the slightest rainfall quickly finds its way into the bed below and sudden and violent spates are frequent. South of the Utrina ridge the streams are somewhat larger though they are never more than mountain torrents. The Dewangarh torrent runs east and carries the drainage of the southern slopes of the Utrina ridge to the Jhelum at Owen ferry. The Salgraon stream and the Har torrent cut through the river-bank hills near Sor. The Khad nullah running south from Nala Musalman for ten miles at last finds its way through the ridge at Dangalli, and, gathering a few small streams from about Choa Khalsa joins the river at Dangalli ferry.

CHAP. I, A.

Physical Aspects.

The Jhelum.

The Jhelum river rises in Kashmir at Vernág, in the east of the Happy Valley, and flows through the valley, which it leaves at Báramúla. Thence its course is that of a mountain torrent between lofty mountains and precipitous rocks, as it cuts through the northern extremity of the Pir Panjál range.

From a point a few miles south of Kohála it becomes the eastern boundary of the district and continues its course as a mountain torrent as far as Dángalli, after which it becomes smoother and broader. It is not navigable above this point, but there are several ferries across it between Kohála, where it is crossed by a fine bridge, and the south-eastern extremity of the district. Much timber is floated down this river from Kashmir territory, chiefly from the Kishenganga branch which joins the Jhelum some 20 miles above Kohála, at which junction (Domel) there was a very fine dâk-bungalow on the road to Kashmir. Excellent fishing is to be got here especially in the end of August and beginning of September. Good fishing is also to be had at several points between Kohála and Baghám, notably at the mouth of the "Marl," a stream which joins the Jhelum from the left bank in Punch territory, opposite the village of Tánda. The old suspension bridge at Kohála and the dâk-bungalow at Domel where both washed away in the extraordinary floods of 1893.

A mule road, which is always known locally as "Hall's Road" from the name of the Deputy Commissioner under whose auspices its construction was attempted, runs from Dángalli to Kohála along the right bank of the river, but this was not a success, and is now entirely out of repair and impassable in many places. The scenery along this road is extremely beautiful, but the path is of no practical utility at present, nor on account of the extremely rough and difficult country to be traversed is it likely that it ever could be made so without an enormous expenditure. The river throughout has steep and rocky banks and is nowhere of any use for irrigation purposes.

Indus drainage system.

The Indus drainage system is practically the Soan and its many tributaries. At the north-west corner of the Ráwalpindi Tahsil the small wedge of fertile country north of the Margalla range, and surrounding Serai Kala, drains into the Haro, which, rising in the Hazara hills near Khanpur and entering the district near the village of Bhallar-top, runs for about seven or eight miles in a north-westerly direction across a small portion of the Ráwalpindi Tahsil and makes its way through Attock District to the Indus. In the south-east corner of the Ráwalpindi Tahsil a few villages drain into the Jhelum by tributaries of the Kanshi. A few small streams in Murree Tahsil find their way into the Jhelum. Otherwise the whole of Ráwalpindi and Murree Tahsil and the western portion of the Kahuta Tahsil form the catchment basin of the Soan and its tributaries.

CHAP. I. A.
Physical Aspects.
The Soan.

Rising just below Murree, in the village of Musiari, the Soan flows due south between the Murree and Patriata ridges, then worms its way by a tortuous course through broken hill country and by picturesque valleys till it emerges on the plains near the village of Cherah. It then cuts through the Narar spur, here 2,500 feet above the sea and 800 feet above the river level, making a very striking wild and rocky gorge one mile in length, at the eastern end of which is still to be seen the picturesque old Gakkhar fort of Pharwala, and through which runs a very rough district path. This gorge divides the Kahuta from the Ráwalpindi Tahsil. At Pharwala the Soan finally quits the hills and, flowing in a south-west direction, divides the Ráwalpindi Tahsil through the middle and after a course of about 35 or 40 miles enters the Fatehjang Tahsil of Attock District at the village of Chauntra.

Above Pharwala in the hilly part of its course it is simply a mountain torrent with rough bed of sandstone clay and boulders. Below Pharwala it spreads out over a wide bed, like most Indian rivers, only a small portion of which it fills when not in flood. Here it is a rocky, turbulent and treacherous stream, with a bed of sand and boulders and banks always wild and steep. All along its banks rough sandstone cliffs, ridges of pebbles, and difficult ravines stretch back for miles on either side. Generally the stream is fordable everywhere, but when the floods are out, communications are cut off for days together while rocky banks and treacherous quicksands make the passage of the stream always troublesome. The Grand Trunk Road crosses the river on a fine bridge four miles south of Ráwalpindi, and during the rains all traffic has to pass over this bridge.

Below the bridge no drainage finds its way into the stream until the Fatehjang Tahsil of Attock is reached, but the whole of the surrounding country is drained by the two of its tributaries. On the west the Sil, rising near Ráwalpindi and receiving all the drainage from the country east of the Golra-Fatehjang Railway, runs in a narrow bed between precipitous banks till the Fatehjang border is reached. It reaches the Soan near the borders of Pindigheb Tahsil of Attock. The channel always carries some water, and heavy floods pass down after rain, but the stream is small and unimportant. On the east the Wadala rises near Rewat in the Ráwalpindi Tahsil, and, after dividing the Ráwalpindi Tahsil from Gujar Khan and the Gujar Khan Tahsil from Fatehjang bends westward, and entering Fatehjang joins the Soan at the extreme south-west corner of that Tahsil. Separated from the Soan by high dry uplands the Wadala in this district is a mass of forbidding ravines. It carries little water at any time while the drifting sand of its bed is always spreading and enveloping the fields along its banks.

CHAP. I, A.

Physical Aspects.

The Soan.

Of the tributaries which feed the Soan in this district the only one of any importance on the left bank is the Ling. This stream rises at the foot of the Narar plateau and having collected the drainage of almost the whole of the mountainous portion of Kahuta flows close by Kahuta town, forces its way through precipitous gorges into Ráwalpindi Tahsil, and joins the Soan at Sihala near the Grand Trunk Road.

On the right bank the chief tributaries are the Kurang and the Leh. The former rises in the Murree range, debouches on the plains below Chattar, and, collecting streams on the west from the Margalla range and on the east from the foot-hills of Murree Tahsil, joins the Soan near the Grand Trunk Road. The latter rises in the Margalla range, drains the country north of Ráwalpindi, and, passing round the city and cantonment, joins the Soan close to its junction with the Kurang.

Lakes.

There are no lakes in the district. The only marsh of any importance, which is always known as the Khánna Jhíl, and which really consists of two marshes, one 35·49 acres in extent, close to the Khanna Dák village, and the other close to the Sohan village, of 8·74 acres, is situated about 4 miles from the Ráwalpindi Cantonment. These two marshes are formed by the Kurang stream. Some rice is cultivated and there is a small area of excellent sugarcane in the depression surrounding it. It is also excellent snipe ground, and being close to Ráwalpindi is very much shot over.

In general the water-supply of the district is satisfactory. In Murree and Kahuta there is never any scarcity. In Gujar Khan and Ráwalpindi the larger and a few of the petty springs have a permanent water-channel fed by water from the hills or reinforced by springs. There is not in this district that liability to failure of the water-supplies which exists in the adjoining district of Jhelum and in parts of Attock District.

Geology.

Our knowledge of Indian geology is as yet so general in its nature, and so little has been done in the Punjab in the way of detailed geological investigation, that it is impossible to discuss the local geology of separate districts. Some information regarding the local geology of the district will be found in a paper on the Ráwalpindi Hills in Vol. V. of the "Records of the Geological Survey" and on the Murree Hills in the "Records of the Geological Survey" for 1872.

Reference should be made also to the pamphlet on the Geology of the Punjab, published by Mr. Medlicott, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India.

Geologically the high hills of Murree and Kahuta Tahsils are composed of tertiary sandstones, limestone and alluvial deposits. These sandstones apparently belong to the Sirmúr and Siwalik series of the sub-Himalayan system.

In colour they vary from light grey to red, and in the higher portions of these two tahsils are harder and less friable than in lower tracts. Some of the strata yield excellent building material or are quarried by Government for road metal. Others on exposure decompose and crumble away. The Narar hill is wholly composed of a hard white sandstone, which, exposed on the north in precipitous cliffs, gives an appearance of scarped grandeur unique among the hills of the district. Thin flakes of white calcareous matter and hollow nodules filled with clay are generally seen in these rocks, while in the beds of streams concretions of porous limestone, known locally by the name of "Kaniatt" are commonly met with. Small beds of fine conglomerates are also to be found here and there. Mixed or alternating with the sandstone occur extensive beds of red or bluish clay or shales, and these, with the more or less decomposed sandstone, give its character to the soil of these tahsils.

Limestone (jurassic and triassic) is the characteristic of the Margalla range, and this is the main cause of the fertility of the villages which lie beneath it. It is found also, but in limited quantities, in Murree Tahsil. Beds of it lie along the western boundary of the tahsil next the Hazara District and again below the depôt barracks in Murree. It is usually grey or bluish white in colour, and often of intense hardness, yielding in several localities building lime of excellent quality. The alluvial deposits occur chiefly in the lower portion of the Kahuta Tahsil in the vicinity of the Jhelum, from which, however, they are separated by a belt of sandstone hill. These deposits usually take the form of small plateaus or gently rounded slopes and ridges with shallow ravines abutting on a broad stony river-bed or khud. They are often at a height of several hundred feet above the existing water-courses, and are composed of rounded boulders, generally of small size, composed of sandstone, granite or quartzite, or are made up of gravel and sand mixed or alternating with clayey deposits. They have very little cohesion, and where precipitous, are liable to landslips. They have been described as alluvial deposits, but it is equally possible that they have a glacial origin. In the plains portions of the district sandstone is almost everywhere the rock underlying the soil. In Ráwalpindi Tahsil limestone crops out everywhere along the low hills, and in the plains kankar deposits are common. The chief characteristic of the Kharora Circle of Ráwalpindi and the characteristic from which it derives its name is the "kankar" or nodular limestone which fills the soil. "Rora" means any gravel, and in particular limestone gravel.

The pebble ridges, described as alluvial deposits, in the Kahuta hills are the most remarkable structural feature of the Kahuta and Ráwalpindi Tahsils. In both tahsils they crop up to the surface in all directions.

CHAP. I. A. Physical Aspects.

The Soan runs entirely between pebble hills, and the Soan alluvial soil is full of pebbles; most of the forts round Ráwalpindi Cantonment are built on pebble ridges; scattered all over the Ráwalpindi Tahsil the pebble beds rise to the surface here and there in desolate barren mounds. Large isolated boulders in many places seem to point to a glacial epoch in the Pothwar plain.

Section B.—History.

Antiquities Taxila.

The district abounds in objects of great antiquarian interest which have been minutely examined and described by General Cunningham, from whose account the following description is abridged, with a few additions taken from a report by Mr. Delmerick.

The site of the ancient city of Taxila has been identified by General Cunningham and other authorities with the ruins near Sháh-dheri, which are scattered over a wide space, extending about three miles from north to south, and two miles from east to west, just above the Margala Pass. The remains of *stupas* and monasteries extend for several miles further on all sides, but the actual ruins of the city are confined within the limits above-mentioned. These ruins consist of several distinct portions, which are called by separate names even in the present day. Beginning at the south,

CHAP. I, B. — History. — Antiquities. Taxila.

their names are—1st, Bír, or Pher; 2nd Hatiál; 3rd, Sir-kap-ka-kot; 4th, Kacha-kot; 5th, Bábarkhána; 6th, Sir-Sukh-ka-kot.

The most ancient part of these ruins, according to the belief of the people, is the great mound on which stands the small village of Bír, or Pher. The mound itself is 4,000 feet in length from north to south, and 2,000 feet in breadth, with a circuit of 10,800 feet, or rather more than two miles. On the west side, towards the rock-seated village of Sháh-dheri, the Bír mound has an elevation of from 15 to 25 feet above the fields close by, but as the ground continues to slope towards Sháh-dheri, the general elevation is not less than from 25 to 35 feet. On the east, towards the Tabra or Tamra nullah, it rises 40 feet above the fields, and 68 feet above the bed of the stream. The remains of the walls can be traced only in a few places both on the east and west sides; but the whole surface is covered with broken stones and fragments of bricks and pottery. Here the old coins are found in greater numbers than in any other part of the ruins, and here, also, a single man collected for General Cunningham, in about two hours, a double handful of bits of lapis lazuli, which are not to be seen elsewhere. Judging from the size of the place, it is probably the site of the inhabited part of the city in the time of Hwen Thsang.

Hatiál is a strong fortified position on the west end of a spur of the Margala range, and immediately to the north-east of the Bír mound, from which it is separated by the Tabra nullah. About half a mile from Bír the spur is divided into two nearly parallel ridges, about 1,500 feet apart, which run almost due west to the bank of the Tabra, where they are joined by a high earthen rampart. The clear space thus enclosed is not more than 2,000 feet by 1,000 feet, but the whole circuit of the defences, along the ridges and the artificial ramparts, is about 8,400 feet or upwards of 1½ miles. At the east end, the two parallel ridges are joined by a stone wall, 15 feet 4 inches thick, with square towers at intervals, all of which are still in very good order. The crest of the south, or main ridge, is 291 feet above the general level of fields, but the north ridge has an elevation of only 163 feet. Between these two there is a small rocky ridge, 206 feet in height, crowned by a large bastion or tower which the people look upon as a *stupa* or tope.[1] There is a similar tower on the crest of the north ridge. The two ridges fall rapidly towards the west for about 1,200 feet, till they meet the general slope of the intervening ground; and these points are the two gateways of the fort, the one being due north of the other. The north ridge then rises again, and running to the W. S.-W. for 2,000 feet terminates in a square topped mound, 130

(1) *Stupa* is the Sanscrit term for a mound or barrow, either of masonry or earth. The Pali form is *thúpo*, and also *thúpa* or *thuva* in the early Aryan inscriptions from the Punjab. The term now used is *thúp* for a tolerably perfect building, and *thúpa* for a ruined mound. It is, therefore much to be regretted that we should have adopted the word *top* which preserves neither the spelling nor the pronunciation of the original.—General Cunningham, "Ancient Geography," p. 121 n.

feet high. This part of the ridge is entirely covered with the remains of buildings, and near its east end a villager discovered some copper coins in a ruined tope.

The fortified city of Sir-kap is situated on a large level mound immediately at the north foot of Hatiál, of which it really forms a part, as its walls are joined to those of the citadel. It is half a mile in length from north to south, with a breadth of 2,000 feet at the south end, but of only 1,400 feet at the north end. The circuit of Sir-kap is 2,300 feet or upwards of 1½ miles. The walls, which are built entirely of squared stone, are 14 feet 9 inches thick, with square towers of 30 feet face, separated by curtains of 140 feet. The east and north walls are straight, but the line of west wall is broken by a deep recess. There are two large gaps in each of these walls, all of which are said to be the sites of the ancient gates. One of these in the north face is undoubted, as it lies due north of the two gateways of the Hatiál citadel, and due south of the three ruined mounds in the Bábar-khána. A second in the east face is equally undoubted, as parts of the walls of the gateway still remain, with portions of paved roadway leading directly up to it. A third opening in the west face, immediately opposite the last, is almost equally certain, as all the old foundations inside the city are carefully laid out at right angles due north and south. The position of Sir-kap is naturally very strong, as it is well defended on all sides by the lofty citadel of Hatiál on the south, by the Tabra nullah on the west, and by the Gau nullah on the east and north sides. The entire circuit of the walls of the two places is 14,200 feet, or nearly 2¾ miles.

Kacha-kot, or the "mud fort," lies to the north of Sir-kap, in a strong isolated position formed by the doubling round of the Tabra nullah below the junction of the Gau nullah which together surround the place on all sides except the east. The ramparts of Kacha-kot, as the name imports, are formed entirely of earth, and rise to a height of from 30 to 50 feet above the stream. On the east side there are no traces of any defences, and inside there are no traces of any buildings. It is difficult, therefore, to say for what purpose it was intended, but as the Gau nullah runs through it, General Cuningham thinks it probable that Kacha-kot was meant as a place of safety for elephants and other cattle during a time of siege. It is 6,700 feet or upwards of 1¼ miles in circuit. The people usually called it Kot, and this name is also applied to Sir-kap, but when they wish to distinguish it from the latter they called it Kacha-kot.

Bábar-khána is the name of the tract of land lying between the Lundi nullah on the north, and the Tabra and Gau nullah on the south. It includes Kacha-kot, and extends about one mile on each side of it to the east and west, embracing the great mound of Serki-Pind on the north-west, and the Gangu group of topes and other

CHAP. I, B. History. Antiquities. Taxila.

ruins on the east. In the very middle of this tract, where the Lundi and Tabra nullahs approach one another within one thousand feet, stands a lofty mound 45 feet in height, called Jandiála Pind, after a small hamlet close by. To the west of the *pind* or mound, there is another mass of ruins of a greater breadth, but only 29 feet in height, which is evidently the remains of a large monastery. It is remarkable that the road which runs through the two gateways of the Hatiál citadel, and through the north gateway of Sir-kap passes in a direct line due north between these two mounds until it meets the ruins of a large *stupa* on the bank of the Lundi river, 1,200 feet beyond the Jandiála Pind. This General Cunningham believes to be the famous *stupa* which was said to have been erected by Asoka in the third century before Christ to celebrate the gift, already alluded to, by Buddha of his head in charity.

The large fortified enclosure, called Sir-Sukh, is situated at the north-east corner of the Bábar-khána, beyond the Lundi nullah. In shape it is very nearly square, the north and south sides being each 4,500 feet in length, the west side 3,300 feet, and the east side 3,000 feet. The whole circuit, therefore, is 15,300 feet or nearly three miles. The south face, which is protected by the Lundi nullah is similar in its construction to the defences of Sir-kap. The walls are built of squared stones, smoothed on the outer face only, and are 18 feet thick, with square towers at intervals of 120 feet. The towers of this face have been very carefully built with splayed foundations, all the stones being nicely bevelled to form a convex slope. The tower at the south-east corner, which is the highest part now standing, is 10 feet above the interior ground, and 25 feet above the low ground on the bank of the stream. Towards the west end, where the stones have been removed, the south wall is not more than 2 or 3 feet in height above the interior ground. Of the east and west faces about one-half of the walls can still be traced, but of the north face there is but little left except some mounds at the two corners. Inside there are three villages named Mirpur, Thupkia, and Pind, with a large ruined mound called Pindora, which is 600 feet square at base. At half a mile to the west there is an outer line of high earthen mounds running due north and south for upwards of 2,000 feet, when it bends to the E. N.-E. Beyond this the line is only traceable by a broad belt of broken stones, extending for 3,500 feet, when it turns to the south-east for about 1,200 feet and joins the north face of Sir-Sukh. These external lines would appear to be the remains of a large outwork which once rested its north-west angle on the Lundi nullah. The entire circuit of Sir-Sukh and its out-work is 20,300 feet, or nearly five miles.

The largest *stupa* among the ruins is situated on a high mound to the north of the Tabra nullah, and about half a mile to the east of Shahpur. It is generally known as the "Chir Thúp," or the "split tope," from a broad cut having been made right through

the building either by General Ventura or by some previous explorer. The cut is 20 feet broad at the west end, and 38 feet at the east end, with a depth of 32 feet. This enormous opening has utterly destroyed the appearance of the monument from the east and west sides, where it looks like two massive mounds 17 and 18 feet thick at top, with a gap of 40 feet between them. These numbers give a top diameter of 75 feet; but at 32 feet lower the circumference is 337 feet, which gives a diameter of 107¼ feet. But as the outer casing of smoothed stones has entirely disappeared, this diameter could not have been less than 115 or 120 feet; and as the point of measurement was 20 feet above the level of the courtyard, the actual base diameter may be set down as from 120 to 125 feet or within two feet of that of the great Mánikiála tope. The loss of the outer casing has brought to light the interior construction, which was regulated by a series of walls radiating from the centre of the building. These walls are 4¼ feet thick and 11½ feet apart, where visible outside of the broken surface. As the outer wall or casing would have been at least as thick as these radiating walls, we shall obtain the least possible diamater of the building at 20 feet above the ground level, by adding twice the thickness of one wall, or 8½ feet to the measured diameter of 107¼ feet, which gives a minimum diameter of nearly 116 feet. But as the external wall would have been almost certainly of greater thickness than the radiating walls, we may conclude that the diameter at 20 feet above the ground was at least 120 feet, and that it may have been as much as 125 feet.

Such are the different parts of this great city, whose ruins, covering an area of six square miles, are more extensive, more interesting, and in much better preservation than those of any other ancient place in the Punjab. The great city of Sir-kap, with its citadel of Hatiál, and its detached work of Bir and Kacha-kot, has a circuit of 4¾ miles, and the large fort of Sir-Sukh with its out-work, is of the same size, each of them being nearly as large as Sháh Jahán's imperial city of Delhi, while the number and size of the *stupas*, monasteries, and other religions buildings is even more wonderful than the great extent of the city.(1)

This is taken from General Cunningham's account of this ancient town, but it must be confessed that it requires the eye of a trained expert, to detect all that is described above. To the ordinary passer-by the visible signs of this ancient Taxila are few and far between, though something may be noticed by the most casual observer. The site is now occupied by the village sites of four *mauzas*, Dheri-Shábán, Ghila, Matáwa and Mohra Sháhwáli. There is a station on the North-Western Railway close to it, known as the Kála-ka-Sarái Station, and the trains now daily steam past actually under the walls of the old city.

(1) General Cunningham gives a minute description of all the existing ruins including 44 topes, monasteries, and monoliths.

CHAP. I. B.
History.
Bhallar-Tope.

The great Bhallar-Tope is visible from this spot about six miles north of it. This Tope has been described by General Burnes and noticed by General Court. It stands in a most commanding position on the last spur of the long range of hills which forms the north boundary of the Haro valley. It can be seen from the high road for a length of eight miles from Kála-ka-Sarái to near Wáh. It is 5½ miles to the north of Dheri-Sháhán, on the east side of the high road leading to Haripur in Hazára, and about half a mile to the north of the Haro river. It has at one time been opened by a native chief; probably the Gakhar chief of Khánpur on the Haro. At present the Bhallar-Tope is about 43 feet in height above the rock on which it stands, but as the top of the building is much dilapidated, the original height of the dome must have been considerably more. General Cunningham discovered in the neighbourhood the remains of what he believed to be two large religious establishments.

Karmál.

There are three neighbouring villages of the name of Karm, which are distinguished from each other as Karmál, Karm Gujar, and Karm Párcha. The first is situated exactly one mile to the south of the Great Shahpur tope, and about 1½ miles to the east-south-east of the Bír mound. The second is nearly two miles to the east of Karmál, on the old road to Ráwalpindi by the Shaldita Pass, and the last is about one mile to the north-north-east of Karm Gújar. Near the first and second of these villages there are several ruined topes and monasteries, besides some natural caves which from the vicinity of four small topes would appear to have been once occupied by Buddhist monks. All the topes have been opened by the villagers who profess to have found nothing. These remains, therefore, possess but little interest in themselves, but they are of importance as being probably connected with the history of the great King Asoka. During his stay at Takkasila, Hwen Thsang visited the *stupa* which the people had built over the spot where Kunál, the eldest son of Asoka, had been deprived of his eyes through the false accusation of his step-mother. The story is told at some length by Burnouf, from whom we learn how the prince's sight was afterwards restored, and the wicked step-mother duly punished.(1) The position of the chief topes of Karmál tallies so exactly with the site of Kunála *stupa*, as described by Hwen Thsang, as to leave little doubt of their identity. The close agreement of the names is also curious although it is perhaps accidental. But with the two villages of Karm Gújar and Karm Párcha so close at hand, it is easy to see how the name of Kunála or Kúnala would be altered to Karmál, to make it assimilate with the other.

" With these topes of Karmál," says General Cunningham, " I close my account of the ruins which still exist around the ancient Taxilla. Altogether I have traced the remains of 55 topes, 28

(1) " Introduction a L' Historie de Buddhisme Indien," p. 40.

monasteries, and 9 temples, of which the largest are quite equal in size to any that have yet been discovered. The number of these remains that has escaped the destructive intolerance of the Muhammadans is wonderfully large. Many of them, no doubt, owe their safety to their singularly unattractive positions on the tops of steep waterless hills. The escape of others is, perhaps, due to the large size of the stones they are built with, which defied the powers of ordinary destructiveness. But, perhaps, the most active agent in their favour was the greater proximity of the ancient city, whose ruins must have furnished materials for the houses of Sháh-dheri for several centuries. As Sháh-dheri itself is a very large village containing 950 houses and about 5,000 inhabitants, the amount of material carried away from the old city must have been very great indeed; and to this cause chiefly I would attribute the complete disappearance of all the buildings from the nearest part of the old city on the ruined mound of Bír."

Mánikiála.

About 14 miles south of Ráwalpindi and three miles from Riwat lie the ruins of Mánkiála. The name is said to have been derived from Rája Man or Manik, who built the great *stupa* to the south of the village. The old town is usually said to have been called Manikpur or Maniknagar, and it is so named in most versions of the curious legend of Rasálu, which place the residence of the *rakshasas*, or demons, in the old city to the north of the great tope. As the capital of the *rakshasas*, it is sometimes also called "Bedádnagar," or the "City of Injustice." An interesting account of the legend of Rasálu has been given by Colonel Abbot [1] Many other versions are given but all agree in the main points of the story, although they differ in some of the minor details. Rasálu, son of Saliváhana, Rája of Siálkot, was the enemy of the seven *rakshasas* who lived at Manikpur, or Udinagar, to the west of the Jhelum. Every day these *rakshasas* ate a man, the victim being drawn by lot from the people of Manikpur. One day Rasálu came to the city where he found a woman cooking her food, and alternately weeping and singing. Astonished at her strange behaviour, Rasálu addressed the woman, who replied: "I sing for joy, because my only son is to be married to-day, and I weep for grief because he has been drawn by lot as the victim of the *rakshasas*." "Weep no more," said Rasálu "and keep your son, for I will encounter the *rakshasas*." Accordingly Rasálu offers to take the place of the victim and goes forth to meet the seven demons. He boldly attacks them and kills them all, except Thera, who is said to be still alive in a cavern of Gandgarh, whence his bellowings are occasionally heard by the people. This legend General Cunningham identifies with the Buddhist legend of Sakya's offering of his body to appease the hunger of seven tiger cubs. The scene of this legend is placed by Hwen Thsang 32¾ miles to the south-east of Taxila, which is the exact bearing and distance of Mánikiála

(1) "Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal," 1854, p. 519.

CHAP. I. B. History. Mánikiála.

from the ruined city near Sháh-dheri, and this distance is completely in accordance with the statements of the other pilgrims. Unfortunately the place is not named by any one of them, but its position is so clearly marked by their concurring bearings and distance, as to leave no doubt of its identity with Mánikiála. Here, then, we must look for the famous *stupa* of the "body-offering" of Buddha, which was one of the four great topes of north-west India. It is probably to be identified in the great tope successfully explored by General Court in 1834. The "Huta-murta" or "body-offering" is twice mentioned in the inscriptions that were found covering the deposit, and there are other claims of this tope to be identified with the body-offering *stupa* which have been fully discussed and accepted by General Cunningham. The points of resemblance between the two legends are sufficiently striking and obvious. For the compassionate Buddha who had left his wife, Yasodhara, we have the equally compassionate Rasálu who had given up the society of his queen, Kokila. As Buddha offers his body to appease the hunger of the seven starving tiger-cubs, so Rasálu offers himself instead of the woman's only son who was destined to appease the hunger of the seven *rakshasas*. Lastly, the scene of both legends is laid at Mankipur or Mánikiála. Again, the Rasálu legend has come down to us in two distinct forms. In one version, which is probably the older one, the opponents of the hero are all human beings, while in the other they are all *rakshasas* or demons. In the first, the seven enemies are the three brother Rájas—Sir-kap, Sir-sukh, and Amba, with their four sisters—Kapi, Kalpi, Munda and Mundeh. Sir-kap is addicted to gambling, and his stakes are human heads, which he invariably wins, until opposed by Rasálu. This addiction to human flesh connects Sir-kap and his brethren both with the tiger-cubs of the earlier Buddhist legend, and with the *rakshasas* of the latter one.

Accepting this view of the legend as, at least, a very probable one, the present appearance of Mánkiála with its numerous ruins of religious edifices, without any traces of either city or fort, may be easily explained by the fact that the great capital of Manikpur was the ideal creation of the fabulist to give reality to the tradition, while the topes and temples were the substantial creations of devout Buddhists. General Abbot, when he examined the ruins around the Mánikiála tope, could "not see any evidence of the existence of a city. The area occupied by submerged ruins would not have comprised a very considerable village, while the comparatively large number of wrought stones denotes some costly structure which might have occupied the entire site." After a careful examination of the site, General Cunningham came to the same conclusion that there are no traces of a large city; and believes that all the massive walls of cut-stone must have belonged to costly monasteries and other large religious edifices. The people point to the high ground immediately to the west of the great tope as the site of the

CHAP. I. B. History. Mánikiála.

Raja Man's palace, because pieces of plaster are found there only, and not in other parts of the ruins. Here it is probable that the satraps of Taxila may have taken up their residence when they came to pay their respect to the famous shrine of the "body gift" of Buddha. Here, also, there may have been a small town of about 1,500 or 2,000 houses, which extended to the northward and occupied the whole of the rising ground on which the village of Mánikiála now stands. The people are unanimous in their statements that the city was destroyed by fire; and this belief is corroborated by the quantities of charcoal and ashes which are found amongst all the ruined buildings. It was further confirmed by excavations made in the great monastery to the north of General Court's tope. There is nothing, however, to indicate at what date this destruction took place. Among the ruins of Mánikiála, General Cunningham describes 15 topes and as many monasteries, which, judging by the frequent occurrence of massive stone walls in other positions, were probably not more than two-thirds of the great religious buildings of this once famous spot. The Mánikiála tope is one of the places that strive for the honor of being the burial place of Alexander's horse Bucephalus.

Márgalla.

At Márgalla there is an old cutting through the hill crossing the Lahore and Peshávar road. The roadway is paved with flags of stone, while a stone slab inserted into the wall on the side contains an inscription which shows that the work was completed in 1083 A.H., corresponding with 1672 A.D., or about the time when the Emperor Aurangzeb marched to Hasan Abdál and sent his son Prince Sultán with an army against the Khattaks and other trans-Indus tribes. The pavement was no doubt a remarkable achievement in those days, but it has been completely cast into the shade by the new cutting higher up to the east by our own engineers, who have also constructed at the latter place a fine column to the memory of the late General John Nicholson and a fountain for drinking purposes, the water of which is brought in leaden pipes from a considerable distance. A tunnel in the North-Western Railway 900 feet long also pierces the hills about 100 feet to the north of the road.

Riwát.

Riwát, the first camping ground from Ráwalpindi on the Grand Trunk Road, towards Jhelum, owes its interest to the tomb of Sultán Sárang, the renowned Gakhar chief, which is situated there. This is not a tomb of any architectural pretension nor of much antiquity, having been built in the middle of the 16th century, after the death of Sultán Sárang, and no less than 16 sons in action during the struggles between the Emperor Hamáyún and his enemies. The tope of Mánikiála is visible from here, some three miles to the south-east.

Early History

The district of Ráwalpindi from its geographical position is associated with much of great interest in the history of India.

CHAP. I. B.
History.
Early History

The armies of each successive invader from the west or north-west swept across the Chhachh plain, and down southwards right across the district, and this to a great extent accounts for the fact that the races inhabiting it are much mixed and that they are nearly all Musalmán. No old and archaic forms could exist in the constant turmoil in which the district has been involved until within a very few years of the present time. The names of Alexander, Mahmúd of Ghazni, Bábar and "Tamurlane" or Timúr, are all closely connected with the district, and as will have been already seen from the description of places of antiquarian interest given above, relics of Buddhism are common and of great archæological value, and many of the legends of the great and mythical Rasálu are connected with places within this tract.

The history of the district up to the time of Alexander is only of interest to the antiquarian. General Cunningham has elaborated theories, partly from what appear to him to be similarities of names as to the original inhabitants of the district, and as these are the views of so great an authority they deserve full notice.

General Cunningham holds that the Takkás were the earliest inhabitants of this part of the country after the Aryás who are supposed to have come into it about 1426 B.C. The tract between the Indus and Jhelum, known as Samma, is supposed to have been held by Anavás of the Timar race, Peshâwar and the country west of the Indus, by the Ghandharee.

The Takkás, an early Turanian race, are believed to have held the whole or the greater part of the Sind-Ságar Doáb. From this tribe General Cunningham, with some probability, derives the name of Taxilla, or Takshasila, which, at the time of Alexander, was a large and wealthy city, the most populous between the Indus and Hydaspes (Jhelum) and is identified beyond a doubt with the ruins of Sháh-dheri or Dheri-Sháhán, a few miles to the north of the Márgalla Pass in the district of Ráwalpindi. So far, General Cunningham's theory as to the early population of the district seems reasonable enough; but he goes on to assert his belief that already, before the time of Alexander, the Takkás had been ousted from the neighbourhood of Taxila by the Awáns. This theory he builds upon the scanty foundation existing in the similarity of the name Awán or "Anuwán," as he would read it, with that of Amanda, the district in which, according to Pliny, the town of Taxila was situated. The traditions of the Awáns are so strikingly contradictory of this theory, as to deprive it of much, if not all, the weight with which the authority of General Cunningham would invest it.

The Takkás or Takshâh Scythians probably overran the northern portion of India somewhere about 600 B.C. They probably became incorporated with the tribes of the country and

turned Buddhist, which religion they professed at the time of Alexander's invasion. Nanda, King of the Prásu, was of this race. This is about the time of the foundation of Gasnipur by the Bhatti Zadávas.

About 500 B.C. Darius conquered Western India. In 331 B.C. came Alexander's invasion. At this time Abisares ruled the country, north of the Ráwalpindi district, and Porus ruled that east of the Jhelum river. Taxiles ruled the tract lying between the Indus and the Jhelum.

At this time Taxila would appear to have formed, nominally at any rate, part of the kingdom of Magadha. For 50 years after Alexander's visit, the people of Taxila are said to have rebelled against Bindusara, King of Magadha.(1) Their subjugation was effected by the famous Asoka, who resided at Taxila as Viceroy of the Punjab during his father's life-time. From the reign of Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of Upper India, we may suppose Buddhism to have taken root in the Northern Punjab, but Taxila itself again fades from history until A.D. 400, when it was visited as a place of peculiar sanctity by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Fa Hian. By Fa Hian Taxila is mentioned under the name of Chusha-shi-lo, or the "severed head," and he adds that "Buddha bestowed his head in alms at this place, hence they gave this name to the country." The allusion apparently is to the word "Takshasira" or the "severed head," the usual name by which Taxila was known to the Buddhists of India. In A.D. 630, and again in A.D. 643, Taxila was visited by the most famous of the Chinese pilgrims, Hwen Thsang. He describes the city as above 1¾ miles in circuit. The royal family was extinct and the Province a dependency of Kashmír. The land, irrigated by numbers of springs and water-courses, was famous for its fertility. The monasteries were numerous, but mostly in ruins. The *stupa* of King Asoka, built on the spot where Buddha in a former existence had made an alms gift of his head or, as some said, of one thousand heads in as many previous existences, was situated two miles to the north of the city. Thus during the Buddhist period, Taxila was celebrated as the legendary scene of one of Buddha's most meritorious acts of alms-giving, the bestowal of his head in charity. The origin of the legend General Cunningham attributes to the ancient name of Takshasila, which, by a very slight alteration, becomes Takshasira, or the "severed heads." That the name is not derived from the fable is rendered probable by the preservation of the ancient name and spelling by the Greeks. It must not, however, be forgotten that Alexander's invasion preceded Asoka's reign by little more than 50 years, and though the derivation of the name of Taxilla from the charitable act of Buddha is only mentioned by Fa Hian in A.D. 400, yet it is possible that the

(1) The edicts of Asoka are dated about the middle of the third century, B.C.

same belief was current during or even before the reign of Asoka. Buddhism, according to some authorities, dates back as far as the middle of the sixth century B.C. (Elphinstone's "History of India," p. 120, 5th Ed.) The relics of Buddhism in the Ráwalpindi district are not confined to Taxila. Hasan Abdál, Mánikiála, and many other places are intimately connected with Buddhist legends, and contain ruins of Buddhistic buildings. Mánikiála especially is a place of great interest, as the legendary scene of Buddha's gift of his body to appease the hungher of seven tiger cubs. Further allusion to this legend is made above.(1) The period of Hwen Thsang's visits to India, however, was one of the decay of Buddhism. The Brahman revival, to which India owes its present form of Hinduism, had already set in, in the early years of the fifth cetury,(2) and must have been at its height in the days of Hwen Thsang. From this time the light afforded by the records of the Chinese pilgrims fails, and a long period of darkness swallows up the years that intervened before the Muhammadan invasions and the commencement of real history.

The Ghakkars

From the point where the traditions of antiquity give place to the more authentic records of the historian, the history of the district becomes that of the Ghakkar tribe, who, brought into a prominent position at the time of the early Muhammadan invasions, maintained their rule over Ráwalpindi and parts of the Hazára and Jhelum districts, more or less independent of the sovereign powers at Delhi and Agra, until annihilated at the beginning of the present century by the Sikhs. General Cunningham, rightly or wrongly identifies the Ghakkars with the subjects of Abisares, mentioned by Alexander's historians as being king of the hilly country to the north and north-east, *i.e.*, Murree and Kahuta, of Taxila, called, as he gathers from the Mahabhárata and the Puránas, Abhisara. He supposes the Greek historians by a not uncommon confusion to have given to the king the name of his kingdom.(3) According to the account given by themselves, the Ghakkars are of Persian origin, descendants from Sultán Kaid, son of Gohar, or Kaigohar, a native of Kayan in Ispahán. This Sultán Kaid is said to have invaded and conquered Thibet and Badakhshán, and to have there established a dynasty which ruled for seven or, as others say, ten generations. They then advanced upon Kashmír,(4) and overcoming all opposition, established themselves there during several generations.(5) At last an insurrection drove the reigning prince, named Rustam, from the throne. He perished, but his son, Kabil

(1) Cunningham's "Arch. Rep," 1863-64, p. 115, alluding to the legend of the "thousand heads," General Cunningham adds: "The present name of the district is "Chach Hazára, which I take to be only a corruption of" Shirshasahasra, or the "thousand heads."

(2) Elphinstone's "History of India," p. 1833 (5th ed.) "He (Fa Hian) found Buddhism flourishing in the tracs between China and India, but declining in the Punjab, and languishing in the last stage of decay in the countries on the Ganges and the Jumna."

(3) "Arch. Rep." 1863-64, p. 23 f.

(4) Their leader into Kashmir was Sultán Kab. Griffin's "Punjab Chiefs," p. 574.

(5) The actual number is variously given as 17 and 18.

CHAP. I. B.
History.
The Ghakkars.

Shah, escaped and took refuge with Násir-ud-dín Sabaktagín, who was then reigning in Kábul, 787 A.D.[1] Kabil left a son, Ghakkar Shah, who having with the remnant of his tribe accompained Mahmúd of Ghazni on one of his invasions of India, obtained leave to settle beyond the Indus. Such is the story told by the Ghakkars of their origin and entry into the country. It is, however, full of inconsistencies. It is certain that they overran Kashmír in very early days, and traces of them are still to be found to the north and west of that country, but there is no proof whatever that they founded a dynasty there. The names attributed to their chiefs are in many instances Muhammadan, and this fact gives an air of great improbability to their story; for the Ghakkars, according to Ferishta and other Muhammadan historians, were not converted until the 13th century. Nor are there any traces of an early Muhammadan dynasity in Kashmír, which was converted, or, if the Ghakkar traditions be true, re-converted, to the creed of Islám in 1327, during the reign of Shams-ud-dín. Ferishta indeed declares that prior to their conversion in the 13th century the Ghakkars were mere savages without a religion at all, addicted to infanticide and polyandry in its grossest forms. The same author also speaks of the Ghakkars as already settled in the Punjab in A.D. 682. He says that about that time they formed an alliance with the Afghâns against the Rája of Lahore. Again the account of their entry into India in the train of Mahmúd of Ghazni is strangely contradicted by the fact that in 1008 this same Mahmúd was nearly defeated in a battle with the Hindu confederation by the impetuosity of an attack made upon his camp by a force of 30,000 Ghakkars. The Ghakkar legends, therefore, are probably to be rejected as fabulous, and it is not unlikely that, as General Cunningham supposes, they have been located in the Punjab hills from the times prior to Alexander's invasion. There is nothing at any rate to contradict this supposition, though certainly the reasons upon which the learned author's theory is traced are somewhat abstruse. That they occupied a somewhat important position in the second century of our era is probable; for there are reasons for supposing that Rája Húdi the great enemy and afterwards heir of Rasálu, Rája of Siálkot, and hero of so many Punjab traditions, was a Ghakkar. He certainly was not of Aryan birth.[2]

The first event of authentic history peculiarly connected with this district is the battle already alluded to between Mahmúd Shah and the Hindu army under ~~Pirthwi Rája~~, in A.D. 1008, in which the Ghakkars so prominently distinguished themselves. This battle, which decided the fate of India, is said to have been fought on the plain of Chhachh, near Hazro and Attock

(1) Griffin, *ib.*
(2) Elphinstone's "History of India" (ed. 5), p. 329. General Cunningham's "Arch. Rep. 1863-64, p. 1.

CHAP. I, B. History. The Ghakkars

on the Indus. It ended in the total defeat of the Rájpút confederacy, and India lay at the mercy of the Muhammadan invaders. The Ghakkars, however, appear to have remained quietly in possession of their lands, including the greater part of this district, and are next heard of in 1205, when they took opportunity from certain reverses sustained by Shaháb-ud-dín Ghori in Kharizm, to rise in open revolt against the paramount power. They ravaged the country as far as Lahore itself, and occupied the whole Northern Punjab. But Sháhab-ud dín entering India quickly restored order; he defeated the Ghakkars after an obstinate battle, the fortune of which was only turned in his favor by the opportune arrival of reinforcements from Delhi under his deputy, Kutub-ud-dín, who had remained faithful in spite of his master's reverses.(1) The Ghakkars having once given way, the slaughter was prodigious. Shaháb-ud-dín pursued them to their mountain homes, and took the opportunity of forcing them to embrace the Muhammadan religion, which, as Elphinstone remarks(2) "was the easier done, as they had very little notion of any other." As, however, Sháhab-ud-dín returning westwards after the restoration of order in India, was encamped on the banks of the Indus, his tent being left open towards the river for the sake of coolness, a band of Ghakkars "swam the river at midnight to the spot where the king's tent was pitched, and, entering unopposed, despatched him with numerous wounds,"(3) and thus avenged the wrongs of India upon its conqueror.

A little more than a century later we read again of the Ghakkars, who during the reign of Muhammad Tughlak at Delhi, in A. D. 1340, took the opportunity offered by revolts in Bengal and an invasion of Mughals and Afghâns from the north, to ravage the Punjab as soon as the Mughals turned their backs. They even occupied Lahore,(4) and (in the words of Elphinstone) "completed the ruin of the Province." About this time Boja Khan, a younger scion of the family, rebelled against the reigning chief, and set up an independent chiefship at Rohtás, in the Jhelum district. The Bojiál clan, which derives its name from him, still inhabits the neighbourhood of Rohtás and Domeli. The subsequent history of the tribe is given in the words of Mr. Griffin in his Punjab Chiefs.(5)

Rája Jahán Dád Khán, head of the Khanpur Ghakkars of Khanpur, traverses this account of the origin of his clan. He states that the account of the Ghakkars quoted by Cunningham from Ferishta does not apply at all to them, but was really an account of a tribe called Khokar, not Ghakkar. These Khokars occupied a

(1) Táríkh-i-Alfi. Elliot's "Muhammadan Historians," 56, p. 1.
(2) "History of India" (ed. 5), p. 367.
(3) Elphinstone's "History of India" (5th ed.
(4) Ib., p. 408.
(5) Ib., p. 557 f.

tract in the Salt Range, where the Ghakkars never were. These Khokars practised polyandry, but the Ghakkars never did. Rája Jahán Dád is also clear that Gakkhar should be written thus and not Ghakhar as Cunningham writes it; Ferishta has it Ghakar which, it is said, is simply a mistake for Khokar. It is also stated that it was the Khokars who were defeated by Shaháb-ud-dín Ghori, and a band of whom afterwards murdered that chief, and this is the account given in H. M. Elliot's Biographical Index, in which he says that the assassination was accomplished "by some Khokars," page 301. In the "Tabakat Akbari," by Wazir Nizám-ud-dín Ahmad, Nerari, written in 1623, and quoted by Ferishta, who wrote in 1687, the events quoted above are clearly stated to have occurred to the Khokar tribe. This is also supported by the account given in the Tabakat-i-Násiri, published in 1864 by Captain Lee.

As to their origin, it is stated that they descended from Ijaab Jord, a Persian king, and were driven out on his defeat and death and went to China, where Ferozshah, their leader, took service with his followers as a sort of guard to the Emperor. Thence they went to Thibet, and in the beginning of the 7th century they became Musalmáns. Later they came to India with Mahmúd of Ghazni. Kaigohar was the leader who came with Mahmúd of Ghazni, and from whom the name of Gakhar is derived; Malik Khad and his son Gula came again in the middle of the 15th century, conquered a part of the country north of the Jhelum and founded Guliana in the Gujar Khan tahsíl. After this period the history of the clan is fairly well known. The present heads of the Ghakkar clan are indignant at having been confused with the Khokars.

History subsequent to Timúr's invasion.

The invasion of Timúr or Tamerlane, took place during the chiefship of Gul Muhammad, who died in 1403 A. D. His two immediate successors were not men of any note; but Jastar Khan, brother of Pír Khan, is often mentioned in Muhammadan history as a brave and successful general, he overran Kashmír and took prisoner Allah Shah, king of that country. Then, uniting with Malik Toghan, a Turki general, he seized Jullundur and marched towards Delhi. At Ludhiána he was attacked by the king's troops and defeated, on the 8th October 1442, and retired to Ráwalpindi, whence he made attacks alternately on Lahore and Jummoo, the Rája of which latter place, Rai Bhím, he defeated and killed, till 1453, when he died. Tatar Khan's rule was of short duration, for his nephew, Hati Khan, rebelled against him, captured and put him to death. His two sons were minors, and the Janjuah chief, Darweeh Khan, took the opportunity of recovering much of the country which the Ghakkars had taken from his tribe. Hati Khan opposed him, [illegible] defeated and compelled to fly to Ba[illegible], while his cousins Sarang Khan and Adam Khan, escaped [illegible] Dangalli [illegible] the Janjuah army followed them. Hati Kh[illegible] now coll[illegible] his

CHAP. I. B. History. History subsequent to Timúr's invasion.

tribe, and attacking the Junjuahs on their march, routed them with great slaughter. Bábar Shah invaded India during the chiefship of Hati Khan, and in the Emperor's interesting autobiography is a notice of his contest with the Ghakkar chief. He marched against Pharwála, the capital of the Ghakkars, strongly situated in the hills, and captured it after a gallant resistance, Hati Khan making his escape from one gate of the town as the troops of Bábar entered by another. Sultán Sárang was now of age, and finding that he could not oust his cousin by force of arms, he procured his death by poison, and assumed the chiefship in 1525. He and his brother made their submission to Bábar, and Adam Khan, with a Ghakkar force, attended him to Delhi, and for this service the Pothiár (Putwár) country was confirmed to them by the Emperor. In 1541 Sher Shah having driven the Emperor Humáyún from India, built the famous fort of Rohtás, where he placed a garrison of 12,000 men under his general, Khowás Khan, to hinder the exile's return. Sárang Khan, remembering the generous way in which he had been treated by Bábar Shah, espoused the quarrel of his son, and kept the Rohtás garrison in a perpetual state of dispute, driving off convoys and wasting the country around the fort. On the death of Sher Shah in 1545, his son, Salím Shah, determined to punish the Ghakkars, and moved against them in force. Sárang Khan sued for peace, but all terms were refused, and his son Kamál Khan, sent to the imperial camp as an envoy, was thrown into chains. For two years, in the course of which Sultán Sárang and sixteen of his family fell in action, the Ghakkars fought with varying success, and in 1550, Prince Kamran, brother of Humáyún, with whom he was at feud and by whom he had just been expelled from Kábul, took refuge among them. The fort of Pharwála was often won and lost during these years of incessant war, but however many troops were sent against them, the Ghakkars brave and united, held their own, and Salím Shah found it impossible to subdue them. In 1553, Prince Kamran, who had again taken up arms against his brother, and who had been defeated near the Khaibar, fled to India, and took refuge at the court of Delhi. Salím Shah did not receive him with any favour, and the Prince then returned northward to his former host Adam Khan, who had succeeded his brother Sárang Khan. This chief stained the Ghakkar reputation for hospitality, and gave up his guest to Humáyún, who put out his eyes, and two years later re-entered Delhi in triumph, attended by the Ghakkar chief, who was richly rewarded for his treachery.

Moghal period and Sikh conquest.

Sultán Sárang had left two sons, Kamál Khan and Alawál Khan, and with the wife of the latter Laskar Khan, son of Adam Khan, fell in love, and in order to obtain her, put her husband to death. Kamál Khan was at Delhi when he heard the news of his brother's murder, and he complained to the Emperor Akbar, who had succeeded Humáyún in 1556, and obtained a grant of half the territory of Adam Khan. This chief would not yield, and Kamál,

CHAP. I. B.

History.

Moghal period and Sikh conquest.

Khan attacked him, took him prisoner and hung him to satisfy his revenge. Kamál Khan did not long enjoy his triumph, and died in 1559. The Ghakkar country now fell into a state of anarchy, and remained so for some years, till the Emperor divided it between the rival chiefs. To Jalál Khán, grandson of Adam Khan, he gave Dangalli, with 454 villages; to Mubárik Khan, son of Kamál Khan, Pharwála, with 883 villages; Akbarabad, with 242 villages, he assigned to Shaikh Ganga, one of Adam Khan's younger sons; and Ráwalpindi to Said Khan, the third son of Sárang Khan. Mubárik Khan died the year after this arrangement, and his son did not long survive him. Shádmán Khan was an imbecile, and Pharwála was granted by the Emperor to Jalál Khan. This chief was a great warrior and fought as an Imperial general in Kohát, Bannu and Yusafzai, where he died at a great age in 1611. His son and grandson successively held rule, the latter dying in 1670. Allahdád Khán was, like Shádmán Khan, of weak intellect, but had a clever wife, who carried on affairs with spirit and success, till her son Dulu Muräd Khan grew up and assumed the chiefship. He was renowned for his liberality, and on this account was named "Lakhi" Dulu Khan. He died in 1726. Then succeeded Muazzam Khan, who ruled 13 years, and Sultán Mukarrab Khan, the last independent Ghakkar chief. In his days the Ghakkar power was greater than it had perhaps ever been before. He defeated the Yusafzai Afgháns and Jang Kuli Khan of Khattak, and captured Gujrát, overrunning the Chib country as far north as Bhimber. He joined Ahmad Shah on his several Indian expeditions, and was treated by him with the greatest consideration, being confirmed in the possession of his large territories which extended from the Chenáb to the Indus. At length, in 1765, Sirdár Gujar Singh, Bhangi, the powerful Sikh chief, marched from Lahore, with a large force, against him. Mukarrab Khan fought a battle outside the walls of Gujrát, but was defeated and compelled to retire across the Jhelum, giving up his possessions in the Jech Doáb. His power being thus broken, the rival chiefs of his own tribe declared against him, and Himmat Khan, of Domeli, took him prisoner by treachery and put him to death, himself assuming the headship of the tribe. The two elder sons of Mukarrab Khan took Pharwála, the two younger Dangalli; but they quarrelled among themselves, and Sirdar Gujar Singh seized everything, with the exception of Pharwála, which was divided among the brothers. Sadullah Khan and Nazar Ali Khan died without male issue, and Mansúr Khan and Shádmán Khan succeeded to their shares, which they held till 1818, when Anand Singh Thepuria, grandson of the famous Milka Singh of Ráwalpindi, seized their whole estates and reduced them to absolute poverty, though the family was, in 1826, allowed some proprietary rights in Pharwála.

During Sikh days there is no history of the Ghakkars to record. "They were ground down by the exactions of men like

CHAP. I. B

History.

Budh Singh, Sindhánwália, and Rája Guláb Singh of Jummoo, the latter of whom threw Shádmán Khan and Mudhat Khan, second son of Mansúr Khan, into prison, where they miserably perished. Karamdád Khan, son of Rája Hayát Ullah Khan, is now the head of the Pharwála family, and the first among the Ghakkars of the Ráwalpindi district.

Moghal Divisions.

In the days of Akbar this district formed part of the Sirkár or district of Sindh-Ságar, including the whole Sindh-Ságar Doáb. The *mahâls* or *parganahs* forming part of this enormous tract, which can be identified as belonging in whole or in part to this district are:—Pharwála (Pharhalah), Dangalli (Dangarri), and Akbarabad Terkhery (Takhtpuri).

The revenue paid by these *mahâls* as recorded in the "Ain Akbari," amounted in round numbers to 3 *lakhs* of rupees. It is impossible, however, to determine the boundaries of the *mahâls*; and much of the territory included in them, particularly in those of Pharwála and Dangalli, must have been as a matter of fact only nominally subject at any time to the Empire, for we know that the Ghakkars held almost uncontrolled sway between the Jhelum river and the Márgalla Pass, and westwards as far as the Khairi Múrat hills. Within these boundaries they were always supreme, and sometimes extended far beyond them. During their rule the district was divided into three *parganahs*, Dangalli, Pharwála and Ráwalpindi, subdivided into *tappahs* mainly corresponding with the *ilakás* of the Sikh period.

The Sikh Rule.

Returning to the Sikhs, it has already been seen how Gujar Singh, Bhangi, conquered Mukarrab Khan in 1765. This chief made his head-quarters at Gujrát, but his power extended almost to Ráwalpindi, and it was to him that the first subjugation of the warlike tribes of Ráwalpindi and the Salt Range is to be attributed. Ghakkar, Janjuah and Awán alike gave way before him. In these conquests, and notably in the siege of the famous fort of Rohtás held by the Ghakkars, he was assisted by Sirdár Charrat Singh, Sukarchakia. He was succeeded, upon his death in 1788, by his son Sáhib Singh, who fell before Ranjít Singh in 1810.

Ráwalpindi itself was occupied shortly after the fall of Mukarrab Khan, by another Sikh Sirdár, Milka Singh Thepuria, so-called from the village of Thepur founded by him in the Lahore district. He occupied territory also in Gujrát and Gujránwála, and thence marched northwards upon Ráwalpindi. It was then an insignificant place, but Milka Singh, perceiving how admirably the place was situated, fixed his head-quarters there, building new houses and in some measure fortifying the town. In spite of Afghán inroads, and the resistance of the Ghakkars, he soon conquered a tract of country round Ráwalpindi worth three *lakhs* of rupees a year, and even the tribes of Hazára had respect for his name and power. He died in 1804, and his estates were confirmed by Ranjít

CHAP. I, B.
History.
The Sikh Rule.

Singh to his son Jiún Singh. In 1814, however, on the death of Jiún Singh, Ranjít Singh seized the whole estates in Ráwalpindi and the district passed under the administration of the central power at Lahore.

The Murree hills retained their independence for some time longer. Milka Singh claimed, it is true, allegiance from the hill Ghakkar chiefs, and granted them *jágírs* of 107 hill villages. But the recipients hardly acknowledged the gift, which was more nominal than real. The mountaineers did not really submit to the Sikh rule until the present century was well begun. The famous Sirdár Hari Singh, Ranjít Singh's Governor of Hazára, twice invaded the hills between 1820 and 1830, and on the second occasion effected their subjugation. In 1831 the Murree hills were granted in *jágír* to Guláb Singh of Kashmír, who ruled them with a rod of iron. It is said that whenever the villagers were recusant, he used to let loose a regiment of Dográs upon them, and reward them by a poll rate for every hillman slain, at first of a rupee, then of eight, and finally of four annas. By these means the population was decimated, and the prosperity of the tract received a severe check.

The history of the country, from time immemorial overrun by hordes of invaders, from the Greeks to the Afgháns and a prey to intestine warfare, has not failed to leave its traces upon the character of the population. The temporary desolation, the plundered houses and deserted homesteads were all things of the hour, and are now forgotten; but their mark is to be discovered in the restless and inconstant character of the population, and in the party spirit, the blood feuds and bitter enmities, which survive to the present day.

British Rule.

In 1849, with the remainder of the Sikh territory, the district passed under British rule. The tranquillity which followed was broken in 1853 by an attempted outbreak led by Nádir Khan, a Ghakkar of Mándla, who joined a conspiracy which was formed in favor of a pretended son of Ranjít Singh, Prince Peshaura Singh. He had been murdered some years before at Attock, but the conspirators declared him to have escaped, and personified him by a Hindú mendicant. The rising might have been serious, but was promptly quelled by the district authorities. Nádir Khán was captured, tried for rebellion, convicted and hanged.

The Mutiny.

The following account of the events of 1857 is taken from the "Punjab Mutiny Report":—

"Mr. Thornton, the Commissioner, was at the head-quarters of this district at the commencement of the outbreak. He states that as soon as the news from the North-Western Provinces got abroad amongst the people, some of the well-disposed came and expressed to him their unfeigned sorrow at the prospect of the certain extinction of our rule! They considered the struggle a hopeless one for our nation. Hindustáni emissaries eagerly fostered this ide

CHAP. I. B. History. The Mutiny.

amongst the country-folk, assuring them that the King of Delhi had sent directions to his loyal subjects to send all the English down the Indus without hurting them, and that the deportation of the Hindustánís from the Punjab, which was going on, was simply a fulfilment by the English of the commands of the same potentate, who had forbidden the English to keep his subjects any longer up here, as he required their services at his capital!

"These idle tales found credence among the simple population of the Murree hills. They also had imaginary wrongs; they longed to renew their old intestine feuds, and retaliate on our countrymen also for the wrongs they thought we had done them. Rumours reached the Deputy Commissioner, Captain Cracroft, and the other authorities during May and June, of an uneasiness amongst some of the neighbouring tribes. It was affirmed that a *dua-i-khair*, or solemn compact, had been effected, that the object was an attack upon our power, from what quarter or on what place did not appear. Such information could not be slighted. The chiefs of several tribes were called to Murree, and told that their presence there would be of use to us, as affording a ready means of communication between Government and their several clans, should the active services of those be needed. In reality, these men were hostages; but, to prevent their thinking so, a small allowance of Rs. 8, per mensem was made to them by the authorities. As time wore on this allowance excited the jealousy of other tribes, whose representatives considered themselves neglected by not sharing in it. Other compacts were formed, and other plots hatched, which culminated on the night of the 2nd September, when the station of Murree was attacked by 300 men. The fidelity of one of Lady Lawrence's personal attendants, himself an influential man of one of the tribes which had risen, and the sagacity of the Local officers, were the means under God of saving Murree. Lieutenant Battye, Assistant Commissioner, was informed on the 1st idem by Hákim Khan, the individual above alluded to, that the place was to be attacked that night—he could not say by what force or from what quarter. The ladies of whom a large number were then in Murree, were immediately concentrated, the police and the detachment of European invalids were called out, the civil and military officers held a consultation, and despatched urgent requests for help to Mr. Thornton at Ráwalpindi and Major Becher at Hazára. A cordon of sentries was drawn round the station, composed of Europeans and the police force under Lieutenant Bracken, and strong pickets were posted at three places which were considered the most vulnerable. The enemy came at the dead of night, expecting no foe, looking only for butchery and spoil. They were briskly opposed by Captain Robinson and his party, and soon retired, leaving one corpse on the field. One of our men was wounded: he afterwards died. This skirmish constituted the whole of the fighting, but two bodies of the enemy of 100 men

each, held two neighbouring heights during the whole of the 2nd September, and, as there was no knowing how far the confederacy had spread, the station of Murree could not be weakened by sending men to drive them away. On the evening of 3rd the Commissioner arrived with a reinforcement from below; supplies of food, which he had providently ordered to be bought in Ráwalpindi and sent up, began to arrive; the country was scoured, rebellious villages were burnt, their cattle harried and their men seized. Twenty-seven men were punished, of whom 15 suffered death. The smoke of the eleven villages which were destroyed was seen afar by a party of Kharráls which was coming on to renew the attack; while the white and unscathed houses of Murree showed plainly that no burning had occurred there. The rebel force slunk off disheartened, and their tribe professed deep loyalty; but it was known to be second in ill-feeling only to the Dhúnds who made the attack.

"On Mr. Thornton's pressing solicitation, Major Becher had despatched from Abbottabad his company of the Satti tribe, numbering 40 men; this had joined Mr. Thornton. But on the receipt of more urgent letters, Major Becher sent, under the command of Captain Harding, accompanied by Captain Davies, nearly the whole of his force, leaving himself only 87 men, of whom all but 12 were recruits. The force was pushed across a most difficult country full of morasses and defiles. The Kharráls laid an ambush to cut it off, but Providence saved it. The road on which the trap was laid became impassible from the rains. The force turned off, and not till it had passed the spot did it learn the greatness of the peril from which it had been delivered. It returned to Hazára by Ráwalpindi, leaving Murree on the 14th. After the repulse of the Dhúnds it was found that the conspiracy affected many more clans and a much wider extent of country than had been suspected. It reached far into Hazára and nearly down to Ráwalpindi, and, excepting the Kharrál insurrection in Mooltan, was by far the most extensive rebellion that has occurred in the Punjab during the year. Treachery was added to violence. Two Hindustáni native doctors in Government employ, educated at Government institutions, and then practising in Murree, were found guilty of being sharers in the plot. They were both executed. There seems no doubt that the hillmen reckoned much on the support and directions they were to receive from their Hindustáni friends in the station and several of the domestic servants were seized and punished for complicity: several also fled from justice and escaped punishment. Two of the ringleaders in the raid are still free through the connivance of their countrymen.

"On the frontier, beyond the district of Ráwalpindi, are the homes of the wild and disorderly tribes of Sitána and Mangaltána. They are Muhammadans, keep a fanatic Hindustani-Muhammadan

CHAP. I. B. History. The Mutiny.

army, and are in communication with the Muhammadan Nawábs of the North-Western Provinces and Bengal through this army. They were sources of much anxiety to Captain Cracroft, the Deputy Commissioner. The state of feeling in Kashmír was unknown. The Mahárája had given no intimation, at that early period, of the line of policy he meant to pursue; there was a large force of Hindustani troops in the Peshúwar district, one of which, the 55th Native Infantry, had mutinied on the 21st May. To guard against dangers from Kashmír and Peshúwar, it was found needful to organize a force of upwards of 1,500 policemen and *dák*-runners; this force was disposed down the rivers Jhelum and Indus. A movable column was composed of detachments from Her Majesty's 24th Foot and Captain Miller's Police Battalion to restrain the men of the country.

"The fort of Attock commands a very important ferry of the Indus, and Mr. McNabb, Assistant Commissioner, was deputed to occupy it, in order to superintend the provisioning of it for troops, which were constantly crossing the river, and to protect the ferry from attack. He performed this duty with great diligence and ability, until he was removed to act as Deputy Commissioner of Jhelum on Major Brown's promotion to the Commissionership of Leiah. Mr. McNabb was succeeded by Lieutenant Shortt, who was also deputed to follow up the Jhelum mutineers in July, and displayed much vigour in this excursion. In the district there were two regiments of Irregular Cavalry, the 58th Native Infantry and a wing of the 14th Native Infantry, a regiment of Gurkhas, and a native troop of horse artillery. This was a brigade powerful enough to give just cause for alarm; the Chief Commissioner, therefore, who was present at Ráwalpindi, determined to disarm the Native Infantry. This was done on the 7th July, but the men did not lay down their arms for upwards of an hour after they had been ordered to do so. Even after the disarming, the men of the 14th continued so insolent and insubordinate that they were all confined in the Central Jail. The Gurkhas remained perfectly staunch throughout, and did excellent service before Delhi. Other operations in this district were the despatch of reinforcements to Murree with Mr. Thornton, and the mission of a party to act against the mutineers of the 9th Irregular Cavalry."

Subsequent history.

The subsequent history of the district is more social than political. The quiet routine of ordinary administration has never been interrupted. The occasional darbars and reviews in Ráwalpindi and the frontier wars have for a little quickened the pulse of the district, but the history of the district is the social history of the Punjab. The only change of consequence was the separation of the Attock, Fatehjang and Pindigheb Tahsils, which were included in the Attock District on its formation on 1st April 1904.

Section D.—Mines and Mineral Resources.

Petroleum.

The district is very poor in minerals. Petroleum is found in small quantities at Ratta Hotar, 13 miles from Ráwalpindi.

Gypsum.

Gypsum is found in considerable quantities along the southern part of the hills, from Murree, westwards: but it is not utilized either as a manure or as a cement by the natives.

Lignite.

Lignite is occasionally met with in very small quantities in some parts of the Murree hills, but is not worked. There is in fact no systematic working of minerals in the district.

Gold.

Gold is found in small quantities in the beds of various streams, tributaries of the Jhelum and the Indus, throughout the district, but it hardly pays to extract it from the sand which contains it. In Ráwalpindi Tahsil the persons principally employed in this occupation are Hindus from the western bank of the Jhelum, who have settled in some of the villages on the banks of the Soan. The work is hard, the outturn precarious, and the average profits are small.

The mode of extraction is simple: 10 or 12 lbs. weight of the sand is placed in a shallow basin-shaped tray, called a "Parátra" on a "Dhrún" and this is repeatedly washed, the water and the light sand being repeatedly thrown off until a dark deposit with minute shining specks of gold in it is left. Mercury is then added to this which unites with the gold grains to form a small nodule. The mercury is then detached by the heat of a fire, and a small globe of gold remains. The "Dhrúns" are generally owned by one person, and the gold-washing is done for him by paid labourers, who get a share of the profits which varies from Re. 1 per diem down to nothing at all when no gold is obtained. The average does not exceed Rs. 6 or Rs. 7 a month, and gold-washing is now

CHAP. III.D.

Mines and Minerals Resources.

less common than it once was, as more permanent employment and certain returns are to be got in many forms of ordinary daily labour.

Sandstone.

Sandstone and lime alone are extracted from the hills, and both are worked only when required by building contractors or the Public Works Department of Government. There is no systematic exploitation. Consequently there is no constant demand for labour, and no class who make their living by mining. When labour is required it is obtained in the usual way from immigrants or the casually unemployed.

Section E.—Arts and Manufactures.

Of the total population only 6 per cent. is urban. The rural population is essentially agricultural or dependent upon the results of agriculture. There is no large body of the people engaged in hand industries. The ordinary non-agricultural inhabitants of the district are Julaba (weaver), Teli (oilman), Kashmíri (usually spinners), Mochis (leather workers), Lohár (blacksmith), Tarkhán (carpenter), Mirási (musician), Musalli (sweeper), Sunár (goldsmith), with Brahmans, Khatris, Bhabrás and a few others. These form only a small proportion of the total population, and are most of them more or less dependent on the outturn from agricultural operations. Only a very small proportion of them is engaged on arts and manufactures of a really commercial nature. None of them are engaged on manufactures of much importance and none of their productions is known beyond the limits of the district. There is no manufacture of any kind peculiar to the district. Cotton is grown only for the cultivator's own personal use and cotton-weaving is a purely village industry. Country cloth of various kinds is made throughout the district. Blankets are manufactured in Kahúta Tahsil, and "chhats" and "borís" or packing bags are also made. Their manufacture is an art appropriated to barbers. Kashmíris everywhere take sooner or later to weaving. They practise a little silk-weaving, not without profit, but the outturn is inconsiderable. Phulkárís are made in many places, the best coming from Ráwalpindi. Soap of a common country kind is made at Ráwalpindi. A large number of lacquered legs for bedsteads (chárpáis) are made by the Tarkháns of Kuri-Dulál, Ráwalpindi Tahsil, and Salgráon in Kahúta Tahsil. These fetch from annas 10 to Rs. 10 for the set of four. They are made of shísham, phulái or khair wood. Pihrás, or low chairs, and spinning wheels are also made by the same class in considerable quantities. The chairs cost from Re. 1 to Rs. 8, the spinning wheels from Re. 1 to Rs. 6. Other wooden articles are also constructed for sale in many of the villages, especially in Kahúta Tahsil, where wood is plentiful. Richly carved chaukáts for doors and windows are occasionally made, and many of the houses, even of very ordi-

Village industries.

nary zamíndars in the hills, have elaborately carved doors. The carving, the work of the village tarkhán, is of a purely traditional nature, and although sometimes very laborious of no particular excellence. The designs are few and simple. The work has no celebrity.

Saddles are made in Ráwalpindi and in Bishendot, in Kahúta Tahsil, and cost from Rs. 5 to Rs. 20. The jewellery manufactured and worn in the district has been described at page 97. It is neither peculiar nor of special excellence.

Factories.

Table 28 of the Statistical Volume gives a list of all the factories in the district, the nature of the industry, and particulars as to the operatives employed. There is, with the exception of the Murree Brewery, no industrial concern in the district outside Ráwalpindi itself, and of the factories which do exist all but two are Government or Municipal concerns. The iron foundry of Messrs. N. D. Harri Ram and Brothers is a large private concern whose output is almost all despatched to Kashmír. At present they are doing a great deal of work for the Kashmír Electrical Scheme. A larger concern also privately owned is the Tent Factory of R. B. Buta Singh. It is merely a development of R. B. Buta Singh's business as a contractor, and supplies only the various Government Departments.

By far the largest factory is the Railway workshops, where more labour is employed than in all the other factories together.

The only private European industry in the district is the Murree Brewery Company, of which the following account has been supplied by Mr. Brown, General Manager :—

European industry in this district is represented by the Murree Brewery Co., Limited, with Breweries at Ghora Galli and Ráwalpindi and a branch brewery at Quetta.

The Company was founded in 1860 with a subscribed capital of Rs. 2,00,000. This has been increased from time to time and now stands at Rs. 18,00,000. The present actual capital employed is about thirty-six lakhs.

The Ghora Galli Brewery is situated on the Road to Murree, 33 miles from Ráwalpindi. Brewing was commenced in 1861, but very little progress was made until 1870, when Government first granted a formal contract to the Company for the supply of beer to the British troops cantoned in the vicinity. The outturn is now about 16,000 hogsheads (24,000 barrels) annually. This brewery ordinarily employs 4 Europeans, 16 office staff and Printing Press, and 260 native workmen.

The Ráwalpindi Brewery is situated at Topi about one mile from the Ráwalpindi civil lines. Brewing was commenced in the spring of 1889 and the outturn is about 6,000 hogsheads (9,000

CHAP. II.E.

Arts and Manufactures.

Distillery at Ráwalpindi.

barrels) annually. This brewery ordinarily employs 2 Europeans, 6 office staff and 180 native workmen.

At the request of the Punjab Government a distillery was built and equipped and since the summer of 1899 the manufacture of Malt Whisky, plain country spirit and coloured rum has been carried on. The large demand for plain country spirit necessitated an increase to the plant and a large continuous still was imported from Scotland, but the Punjab Government has not yet consented to its erection, so the plant in work at the present time is only 3 Pot stills and the maximum outturn is about 100,000 gallons of proof spirit. The *goor* for the distillery is brought from Lyallpur, Siálkot and Gurdáspur Districts, in the Punjab, and from certain districts in Bengal. *Goor* is not obtainable in the Ráwalpindi District. The distillery gives employment to 1 Supervisor, 1 Peon, 1 European Distillery Manager and 41 native workmen.

The Quetta Brewery is situated at Kerani at the foot of the western hills, 3 miles from the city of Quetta. Brewing was commenced in February 1886 and the outturn is now about 4,000 hogsheads (6,000 barrels) annually. This brewery ordinarily employs 2 Europeans, 4 office staff and 80 native workmen.

The Malt for Ghora Galli and Ráwalpindi Breweries is made from barley grown in the Hazára and Rewári Districts and for Quetta Brewery from barley grown in the Peshin valley. Hops are imported from England, Bavaria, California and France, and practically all that are available are purchased from the Kashmír State where an experimental hop garden was started by this Company.

The Head Office of this Company is at Ghora Galli from April · October and at Ráwalpindi from November to March, in each ye

The Company is under the management of Mr. James Brown.

CHAPTER IV.—PLACES OF INTEREST.

Places of purely antiquarian interest have been described in Chapter I, Section B.

CHAP. IV.

Places of interest.

RAWALPINDI.

For European and native alike Rawalpindi itself is the place of most interest in the district.

In the ancient history of the town General Cunningham is the only guide. He has identified the existing indications of an ancient city on the site now occupied by the British cantonments as the ruins of the city of Gajipur or Gajnipur, once the seat of the Bhatti tribe in the centuries preceding the Christian era.[1] The ancient city would appear to have been of considerable size, as ancient Greek and other coins and broken bricks are still found over an extent of two square miles. A small village still exists about three miles to the north of Ráwalpindi, named Ghazni, and as it is on the banks of the same stream as the cantonment, it most probably preserved the old name of the city. Within historical times the old name of the place was Fatehpur Báori, but the town which bore this name was completely destroyed during one of the Mughal invasions of the fourteenth century. In 995 A.D. it came into the possession of the Gakhars by gift from Mahmúd Ghaznavi, but its exposed position on the customary line of march of successive armies invading India was against it, and it long lay deserted, till Jhanda Khan, a Gakhar chief, restored it, giving it the name of Pindi or Ráwalpindi from the village of Ráwal which was at one time a flourishing place a few miles to the north of the town on the present road to Murree. The town, however, rose to no importance until after 1765, when it was occupied by Sirdár Milka Singh. This chief invited traders from Bhora, Miáni, Pind Dádan Khan and Chakwál, trading towns of the Jhelum and Shahpur districts, to settle in Ráwalpindi, and under his auspices the town rapidly grew in importance.

In the beginning of the present century the city became for a time the refuge of Sháh Shujáh, the exiled Amír of Kábul, and his brother, Sháh Zamán, who built a house once used as a *Kotwáli*. The present native Infantry lines mark the site of a battle fought by the Gakhars under their famous chief, Sultán Mukarrab Khan, and it was at Ráwalpindi that on 14th March 1849 the Sikh army under Chattar Singh and Sher Singh finally laid down their arms after the battle of Gujrat. On that occasion a Sikh soldier was overheard to say, "To-day Mahárája Ránjít Singh has died."

On the introduction of British rule it became a cantonment of considerable size, and shortly afterwards the head-quarters of a division. The cantonments were first occupied by troops in 1849, at

[1] "Archæological Report for 1862-65," pages 20 and 151.

CHAP. IV. Places of interest.

the close of the Multan Campaign, Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment being the first regiment quartered there. The final decision to occupy the station permanently was arrived at by the Marquis of Dalhousie when on tour in the Punjab in 1851. The place at once sprang into importance and grew up like a mushroom. The hill forests within reach of cantonments were ransacked for timber for building and for fuel, and the *gusaras* and many of the forest to the present day shew in their depleted condition the effects of the excessive fellings of those times. In 1879 the Punjab Northern State Railway, now the North-Western Railway, was extended to reach the city, which has as a result increased immensely in size and commercial importance. The railway was not opened to traffic till 1st January 1886. The city lies in north latitude 33° 37′ and east longitude 73° 6′. The total population at last census (1901) was 87,688, the city itself containing 47,077 souls, and the cantonments 40,611.

It lies on the north bank of a muddy stream called the Leh, which has here deep precipitous mud banks, and which is crossed by an iron bridge on the Murree road, and by four other bridges at different points in its course. The Leh separates the city from the cantonment and civil station which are both on the right bank, the city being on the left. The Civil Lines and the Deputy Commissoner's Office and Treasury are all at the extreme north-east corner of cantonments, and about a mile above the city on the Leh banks are situated the Workshops of the North-Western Railway which divert a good deal of its water by means of pumping apparatus.

The city itself lies low, and is only visible at any distance from the west. Much of the town is well built, and is very modern containing no buildings of much architectural beauty, or of ancient date. Water lies at a considerable depth below the surface, and there are not many private gardens; close to the town there is a large and well laid out municipal garden maintained by the Municipal Committee.

The lands round the town are very fertile and cultivation extends from the city northwards up to the foot of the Murree hills, and westwards to the Márgalla range. There are no city walls. The old fort has disappeared and there are no relics of antiquity to catch the eye. The town is essentially modern, and owes its growth and prosperity to the existence of the large cantonment beside it, and to the importance into which it rose during the last Kábul war. There are many good substantial brick buildings to be seen in every direction, and the town is a very clean one for an Indian city, and has a pleasant air of comfortable prosperity. As a rule the streets are wide and regular; only in the north-western, the most ancient, corner are the *bázárs* narrow and crooked. The town is probably the cleanest in Northern India.

The cantonment lies about a mile south of the city, on the slope by which the rich plain of Ráwalpindi merges into the characteristic ravine-gashed plain. The vast dreary undulating plain, cut up and broken in every direction by deep ravines, stretching away to the horizon west, south and east, and unbroken save by the eastern scarp of the Khairi-Murat hill, the "Chir Par," is on west and south-west hidden from the cantonment by rising ground. The outlook is thus over the fairest and richest part of the district, to the Margalla range and towards the Galis and the Murree hills. In winter a view of the Pír Panjál covered with snow can often be obtained.

In the cantonment, which is higher than the city, water is met with at a slightly lower depth, many trees have been planted, the roads are excellent, and the whole place is thoroughly well kept, trim and clean; the Civil Lines and the parts of the cantonment adjoining them are the best wooded portions. Here many specimens of the *pinus longifolia* are to be seen, which give an almost European aspect to this large North Indian station.

At the eastern extremity of the cantonment on an eminence is the fort, which encloses an arsenal within its walls. Other forts have been built at some distance from cantonment. Civil Lines, a little island in cantonments at the north-east corner contain the Commissioner's and Deputy Commissioner's Courts and the Treasury and Jail. Close by is the recently completed Circuit House and not far off is the Murree Brewery. Behind Civil Lines lies the park, one of the glories of Ráwalpindi. The forest growth is very strictly preserved, and affords a striking illustration of what efficient protection can do even in the plains. The numerous roads and rides are excellent. Many portions are very beautiful and the park is naturally much frequented by all the Europeans of the station. There are several ponds on which duck and teal are of ten seen.. Hare, partridges, foxes and jackal are fairly numerous, as shooting is not permitted except on special occasions. The western extremity of the station is known as West Ridge. Two British Infantry Regiments and a Battery are usually cantoned here. The ridge finds room too for the Railway lines, which are built near the workshop and contain a little church, an excellent Railway institute and a theatre. The site is high and airy, and commands a fine view. The houses are occupied by employés of the Railway.

Of the principal buildings in cantonments the Garrison Church, built in 1854 and restored in 1879, is a large but most unpicturesque structure. The east window is in memory of a former Bishop of Calcutta (Milman), who died at Rawalpindi in 1876. A handsome altar tomb of marble has been placed over his grave in the cemetery. The Church of Scotland proposes to build a large Gothic Church on an excellent site on the Mall. The Railway station and Telegraph offices, are both fine massive

CHAP. IV. — Places of interest.

buildings. The station club is in the centre of the station, on the Mall. There are two good hotels under European management, several excellent European shops, and two banks. The remaining public buildings and offices are the Courts of the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner; the Police office; the Treasury; the extensive Jail; the Brigade, Commissariat and Transport Offices; and the office of the Paymaster, Punjab Circle. The gas-works are situated immediately outside the boundary of cantonments.

At the north-west end of the Mall on the Peshawar Road near the XIth Lancers' Mess is General Lockhart's monument, a high pillar of grey granite.

The Sadar Bazar (in cantonments) contains numerous good Parsi and other shops. At the entrance to the bazar an archway has been erected in remembrance of Brigadier-Gerneral Massy, and is known as the Massy Gate. There is also a spacious market built by Sardar Sujan Singh at an expense of two lakhs of rupees and thrown open to the public in 1883.

In the neighbourhood stand the Commissariat Steam Flour Mills, which supply most of the cantonments in the Punjab.

In the city the principal buildings and places of interest are—

(1) The Municipal Gardens.

(2) Rai Bahadar Sujan Singh's garden containing a small museum known as the Shaddi Ghar or marriage house. It was opened on the occasion of the marriage of his eldest son, Sardar Hardit Singh, and contains many valuable articles.

(3) Sardar Hardit Singh's Library. It was opened in August 1902, and is maintained by subscriptions and by an endowment of Rs. 250 per mensem out of the sum of Rs. 1,000 per mensem bequeathed by Sardar Sujan Singh for Dharm Khátá. It is open to the public for at least seven hours in the morning and evening every day, and is managed by a Committee under the presidency of Bhai Sham Singh, a cousin of Sardar Sujan Singh. The income from subscriptions amounts to about Rs. 30 per mensem. About 80 newspapers and magazines are taken in, and there is also a variety of books of every description for public use.

(4) Sresht Niti High School, described at page 10.

(5) Beckett and Agnew grain markets

(6) Civil Hospital.

(7) Mission School.

(8) Mission (Gordon) College.

(9) The Tank of Mai Viro.

(10) The right and left city redoubts situate to the north-east and north-west of the city respectively.

The water-works and drainage system have already been noticed. The municipal arrangements were described in Chapter III, Section E.

MURREE.

The sanitarium of Murree lies in north latitude 33° 54′ 30″ and east longitude 73° 26′ 30″, at an elevation of 7,517 feet above sea-level, and contains a standing population of 1,768 inhabitants, which is, however, enormously increased during the season by the influx of visitors and their attendant servants, and shop-keepers. It is the most accessible hill station in the Punjab, being distant from Ráwalpindi only 38 miles. The tonga journey can be done in five hours. This year (1907) the Punjab Motor Transport Company have placed a service of motor cars on the road, and access to the station is now rapid and comfortable. Magnificent views are obtained in the spring and autumn of the snow-crowned mountains of Kashmir ; and gorgeous sunset and cloud effects are seen daily during the rains. Parts of the station, especially the Kashmír end, are also well-wooded and pretty.

The climate is good except in June, July, August when it is decidedly relaxing, and the station is apt to be overcrowded.

The extremities of the summit are known as Pindi Point and Kashmír Point. Of these the latter is the higher ; but the greatest height (7,517 feet) is attained by an eminence between them. They are connected by a road, about three miles long, which traverses the entire station ; and the houses of the residents nestle against the hill among the trees on both sides of the summit. Below the main road, nearly at its middle point, stood the club of Northern India, burned down in the summer of 1902. Here the cart-road from Ráwalpindi terminates, and from this point starts the road for Cliffden barracks, one mile distant, where are stationed the married women and families of troops quartered at Murree and its neighbourhood. Close to the ruins of the club, on the same side of the road, but on an eminence above it, is the Anglican Church, and on a corresponding eminence on the other side are the barracks and offices of the depôt. The Presbyterian Church is close by below the Mall. Between this point and the Post Office, situated about a quarter of a mile further on towards Kashmír Point, are the shops for the sale of European goods ; and beneath, on the steep hill side, is the native *bazár.* The latter, owing to the constant supervision of the Assistant Commissioner and his staff, is generally clean and neat and well drained. From the Post Office the old road to Kashmír branches off, passing within the tation, the Telegraph Office, Court of the Commissioner and the

CHAP. IV.
Places of interest.

old Secretariat and skirting the Gharial camp, four miles from Murree. Opposite the Post Office is the Assistant Commissioner's Court and Treasury, whence diverges the road to the Gallies and Abbottabad, which passes through camp Kuldannah, two miles below Murree. The water supply was formerly obtained from springs over which covered tanks had been built, in which the water was allowed to accumulate. The supply was consequently limited, and in the hottest part of the season there was sometimes a dearth. There was also an ever present danger of contamination of the sources from the careless way in which even European residents frequently neglect to control the conservancy of their households. Water is now brought in from a pure source in the hills some 10 miles from Murree, is stored in reservoirs and supplied through pipes. The population in the season is chiefly drawn from Ráwalpindi, but considerable detachments of visitors come from Lahore, Sialkot, Peshawar and Mooltan, and there are few stations in the plains entirely unrepresented. Further details will be found in the guide books written by Dr. Ince and Mr. Peacock, Assistant Commissioner, respectively.

The Murree ridge upon which the station is situated, forms a lateral spur of the Himalayas, running down at right-angles to the plains with a general direction from north-east to south-west, and flanked on either side by parallel lines of hill. On approaching Murree from the plains, the first point at which the range assumes the proportions of a mountain is at Tret, 25½ miles from Ráwalpindi. From this point it rises rapidly, and at Pindi Point, the south-west extremity of the station, reaches a height of 7,266 feet. From this point the ridge stretches due north-east for about 3½ miles still rising, until, at Kashmír Point, the north-eastern extremity, it reaches the height of 7,507 feet. The height is not, however, uniform, but rises and falls in a series of points, the strata which form the topmost ridge, a few feet only in width, being traceable throughout. Beyond Kashmír point the Murree range sinks abruptly and branches off into the hills of Topa to the east, and Kuldannah to the west. These hills shut in the northern ends of the valleys into which the Murree ridge sinks on either side. Both are richly wooded, and are, or used to be, favorite resorts for picnic parties from the station. Kuldannah, however, has been occupied as a site for barracks. The Murree ridge itself on its north-west side has a comparatively gentle slope, and is clothed with a dense forest of pines and chestnuts. The valley below is deep and irregular, and the range on the other side bare and steep, higher than the Murree ridge. On the other side the ridge sinks more abruptly into the valley shut in above by Topa, and is comparatively bare of trees. The valley below is wide and open, richly cultivated and studded with villages, while the hill side beyond it slopes less rapidly and is thickly clothed with forest. The

CHAP. IV. — Places of interest.

scenery upon the wooded side of the Murree ridge is not surpassed in any of the Punjab hill stations, and when the Kashmír hills are clothed with snow, they form a magnificent background to the view. During the summer months, however, snow lies upon them only in patches.

The houses of the European visitors are scattered along both sides of the Murree ridge from Pindi Point to Kashmír Point, but are most frequent upon the wooded or north-west slopes of the hill. They are connected by broad and easy roads, of which the principal is the Mall extending nearly from end to end of the station. In rainy weather, however, these roads, like the cart-road from Ráwalpindi, become muddy and slippery to a degree that renders locomotion extremely difficult. The clayey soil retains the moisture, and the roads, once thoroughly cut up, require several days of dry weather before they resume their ordinary appearance. The climate of Murree is said to be well adapted to the British constitution, but for some months probably owing to the clay formation it is decidedly relaxing. The coldest months are December, January and February. The hottest month is usually July. Rain falls generally in April and May, but the heaviest rain is in July and August. Hail storms are common in April and November, and heavy thunderstorms during the rains. Earthquakes occur almost every year, sometimes more than once, but they have never been known to result in any damage.

The site of the station was selected in 1850, and in 1851 troops were first quartered there. Permanent barracks were erected in 1853. During the Mutiny, the Dhúnds, a tribe inhabiting the neighbouring hills, incited by the Hindustánís of the station, made an attack upon Murree, but timely notice of their intentions having been given, their ill-armed levies were easily dispersed. In 1858, and again in 1867, there were epidemics of cholera, and the mortality was very great. Another outbreak occurred in 1888. The immediately succeeding years saw occasional visitations of the disease, generally importations from the plains, but more recently the station has been free from disease. Up till 1876 Murree was the summer head-quarters of the Local Government, which has now forsaken it for Simla. An Assistant Commissioner is stationed in independent charge of Murree during the season.

The Anglican Church is large, spacious, and finely situated. There are also a Roman Catholic and a Presbyterian Church. Two miles below the station is the Lawrence Asylum for military orphans, which has already been described. Two bridle roads lead to it, one starting from Pindi point, and the other from the cart-road terminus. The best public building is the Post Office; the Courts of the Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner and the Telegraph Office are all most unpretentious edifices. In the

CHAP. IV. — Places of interest.

bázár are the Tahsíldár's Court and the Police Station. Besides these there are the Assembly Rooms, a branch of the Alliance Bank of Simla, and the dispensary. There are several excellent European and Pársi shops and five hotels, the shop-keepers and hotel managers of Ráwalpindi migrating to Murree during the summer months. Rowbury's hotel is the ancient Government House. The Murree Brewery, which has already been alluded to, is at Goragalli, six miles below Murree by the cart-road, where the houses of the Manager and his Assistants make up a considerable colony.

Municipal arrangements have already been described in Chapter III, Section E. The winter and summer population is taken to be 5,045, but in the summer the population can fall but little short of 10,000.

GUJAR KHAN.

Gujar Khan has now little to distinguish it but the presence of the tahsil head-quarters. Once it was a market well-known in the Northern Punjab, and exported wheat and other grains to Karachi and England. The produce of Gujar Khan itself, Kallar, Chakwal and Fatehjang was brought in large quantities, and as much as 10,000 maunds of grain per diem was sometimes exported. Ralli Brothers, and all the great firms had their agencies here, and the Gujar Khan wheat had a high reputation in the trade. Gujar Khan wheat is still as good as or better than any wheat in the Punjab, but the centre of trade has moved away. The Mari-Attock Railway has tapped some of the country which sent its wheat to Gujar Khan, and the Chenab Colony has shifted the centre of the Punjab wheat trade nearer the sea. All the agencies have gone. The Karachi trade is small. Successive bad harvests have severed trade connections, which will never be renewed The old salt trade too with Kashmír has gone, ruined by preferential tariff in that State. The place has fallen from its old station. It is now only the largest of the villages in the Tahsil, trading in the produce of Gujar Khan alone, and distributing the miscellaneous requirements of the Gujar Khan *zamindar*. But the place is still active. It has a firm hold on its own commercial world, and is the trade centre for the whole tahsíl.

KAHUTA.

Kahúta is very different. It is merely a large village of 2,961 inhabitants with the tahsil head-quarters. The trade of the tahsil is diffused, and Kahúta is not a centre. The more fertile parts to the south deal with Gujar Khan through Nara and Kallar. Kahuta has no traders apart from money-lenders, and no dealings for exports and imports with any large producing mart. But the place stands at the junction of five roads. To the south-west an excellent road leads to Sihala station on the North-Western Railway, twelve miles away. A second road runs north

up into the hills by Letrar and Kotli and so to Murree. A third strikes north-east by Panjar and crosses into Poonch by the Lachman Ferry. A fourth, running due east, leads into the same State and Jammu by the Owen Ferry and a fifth runs south to Kallar. The little *bazar* does a small trade in *ghi*, wool and hides, with the hills in British or Kashmir territory. These goods are either sold or bartered for salt, sugar, tobacco and cotton stuffs.

KALLAR.

Kallar does a similar trade, but is chiefly interesting as the head-quarters of Bedi Gurbakhsh Singh, the spiritual leader of all the Sikhs of the Pothwar.

PHARWALA.

Pharwala is interesting because it contains the ruins of the old fort, the head-quarters of the Gakkhar power. The village itself has been deserted by all but four families of Gakkhars and a few tenants-at-will. The fort lies on the face of a bare slope of rock, and below it rushes the Soan torrent which here emerges from the hills. The vicissitudes of Pharwala have been described in the Chapter on History.

GAZETTEER

OF THE

SHAHPUR DISTRICT

1883-4.

Compiled and Published under the authority of the

PUNJAB GOVERNMENT.

PREFACE.

THE period fixed by the Punjab Government for the compilation of the *Gazetteer* of the Province being limited to twelve months, the Editor has not been able to prepare any original matter for the present work; and his duties have been confined to throwing the already existing material into shape, supplementing it as far as possible by contributions obtained from district officers, passing the draft through the press, circulating it for revision, altering it in accordance with the corrections and suggestions of revising officers, and printing and issuing the final edition.

The material available in print for the *Gazetteer* of this district consisted of the Settlement Reports, and a draft *Gazetteer* compiled between 1870 and 1874 by Mr. F. Cunningham, Barrister-at-Law. Notes on certain points have been supplied by district officers; while the report on the Census of 1881 has been utilised. Of the present volume, Section A of Chap. V (General Administration), and the whole of Chap. VI (Towns), have been for the most part supplied by the Deputy Commissioner; Section A of Chap. III (Statistics of Population) has been taken from the Census Report; while here and there, and especially in the matter of ancient history, passages have been extracted from Mr. Cunningham's compilation already referred to. But, with these exceptions, the great mass of the text has been taken almost, if not quite verbally, from Colonel Davies' Settlement Report of the district.

The report in question was written in 1866, and necessarily affords somewhat inadequate material for an account of the district as it stands at present. No better or fuller material, however, was either available or procurable within

SHAHPUR.

CHAPTER I.

THE DISTRICT.

Chapter I.

Descriptive.

General description.

The Sháhpur district is the southernmost of the four districts of the Ráwalpindi division, and lies between north latitude 31° 32′ and 32° 42′, and east longitude 71° 37′ and 73° 24′. It is bounded on the north by the Jhelum which separates it from the Pind Dádan Khán *tahsíl*, and by the Talágang *tahsíl* of the Jhelum district, on the east by the Gujrát district, and by the Chenáb which separates it from Gujránwála, on the south by the Jhang district, and on the west and north-west by the districts of Dera Ismail Khán and Bannu. It is divided into three *tahsíls*, of which that of Bhera lies to the east and comprises so much of the cis-Jhelum portion of the district as lies opposite Pind Dádan Khán. Of the remainder of the district the cis-Jhelum portion constitutes the Sháhpur, and the trans-Jhelum portion the Khusháb *tahsíl*.

Some leading statistics regarding the district and the several *tahsíls* into which it is divided are given in Table No. I on the opposite page. The district contains one town of more than 10,000 souls, *viz.*, Bhera with a population of 15,165. The administrative headquarters are situated at Sháhpur near the bank of the river Jhelum, in the centre of the district. Sháhpur stands 7th in order of area and 24th in order of population among the 32 districts of the province, comprising 4·40 per cent. of the total area, 2·23 per cent. of the total population, and 2·12 per cent. of the urban population of British territory. The latitude, longitude, and height in feet above the sea of the principal places in the district are shown in the margin.

Town.	N. Latitude.	E. Longitude	Feet above sea-level.
Sháhpur	32° 17′	72° 30′	647
Khusháb	32° 18′	72° 24′	640*
Bhera	32° 29′	73° 57	600*
Sakesar	32° 32′ 24″	71° 59′ 36″	4,992

General features.

Extending as it does from the river Chenáb to the Salt Range, and including portions of those mountains, the district, though for the most part plain, presents more than one variation of soil and climate. On either side of the Jhelum, which divides the district into two nearly equal portions, stretch wide plains at present barren, or productive only of a course growth of brushwood. Much, however, of this area is composed of good soil only requiring irrigation to make it productive of fine crops; indeed, if we except the *thal* of the

* Approximate.

Chapter I.
Descriptive.
General features.

Sindh-Ságar Doáb, there is little land that would not repay the labour of the husbandman, could he but procure water at a moderate cost. As it, however, some 83 per cent. of the area is in a state of nature; while in the southern half of the district, cultivation is for the most part confined to a strip of land varying from 3 to 15 miles in width along the banks of the Chenáb and Jhelum rivers. The most important physical sub-divisions of the district are, the Salt Range in the north, the valleys of the Jhelum and Chenáb, and the plains between those rivers and between the Jhelum and the Salt Range. The characteristics of these two plains are widely different, though both are barren and unproductive. The desert portion of the southern plain is termed the *bár*; the corresponding tract north of the Jhelum is known as the *thal.*

Physical features of southern half of the district.

At first sight it would seem that there is little to describe in this part of the district, so much of sameness is there in the general aspect of the country; but closer observation reveals features worth noting. First, there is the general slope upwards from the low cultivated lands to the high and dry expanse of the *bár*. The ascent, though of course common to both sides of the Doáb, is far from uniform. In places it is so gradual as to be almost imperceptible, the fact revealing itself to the traveller inland only by the increase of waste and jungle, and the decrease of life and cultivation. In others the transition is so abrupt as to be almost startling. The latter is the case on the Jhelum at intervals from the boundary of Gujrát westward to Sháhpur, but after leaving this point, a marked change takes place, the belt of cultivation rapidly increasing from three or four miles, the average width hitherto, to two or three times as much by the time the southern boundary of the district is reached. Again, on the side of the Chenáb the rise in the surface level is more gradual than on that of the Jhelum, and as a consequence, cultivation extends further inland along the former river. The people account for this by affirming that the river itself, at no very remote period, flowed considerably to the west of its present course; and the explanation is probably correct, as the remains of what appears to have been the former bed of the stream,* or at least of a very important branch, are still plainly visible, winding along at distances varying from six to ten miles, almost parallel to the present course of the river. It may also be worth noting that, on the Jhelum side, the otherwise continuous rise of the land is interrupted in the most capricious manner by a series of abrupt depressions. These are met with at intervals of two or three miles, and extend in places to distances of not less than fifteen miles from the present position of the river, of which they also were probably at one time branches. From these and other indications there is reason to believe that both these rivers have been gradually receding from their original positions, the one to the east, the other to the west.

Cultivated portion divided into the *hithár* and *nakka*.

The zones of cultivation, on both sides of this Doáb, are divided by the people into the *hithár* and the *nakka*. The former is the alluvial tract immediately bordering on the rivers. It contains the

* Known by the name *Budhi nai* or old stream; the Lahore road crosses it between Bhagtánwala and Laksin.

finest villages; almost every acre of it is under cultivation during the *rabi* harvest, and little or no irrigation is required to bring the luxuriant crops to maturity. The latter is the strip of country lying between the *hithár* and the *bár*, beyond the fertilizing influence of the inundations of the river, yet not so far as to render artificial irrigation unprofitable. Tillage in this tract may be said to be entirely dependent on wells, water is found at distances varying from to 50 feet from the surface, and both spring and autumn crops are grown. Villages, as might be expected, are fewer, smaller, and, as a rule, not in such flourishing condition as those in the more favoured tracts bordering on the rivers.

Chapter I.

Descriptive.

Cultivated portion divided into the *hithár* and *nakka*.

The space intervening between these belts of cultivation is occupied by an expanse of jungle known by the generic title of the *bár*. No lengthened description of this inhospitable region is required, as, in its principal features, it closely resembles the allied tracts in the Rechna and Bári Doábs. As before stated, the soil is good; but water is so far from the surface,* that irrigation from wells would be too expensive for adoption were even the water sweet; as a rule, however, this is not the case, and the utmost that is ever attempted in the way of tillage, is the raising of an occasional rain crop in hollows, which, from receiving the surface drainage, are, in favourable seasons, kept sufficiently moist to allow of the ripening of the crops. But the main use to which the *bár* is put is as a pasture ground for cattle, immense herds of which are to be found roaming at will through these prairie jungles, and in ordinary seasons, finding ample sustenance in the rich crops of grass which spring up after rain. Population is scanty and villages here few, and separated from each other by great distances.

The *Bár*.

In a region so generally arid, tree-vegetation is as a matter of course very limited, and such as is to be met with is confined to the more hardy varieties, those which require comparatively little moisture for their spontaneous growth. Accordingly, we find that the only trees indigenous to this district are the *kikar (Acacia Arabica)*, the *ber (Zyzyphus jujuba)*, and the *farásh (Tamarix indica)* in the low lands; and in the *bár*, the *karíl* or wild caper, (*Capparis aphylla*), the *jand (Prosopis spicigera)* and the *pílu* (*Salvadora oleoides*); these latter form a dense jungle in which the *pílu* largely predominates. In addition to the foregoing, in favourable situations near the rivers and by the sides of wells, may be found specimens of the *shísham (Dalbergia sissoo)*, *sirus (Acacia sirus)* and other kinds; but they are nowhere to be seen in any numbers, and the probability is that they are not of natural growth. Much has been done, since our occupation of the country, to promote the growth of useful trees, and every day the results are becoming more apparent.

Character of vegetation south of the Jhelum.

The northern half is by far the most interesting portion of the district, containing as it does such varieties of scenery and climate, such contrasts of soil, vegetation, and natural capabilities. The lowlands along the right bank of the Jhelum have little to distinguish them from the corresponding tract on the opposite bank of

The tract north of the Jhelum.

* From 60 to 75 feet.

Chapter I.

Descriptive.

The tract north of the Jhelum.

the river; but on leaving these and moving inland, all resemblance to the country south of the river ceases. Looking to the north, a hard level plain, in places impregnated with salt, and throughout almost devoid of vegetation, occupies the foreground; beyond it extends a zone of a few miles of cultivation, and the view is shut in by a barrier of rugged and apparently barren hills; while on turning to the east and south, is seen an interminable plain, the soil of which, changing from the hard clay of the *mohár* to the sand of the *thal*, gradually loses itself in the horizon. The area included within this general description is made up of three strongly marked natural divisions: (1) the Salt Range; (2) the cultivated plains along the base of these hills, sub-divided popularly into the *mohár* and *danda*; and (3) the *thal*. Each of these deserves separate notice.

The Salt Range.

The portion of the chain of hills called the Salt Range, included within the limits of this district, commences at the village of Padhrár on the east, and ends on the west at the Sakesar hill, the highest peak in the range, a total length of about forty miles. At its narrowest part, opposite Katha, the range does not exceed eight miles in width; but from this point it rapidly increases, till at Jabbi the interval between the plains on both sides cannot be less than twenty miles, thence it narrows again rapidly, and the external ridges on both sides of the range, closing round the Sún valley, unite and form the Sakesar hill. The area between these limits is made up of a number of rock-bound alluvial basins, of which the largest, the Sún and the Khabaki valleys, occupy the northern half of the range, while the lower portion is cut up into a number of very diminutive valleys and glens, by a succession of limestone ridges and their connecting spurs. Of these, the Patiál and Sakesar mountains, with the intermediate chain of lower hills, form the central watershed, issuing from which the surplus drainage passes off to the south into the plains below, but to the north, finding no outlet, it collects in the lowest parts of the valleys and there forms lakes. In this part of the range, there are three of these sheets of water, of which the Ucháli lake, or Samundar as it is called, is by far the largest; of the other two, one is situated between the villages of Khabaki and Mardwál, and the other in front of the small village of Jáhlar. The southern face of the range exhibits a very rugged and broken appearance, its distorted strata, rent cliffs, and huge detached masses of rock telling plainly of the violence of the commotion which must have attended the birth of these hills. The irregularity of the outline on this side is further increased by the occurrence of a succession of deep indentations, through which the surplus waters of the range empty themselves into the plains below. But on the north, the contour of the hills is for the most part smooth and undulating, and the descent into the plains of Pakkhar and Talagang easy and gradual.

The scenery of the Salt Range throughout is pleasing, in places is grand and picturesque, and its hills and valleys, situated at elevations varying from 2,500 to 5,000 feet above the sea-level, enjoy a climate many degrees cooler than that of the plains, and not unlike that of Kashmir. The soil formed of the gradual disintegra-

Chapter I.

Descriptive.

The Salt Range.

tion of the limestone and sandstone rocks of which the upper surface of the range is chiefly composed, is exceedingly fertile, and its powers are being constantly renovated by fresh deposits of alluvium brought down by the torrents which discharge into the valleys the drainage from the surrounding hills. Cultivation here is almost entirely dependent on rain; but owing to the comparative coolness of the climate, which by reducing the evaporation from the surface economises the supply of moisture, the crops in ordinary seasons ripen without the want of artificial irrigation being felt; so much is this the case, that it is a common saying among the people that the *rabi* crop in the Sún valley (the richest and largest in the range) has never been known to fail. These hills, moreover, are not without the attractive influence on clouds which similar masses exert elsewhere, and as a consequence the fall of rain in the range is far greater than in the plains to the south; this fact of course materially contributes to the stability of its cultivation.

Vegetation of Salt Range.

The vegetation on the southern face is of the scantiest description, being confined to a few stunted *phuláhi* trees (*Acacia modesta*) and the *salsolas* and other plants peculiar to soils impregnated with salt. In the interior of the range, however, a notable change in this respect is observable, for, although it is nowhere well wooded, yet trees of many kinds are to be met with in considerable numbers, and the hill-sides are everywhere green with bushes of the bog myrtle (*Dodonea burmanniana*) and a plant (*Adhatoda vassica*) called by the natives *bahekar*. Trees of all hardy kinds will grow luxuriantly in the valleys, but as a rule all have been cleared away to give room for cultivation. The trees which are found in the greatest numbers and appear indigenous, are the wild olive (*kaú*), the *phuláhi* above spoken of, the common Indian mulberry, and the *kunger* (*Grewia betulæfolia.*) A great number of other varieties are to be seen as single trees, here and there in the beds of torrents, or by the side of watercourses. The *shísham* thrives well in the valleys, without, however, attaining to any great size, but the climate is too cold for the *siras*.

The *mohár* and *danda*.

The plains extending along the base of the Salt Range, known to the people as the *mohár*, present a marked and disagreeable contrast to the valleys above. A fertile strip of alluvial land from three to four miles in width, slopes rapidly away from the hills, closely intersected by the beds of torrents. It is succeeded by level plains, in places impregnated with salt, and barren, in others formed of good culturable soil. The only approach to vegetation consists of *karil* bushes thinly distributed over the surface, with here and there trees of the *farásh* and *kíkar* varieties growing in the beds of torrents. Tillage is almost exclusively confined to the upper portion (the *mohár* proper), the land there being of better quality and in quantity more than sufficient for the wants of the inhabitants; the lower part (the *danda*) is chiefly used by the villagers as pasture grounds for cattle.

Streams.

The most important streams of this tract are, the Vahi which debouches on to the plains near the village of Katha; the Surakka which waters the fine estates of Jabbi and Dhokri; and the Dhodha, which, after receiving the drainage from Sakesar and the hills round

Chapter I.

Descriptive.

Amb, fertilizes the lands of the border village of Kiri Golewáli. But of the many channels by which the drainage of the Salt Range is conducted into the plains, the first named is the only one that holds a constant supply of water.

Scarcity of good water in the mohár.

The scarcity of good water is one of the marked characteristics of this part of the district. The springs of good water which here and there are to be found trickling out of the clefts of the rocks above, become in their passage through the inferior salt strata so brackish as to be quite unfit for use by either men or animals; and the subsoil everywhere throughout this tract is so thoroughly impregnated with saline matter, that all attempts to obtain good water by means of wells have hitherto failed. Hence the population are driven to store up supplies of this necessary of life in tanks, but the heat, increased by radiation from the adjacent rocks, is so intense that not infrequently these reservoirs dry up before they can be replenished; when this occurs the people are put to great straits, having often to perform a daily journey of many miles to obtain water sufficient for themselves and their cattle. It may be added that these tanks are indiscriminately used by men and animals, and hence in course of time the water becomes so impure as to be a fruitful source of disease, of which guinea-worm is not the least distressing, as it is the most common form.

The *thal*.

In common parlance, the entire expanse of country south of the Salt Range, beyond the influence of the rivers, is called the *thal*; but in speaking more discriminatingly, this word is used to indicate that portion of the district which is situated south of the road from Khushâb to Dera Ismail Khán. A casual observer would say of this dreary region, that it resembles nothing so much as an angry sea, sand hills being substituted for waves; and to a certain extent the remark would be true of a portion of the *thal*; and yet such a description would convey a very imperfect notion of the country known by this name for it leaves out some important features, without which the sketch is wanting in truth, and degenerates into a caricature. To render the likeness complete, we must add that the waves or hillocks of sand possess this peculiarity; that they all run in one direction, north-west and south-east; that in the intervals between these waves occur patches of hard soil, which produce good crops of grass; while the whole surface is covered by stunted bushes. Nor is this all, the general sandy and undulating character of the *thal* is in places broken by long stretches of perfectly level ground (called *patti*), which under artificial irrigation produce excellent crops. One of these belts occurs west of Núrpur, and extends without a break as far as Muzaffargarh: its average width in this district is about two miles. Here the best villages are to be found, and throughout the *thal* it is only in the *patti* that masonry wells are to be met with.

Vegetation of the *thal*.

The vegetation of the *thal* consists almost entirely of low brushwood and grasses. The few trees may be counted on the fingers, and, with rare exceptions, are to be found only round villages. The *ber* seems to be the only tree that survives in any numbers the scorching heat and long-continued droughts of this arid region. The bushes to be seen everywhere are the *phog* (*Calligonum polygō-*

Chapter I.

Descriptive.

noides), the *lána* (*Caroxylon fœtidum*) the *búi* (*Panderia pilosa*) on which camels browse, the *madár* (*Calotropis gigantea*) and the *harmal* (*Peganum harmala*) which nothing will touch. Of the two last, the former yields a fine floss, which has been successfully worked into rugs, and might be utilized in other ways, and the latter is used by the people as a medicine, and is popularly supposed to possess many virtues. The yield of grass in favourable seasons is considerable, but still, owing to the prevalence of sand-hills on which little or no vegetation is to be found, the same area will not support so many cattle as in the *bár*. Of the many varieties of grass produced, the *khabal* (the *dhúb* of Hindustán), the *dhámen* and *chhimbar*, all prostrate grasses, are the most prized.

It has been already stated that masonry wells are not uncommon in the *pabbi*. These are all sunk in the immediate vicinity of villages, and are used both for domestic purposes and to raise a small crop of wheat or vegetables. In other parts of the *thal*, *kacha* or unlined wells are dug and periodically renewed as required. It has been found that wells of this class fall in after being used for twelve or eighteen months. They are never employed by the people for irrigation, but solely for supplying drinking water for themselves and their cattle. The water of the *thal* is all more or less brackish, and it is only after long use that it can be consumed without producing injurious effects. It is found at distances varying from 45 to 60 feet from the surface.

Habits of the population.

From the foregoing description it will be seen that Nature has formed this tract to be the abode of [illegible] population alone, and it is by such that we find it peopled; but the change from anarchy to settled Government has so far modified the habits of the people, that whereas, prior to British rule, they subsisted entirely on the produce of their flocks and herds, having no fixed abode, but moving from place to place wherever a good supply of grass [illegible] found, they are now to be seen gradually settling down into permanent habitations, and availing themselves of every opportunity offered by the seasons to add to their other resources, by cultivating the patches of good soil with which the [illegible] are everywhere interspersed. A marked change has taken place in this respect, and with the growth of settled habits an attachment to the soil is being rapidly developed.

Rivers.

The success of agriculture in this district is largely dependent on the annual floods from its rivers. The district is traversed throughout its length by the Jhelum. This river, otherwise known as the Vitasta and Behat, rises in the south-eastern corner of the Kashmír valley, after traversing which it is joined by the Kishnganga, and the united streams from this point, flowing nearly due south, enter British territory a few miles above the town of Jhelum. The river, from the moment that it enters the plains, following the general slope of the country, adopts a more westerly course, which it maintains without much variation till it mingles its waters with the Chenáb at Trimmu, a few miles below the town of Jhang, having traversed in its passage through hills and plains a distance of not less than four hun-

The Jhelum.

Chapter I.

Descriptive.

The Jhelum

dred and fifty miles, of which about two hundred have lain in British territory. In the plains the Jhelum is a muddy river, with a current of about four miles an hour. The average width of the stream in this district, at flood, is about 800 yards, dwindling down in the winter months to less than half this size. Fickle as all Indian rivers are, from the circumstance that they flow through a flat clayey soil unable to resist the action of water, perhaps none can surpass the Jhelum in this respect, nor in the damage which it annually causes by its vagaries. This fact, combined with the comparative narrowness of its channel, has probably led to the existence of a custom, which will be fully described in its proper place, by which the integrity of states on both banks of the river is preserved. A remarkable feature of this river is the sudden freshets to which it is subject. These occur after very heavy rain in the hills, when the swollen stream, overleaping its banks, inundates the country for miles on either side, and then gradually subsides within its normal bounds. These freshets, or *kángs* as they are called by the people, are very different in their character to the floods caused by the melting of the snows as they seldom last more than one or two days. In favourable seasons several of these inundations take place, and it is not easy to exaggerate the beneficial effects produced on the large area thus submerged. The soil becomes thoroughly saturated, and its productive powers often greatly enhanced by the deposits of alluvium left by the receding waters.

The Chenáb.

For twenty-five miles the Chenáb forms the boundary between this district and Gujránwála. Draining as it does a larger area, the volume of its waters is greater than that of the Jhelum; but then its stream being broader, the current is more sluggish, and it is not liable to shift its channel so frequently or so rapidly as that river. Its width during the rains, at the ferry opposite Pindi Bhattián, is considerably over a mile. Impetuous while in flood, its average velocity does not exceed two and a half miles an hour. As an agent for adding to the productive powers of the soil, the Chenáb is decidedly inferior to the Jhelum, the deposits left by its floods being inferior both in quality and quantity.

Canals.

Inundation canals may now be counted as a distinct feature in the agricultural system of the district, and will find appropriate mention here. Although by no means new to the district, as evidenced by the many remains of such works to be met with along the edge of the *bár* on the Jhelum side, all that ever existed had been allowed to fall into disuse, and had long ago become silted up. At length in 1860, one of these was experimentally cleared out by Mr. McNabb, then Deputy Commissioner of the district. The partial success of the trial, combined with judicious encouragement, led Sáhib Khan, Tiwana, a wealthy and enterprizing native gentleman, to excavate an entirely new canal to water a grant of waste land of which he had obtained a long lease. Fortunately for the future of the district, the work was completely successful, and the *malik's* gains large; and from that time it has been the duty of the District Officer rather to control within reasonable bounds than to foster the spirit of enterprise which has arisen in consequence

History of Canals.

Altogether 26 inundation canals have been constructed in the district since 1860 for irrigation purposes, which may be divided as follows :—

(a) Canals under Irrigation Department.

No.	Canal	Length.		Acres.
1.	Station canal ...	22 miles, irrigates ...	}	8,600
2.	New Sáhiwál ...	17 " " ...	}	
3.	Old Sáhiwál ...	19 " " ...		2,500
4.	McNabbwáh ...	14 " " ...		1,800

(b) Canals under District Authority.

No.	Canal	Length.	Acres.
5.	Ràniwáh (maintained from Provincial Fund) ...	23 miles, irrigates ...	18,000
6.	Corbynwáh ...	20 " " ...	2,800

(c) Private Canals.

No.	Canal	Length.	Acres.
7.	Píránwála ...	15 miles, irrigates ...	2,500
8.	Amírchandwála ...	17 " " ...	2,000
9.	Makhdúmánwála ...	10 " " ...	1,250
10.	Thattiwála ...	2½ " " ...	500
11.	Nangiána or Nabba ...	2 " " ...	350
12.	Nathúwálá ...	6 " " ...	658
13.	Chillwálá, or Jahánkhánwála ...	19 " " ...	5,023
14.	Sultán Mahmudwála	20 " " ...	3,496
15.	Malik Sahibkhánwála	12 " " ...	18,348
16.	Kandánwála, or Mughlánwála ...	13 " " ...	292
17.	Malik Sher Muhammadkhánwála ...	14½ " " ...	1,215
18.	Dáimwála ...	2 " " ...	500
19.	Malik Fatteh Khán and Hákimkhánwálá ...	17 " " ...	4,000
20.	Mohkamdínwála ...	2½ " " ...	312
21.	Malik Jahánkhánwálá ...	18 " " ...	250
22.	Mahútánwála ...	8 " " ...	500
23.	Sarfrázkhánwálá ...	15 " " ...	6,421
24.	Meknánwálá ...	19 " " ...	3,539
25.	Malik Sahibkhánwála (new cut)	6 " " ...	463
26.	Jhamtanwála ...	8 " " ...	211

The first six of these, which are Government canals, are fully described with their administration in Chapter V.

Rainfall, temperature and climate.

Colonel Davies thus describes the climate of the district: "The general climatic conditions of the Sháhpur district have little to distinguish them from those of other tracts of country similarly situated with reference to the Himalayas. In India the heat in the plains being practically the same everywhere, the healthiness of the place appears to depend mainly on the quantity of moisture deposited on the surface, combined with the efficiency of the machinery for drainage, that is, the capacity of the soil to absorb or convey away rapidly the water falling on it; the rule apparently being that the less the moisture, and the better the

natural drainage, the healthier the place, and *vice versâ*. Now the average rainfall here throughout the year being only fifteen inches, and the texture of the soil in most parts of the district sufficiently loose rapidly to absorb water, it should follow, if this rule is a true one, that the district is generally healthy; and such I think it may be pronounced unhesitatingly. The only exceptions are the tracts immediately bordering the rivers, where, in the autumn months, after very heavy floods, fever prevails and commits great ravages. The health of towns I say nothing of, as it is affected by so many causes peculiarly local, and can therefore form no criterion whereby to test the salubrity of the tract of country of which the towns constitute so infinitesimal a part. It will of course be understood that I am speaking exclusively of the plains. It may be added that the average rain-fall having been deduced from observations made exclusively in the plains, no information can be given as to the actual difference in this respect between the hills and plains; but there is little doubt of the fact before noticed that the balance is largely in favour of the former tract. In the matter of temperature the Salt Range possesses still great advantages, the valleys being certainly not less than ten degrees, and the highest peaks probably 20 degrees, cooler than the plains all the year round; perhaps during the dry weather immediately preceding the rains the difference in temperature is not so great."

Table No. III shows in tenths of an inch the total rainfall registered at each of the rain-gauge stations in the district for each year, from 1866-67 to 1882-83. The fall at head-quarters for the four preceding years is shown in the margin. The distribution of the rainfall throughout the year is shown in Tables Nos. IIIA and IIIB. There is no record of temperature at present maintained in Sháhpur, but records of 1868-69 and 1869-70 give a mean temperature in the shade of 80·55° and 80·76° respectively. The highest temperature recorded was 126° in the shade in May 1868-69, the lowest 22° in December of the following year.

Year.	Tenths of an inch
1862-63 ...	213
1863-64 ...	145
1864-65 ...	180
1865-66 ...	146

Disease.

The prevailing endemic diseases in the district are thus reported on by the Civil Surgeon:—

"Intermittent and, to a less extent, remittent fevers are very prevalent in the autumn months, more especially along the banks of the Jhelum and Chenáb, and in the villages near the foot of the Salt Range. In November and December the fever is often complicated with pneumonia and bronchitis; dysentery and diarrhœa are often common symptoms of the disease. Towards the end of the season, enlargement of the spleen is often prevalent. The rivers overflowing their banks during the rains have probably something to do with the prevalence of fever, for when the rainfall is small it is observed the fever is also less prevalent. Goitre is often met with on the right bank of the Chenáb, more particularly at the town of Midh. The well water seems to have some connection with this disease, for though every one in Midh, where the people drink well water, suffers from goitre to a greater or less degree, the inhabitants of an island in the Chenáb about three miles from Midh, who drink river water only, do not suffer in the least from the disease. In Midh the very dogs are

said to suffer from the disease. Guinea-worm is often met with in the villages at the foot of the Salt Range. This is caused by the *Filaria medinensis*, which must exist in the water or soil there. Stone in the bladder is also common throughout the district."

Chapter I.

Descriptive.

Tables Nos. XI, XIA, XIB and XLIV give annual and monthly statistics of births and deaths for the district and for its towns during the last five years; while the birth and death-rates since 1868, so far as available, will be found in Chap. III, for the general population, and in Chapter VI under the heads of the several large towns of the district. Table No. XII shows the number of insane, blind, deafmutes, and lepers as ascertained at the Census of 1881; while Table No. XXXVIII shows the working of the dispensaries since 1877.

Geology.

Our knowledge of Indian geology is as yet so general in its nature, and so little has been done in the Panjab in the way of detailed geological investigation, that it is impossible to discuss the local geology of separate districts. But a sketch of the geology of the Province as a whole has been most kindly furnished by Mr. Medlicott, Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, and is published *in extenso* in the Provincial volume of the Gazetteer series, and also as a separate pamphlet.

It may, however, be mentioned that a very interesting petrifying process is going on at Narsingpahar in the hill above Katha. There is something almost like a stalactite cave, formed by the drippings of water from the rocks, which solidify as they descend.

Mineral products. Salt.

Salt is found throughout the hills which derive their name from this mineral, concealed in the red marl which gives to the range one of its most characteristic features. Experiment has shown that the salt is exceedingly pure, and as the average thickness of the beds is probably not less than 150 feet, the supply would appear to be inexhaustible. During the Sikh times the revenue from the source was realized by means of farms, but owing to general bad management, seldom exceeded six lakhs of rupees a year, the price of the mineral at the mines being then one rupee per maund. Since the introduction of British rule the increase in this branch of revenue has been very rapid; this has partly been due to the price having been gradually raised from two to three rupees per maund, but much more to improved administration, which has rendered smuggling impossible, and which, by the construction of good roads, by the removal of all restrictions, and by ensuring the safety of life and property, has given an impulse to trade such as it never received before. The revenue derived from salt, however, though collected in the Sháhpur district, cannot properly be credited to it, as the mineral, though abundant in the Sháhpur portion of the range, is worked chiefly in that part of it which lies in the Jhelum district, in the Gazetteer of which district the mines are fully described.

Wárcha Salt Mine.

There is only one salt mine worked in this district; it is situated at Wárcha. The Wárcha mine is a large cave, supported by pillars at irregular intervals. The seam worked is twenty feet thick. A portion of the mine was worked by the Sikhs; this portion is now somewhat dangerous owing to only a thin layer of salt having been

Chapter I.
Descriptive.
Wárcha Salt Mine.

left between the roof and the marl, and to no pillars having been left to support the roof. There are two entrances to the mine, the old Sikh entrance and a drift made in 1869. On the southern side of the mine are two large natural shafts, which throw a certain amount of light into it, and allow of its being thoroughly ventilated. The miners are paid at the rate of Rs. 3-12-0 per 100 maunds for the salt excavated by them.

Forty-four families are employed in the work.

The outturn of salt has been as follows for the past five years :—

	Maunds.
1878-79	120,183
1879-80	102,032
1880-81	109,649
1881-82	119,641
1882-83	167,380

An inspector has charge of the mine at Warcha, and has also charge of the preventive establishment of the Wárcha section, and an assistant inspector is stationed at Katha. There are forty guard posts, at which are stationed 169 men. This includes the establishment at the two head-quarters. The annual cost of the mine and guarding establishment amounts to Rs. 21,016 per annum.

Saltpetre.

Saltpetre is found native mixed with the earth throughout the *bár*. It is met with in the greatest quantities in the earth of the numerous mounds called *ahlis* scattered over the district, marking the sites of what probably were once thriving towns and villages. The salt is obtained by lixiviation of this earth. Water having been passed through it, the solution is afterwards boiled in large iron pans, and is then allowed to cool and crystallize. The average produce of a pan is thirty *sers*, and as the manufacture of saltpetre is only carried on during the seven dry months, the annual outturn of each cauldron may be roughly set down as one hundred and fifty maunds. The Crimean war appears to have given a great impulse to the trade in this salt, for the number of licenses to work pans began rapidly to increase from 1855, when they were 649, till they amounted, in 1858, to no less than 4,856, representing an annual production of 728,400 maunds, or 26,014 tons, the selling price being at this period four rupees per maund. From that time the trade has been steadily declining, so that in 1865 only 185 licenses were taken out, and the salt could be had for a little more than one rupee per maund.

Sajji.

Sajji, or impure carbonate of soda, is produced by incineration of the *Salsola griffithsii*, one of the many species of *lána* plant, which is found in great quantities in the *bár* south and east of the road leading from Lahore to the Frontier. The mode of obtaining the crude soda is almost identical with that adopted by the Spaniards in the manufacture of the same substance, called by them *barilla*. Circular pits, five or six feet in diameter, and about two feet deep, are dug at convenient distances, according to the requirements of the crops, and into these half-dried sheaves of the plant are thrown and set on fire, fresh sheaves being constantly added until the pit is nearly filled with ashes in a state of semi-fusion. The operation lasts about twenty-four hours, and the quantity burned during this

Chapter I, Descriptive. Sajji.

time is about two hundred bundles, each of about half a maund. The contents of the pit are then well stirred and allowed to cool, a little dry earth being scattered over the surface to prevent evaporation. The pits are opened on the fifth or sixth day, when the *sajji* is found concreted together into a hard cellular mass. The selling price of *sajji* is now one rupee two annas a maund; during the Sikh time the price varied from two to three maunds for the rupee. *Sajji* is exported from this district chiefly to the north and east, towards Ráwalpindi, Siálkot, and Kashmír. It is extensively used in the manufacture of soap, paper, and glass, and as a substitute for soap by the poorer classes; it is also largely employed in the process of bleaching; lastly native practitioners use it as a medicine. The demand for *sajji* has been steadily rising, and the sums realized from farming the monopoly of its manufacturing increased in a few years prior to 1866 from thirteen hundred to upwards of eight thousand rupees.

Lignite.

Lignite is found in small quantities in the Salt Range. It was tried on the Panjáb Railway, and answered fairly well, but the price at Lahore was too high, and the quantity found too small for it to be practically useful. The cost of coal on the spot is Rs. ·5 per 100 maunds.

Iron, lead, and gypsum.

Iron and lead are known to exist in the Salt Range within the boundaries of the district; but not in sufficient quantity to render their working remunerative. Gypsum and mica are also found in considerable quantities in the same hills.

Wild animals. Sport.

Tigers, leopards, and wolves are found in the Salt Range; the first rarely, the last two commonly. Snakes are common in all parts of the district. In the five years ending 1882 rewards amounting to Rs. 3,285 were paid for the destruction of 3 tigers, 11 leopards, 742 wolves, and 2,247 snakes.

The jungle tracts of the *bár* and the rugged slopes of the Salt Range afford cover for game of different classes. In the *bár* and flat country generally are found quail, partridges, sandgrouse, hare, *talúr* or bustard, antelope, wild duck, *kunj* (or *kúlan*), and wild geese. In the hilly tract the *uriál* (or wild sheep) and *chikor* (hill partridge) are found. *Kúlan*, wild geese, and duck are most abundant in the winter months, quails in spring. The lakes of the Salt Range are favourite abodes of the scarlet flamingo. The capture of the *talúr* is a favourite sport amongst natives. They are taken in large numbers by being driven along quietly with the aid of a bullock, till they reach a net which has been previously placed vertically in front of them; on reaching it they become confused and frightened and are readily caught.

Flora.

The flora of the Salt Range will be found fully discussed in a note furnished by the Forest Department inserted in Chapter IV, Section A.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY AND LEADING FAMILIES.

Chapter II.

History and Leading Families.

Former prosperity.

Prior to the fall of the Mughal dynasty but little is known of the history of this part of the country. One thing however is certain, that at some time anterior to the period of which records are extant, the face of the country presented a very different appearance to that which it now bears. The *bár* tract between the Chenáb and the Jhelam, now jungle inhabited only by half-savage pastoral tribes, is thickly studded with mounds of earth covered by loose bricks and fragments of pottery, the sites of ancient towns and villages. In all, there are no less than 270 of these mounds in the *bár*. There can be little doubt that the desertion of these old sites is due to a gradual subsidence of the water level. There are spots where the brickwork of old wells still existing, does not extend more than 25 feet in depth; while now, in the same place, water cannot be obtained within 60 feet of the surface, and even when found is in most cases so brackish as to be unfit for the use of man or beast. When this change took place it is at present impossible to say. It is well known that at the time of the Greek invasions the whole country was richly cultivated. One of Alexander's historians speaks of it as "teeming with population." Local tradition points to the time of Akbar as the period of greatest prosperity, and a similar tradition exists regarding a similar state of things in the neighbouring district of Gújranwála. The appearance of the mounds themselves on the other hand would point to a more remote period. One of the more immediate and recent causes of the depression of the water level, may be the changes which are known to have taken place in the course of the rivers Jhelum and Chenáb, both having flowed, speaking with reference to this Doáb, much further inland than they now do, but this would only help to explain the phenomenon in its relation to this district, whereas the same has been observed in many other parts of the Panjáb. Such has been the effect of this change upon the population, that at the time of annexation the *bár* and *thal* country was found peopled only by a few tribes purely pastoral in their habits, subsisting entirely upon the produce of their flocks and herds, having no fixed abodes, but moving from place to place, wherever a good supply of grass was to be found. It is only of late years that they may be seen gradually settling down into permanent habitations and availing themselves of the opportunities now and then offered by the seasons, of adding to their other resources by cultivating the patches of good soil. A marked change has lately taken place in this respect, and with the growth of settled habits an attachment to the soil is being rapidly developed.

The principal antiquities of the district are shown on p. 16 in a tabular form. They have been described by General Cunningham in his Archæological Survey Reports, V, 79 to 85, and XIV, 33 to 41

Chapter II.

History and Leading Families.

Antiquities.

and in his Ancient Geography, pages 155 to 159. Of them by far the most interesting are the ruins at Amb, of what was probably a Buddhist temple, enclosed within a fort built on the summit of a hill, at the foot of which a clear stream of water issues from a passage lined with masonry, constructed evidently by the same hands which raised the imposing structure above. The ruins of a massive masonry dam at the entrance of the Katha Pass, evidently built to economize and distribute the waters of this torrent, are suggestive of what might be done again with advantage. This and two large *bdolis* at Bola and Wán Kaila are attributed to Sher Sháh, and the tradition is not improbably true, as he is known to have passed a great part of his brief reign in the Punjab.

Political history divisible into three periods.

The political history of the district may conveniently be divided into *three periods*. The first, that which preceded the downfall of the Mughal Empire; the second, the brief space occupied by the successive inroads of the Afgháns, followed by the rapid acquisition of power by the Sikhs; and the last, the period during which, by a happy admixture of boldness and artifice, the young leader of the Sukar Chakia *misl* succeeded in making himself master of the whole of the Punjab, from the banks of the Sutlej to the mountains of Sulemán.

First or Moghul period.

The first may be dismissed with a few words. A tract of country not naturally rich, and far removed from the high road between Hindustán and the countries beyond its northern frontier, would not be the scene of events of sufficient magnitude to leave a lasting impress on the minds of the people, and hence tradition has preserved little that refers to so remote a period. All that is known is, that during the latter years of Muhammad Sháh's reign the affairs of Bhera, and the surrounding country as far south as Sháhpur, were administered by Rájá Salámat Rai, a Khatri of the Anand clan;* that Khusháb and its dependencies were under the management of Nawáb Ahmadyár Khán; that the tracts lying to the south of the district, and along the Chenáb, formed part of the territory delegated to the charge of Máharája Kaura Mal, then governor of Multán; and that the *thal* formed part of the *jágír* of the descendants of the Biloch founders of the two Deras. To this period succeeded one of anarchy. The weakness of the Moghal government had invited attack from without, and fostered insurrection within: wave after wave of invasion for nearly thirty years poured down over the defenceless country, and in the intervals the Sikhs made good every opportunity afforded thém by the weakness of the Government, to enrich themselves at the expense of their more peaceable neighbours. The remote position of this tract of country did not altogether save it from the calamities incident on such a state of things. In the year 1757 a force under Núr-ud-dín, Bamizai, deputed by Ahmad Sháh to assist his son Timúr in repelling the Mahrattas, crossing the river Jhelum at Khusháb, marched up the left bank of the river. The proceedings of this man may be taken as a type of the excesses committed by the invading armies; and some idea will be formed

Second or Afghán Period. Rise of the Sikhs.

* The descendants of this man still reside in Bhera, and plume themselves on the greatness of their ancestor.

Chapter II.

History and Leading Families.

Antiquities.

Name of Locality.	Name of object of antiquarian interest.	Description of the same.
Bhera	Jama Masjid ..	A fine old masjid of the time of Sher Sháh contemporary with the founding of the city, A. H. 947. The mosque has lately been restored.
Vijhi, (Tahsil Bhera)	Pahs Pind near Miáni.	One of the most conspicuous of the numerous mounds which abound in every direction throughout the district and tell of a much higher state of prosperity than any now existing, and attest the truth of the Greek accounts of hundreds of large cities and a country teeming with population (*see* Strabo Lib. XV., Chapter I., Section 33.)
Takht Hazára ..	Tomb of Sháh Muhan Alam.	The ruins show that once a very large town existed here. In the *jamabandi* of the "Sirkar Doába Jach" given in the "Ain-i-Akbari" the Mahal of Hazára is stated to have had a brick fort, and to have paid a revenue of 46,89,136 dams or Rs. 1,17,228. Among the ruins here, is the tomb of Muhan Alam. This place has obtained celebrity as the scene of a romance which rivals the story of "Laila and Majnu" in extravagance. Not a peasant in the province but knows the tale of "Ranjha and Hír."
Hadáli	A *bdoli masjid* and tank	These works are all attributed to Sher Sháh. The former is one of several such works called in the language of the country *Wan*. The story goes, that the Emperor during a royal progress through the Punjab caused one of these monster wells to be sunk at every stage. The tank covers about an acre of land—it is now however completely choked up; its name Sar Munára evidently refers to the pillars Munara, the remains of which are still visible.
Gunjiál	*Bdoli*	The same as the *bdoli* at Hadáli and said to have been constructed at the same period. The two villages of Gunjiál and Uttra, separated from each other by about a quarter of a mile only, are commonly called Wankila from this well.
Katha gorge ..	Satghara ...	The remains of a mighty dam for distributing the waters of the Vahi or Katha torrent. The work is attributed to Sher Sháh: some refer its construction to a more remote period.
Ditto ...	Nar Singh, Phoar	A very ancient Hindu shrine, dating according to their tradition from one of Vishnu's Avatars when he descended in the form of a lion 'Nar Singh'. Pilgrimages are made to it all the year round, and *melas* held on certain fixd dates. Mahárája Guláb Singh built a temple here some forty years ago.
Amb .. .	Hindu ruin .	An imposing old ruin, with every appearance of being of Budhist construction. Round the ruins are to be seen what are evidently the remains of an old fort. Tradition places the date of its erection at five hundred years prior to the Muhammadan era, but it is probably older.
Shah Yusaf ...	Khángah of Sháh Yusaf	A mausoleum, said to have been erected A. H., 900, or 368 years ago, by a holy man of that name, a stranger from the west, to whom the charity of the inhabitants of Mangowal assigned sufficient land for his support. His descendants still hold the land, and reside on the spot. The building, though, of elegant form is of very moderate dimensions, and is ornamented outside with coloured tiles.
Panj Pir	Khángah Naugaza giant's tomb.	The graves here are of extraordinary dimensions, nine yards long, as the name imports. They are built on the ruined site of what must have been a large city, to which tradition assigns a fabulous antiquity, nothing less than five thousand years. The Hindu story is, that this is one of the resting places of the exiled Pándus, and hence call it Panj Pándú, but the Muhammadans, according to their custom, while reverencing the site as holy, have changed its title to Panj Pír to make it harmonise with their language and religion.
Chak Sanu ...	Chak Sanu .	This, like the last, is the remains of a once flourishing town, but probably of more modern date. It was founded by a once powerful tribe named *Tulla*, of which a few impoverished members still reside on the spot. The town was burned and rased with the ground by Núr-ud-dín Bamizai, one of Ahmad Sháh's generals.

of the amount of misery caused by these inroads. Núr-ud-dín, finding that the inhabitants would not pay the large ransoms demanded of them, successively plundered and laid waste with fire and

Chapter II.

History and Leading Families.

sword three of the largest towns of the district. Two of these, Bhera and Miáni, rose again on their ruins, without however completely recovering the shock they had sustained; but of the third, Chak Sánu, the foundations alone are to be seen.

Second or Afghán period. Rise of the Sikhs.

About this time Nawab Ahmadyár Khán died, and Khusháb was added to the territory under the charge of Raja Salámat Rai. But the latter had not held it many years before he was treacherously put to death by Abbás Khán, Khattak, who held possession of the Salt Range and Pind Dádan Khán, on the part of Ahmad Sháh. Abbás Khan then seized Bhera; but his attempt to make himself master of the surrounding country was foiled by the determination shown by the widow of the murdered governor, who shut herself up in the fort of Cháwa, while her nephew following her example, held out in his stronghold of Fatehgarh, close to Bhera itself. These events occurred in 1760; and before Abbás Khán had time to subdue his opponents, he was himself thrown into prison as a revenue defaulter, when the former status was restored, Fateh Singh obtaining possession of the tract previously held by his uncle, and Muhammad Nawáz Khán succeeding his father in the government of the country north of the Jhelum.

The Sikh conquest.

After the final successes of the Sikh common-wealth against Ahmad Sháh in 1767, the whole of the Salt Range was overrun and appropriated by Chattar Singh of the Sukar-Chakia *misl*, while the Bhangis taking possession of the tract of country between those hills and the Chenáb, as far nearly as Sáhiwál, parcelled it out among themselves after their usual fashion. The division of the portion comprised within this district was as follows: the *zails* of Midh and Músa chúha, as dependencies of Kádirabád, were retained as their own share by Ganda Singh and Jhanda Singh, the leaders of the *misl*. Miáni was assigned to Tárah Singh, and Bhera with Ahmedábád fell to the lot of Mán Singh, from whom they passed in 1769 to Dhanna Singh and Charat Singh, of the same confederacy.

Independent Chieftains.

The Muhammadan chieftains of Sáhiwál, Mitha Tiwána and Khusháb had some time previously assumed independence, and though hard pressed, were able generally to resist the encroachments of their new neighbours, the Sikhs. South of the Jhelum, however, the Bhangís had succeeded in wresting from Muhammad Khán of Sáhiwál the greater part of his possessions; but after the chief's death, his son Fateh Khán drove out the Sikhs, and by degrees established his authority over nearly the whole of the tract afterwards included in the Sháhpur *tahsil*. But these changes brought no repose: might was the only test of right; and, in the absence of any general controlling authority, the country became a prey to the ambition of rival chiefs struggling for supremacy. It would be tedious and profitless to record all this petty warfare. Only those occurrences need be mentioned from which permanent changes of possession resulted.

Across the river Jhelum, the Tiwánas under Mallik Sher Khán made themselves masters of Núrpur and the surrounding country, and after the death of Gúl Jehannia of Warcha, succeeded in establishing a partial authority over the Awáns along the base of the Salt Range. They also wrested Shekhowal and several other

Chapter II.

History and Leading Families.

Independent Chieftains.

villages on the right bank of the Jhelum from the Beloch Chief of Sáhiwál. But the Mallik's attempt to reduce Khusháb was unsuccessful, for although Lál Khán was killed in the defence of the town, the Tiwánas were driven off, and Jáfir Khán, the deceased chieftain's son and successor, thenceforth remained in possession, until Ranjít Singh absorbed the *talúka* into the rest of his dominions.

South of the Jhelum, as described above, the Bhangís had possessed themselves of the whole Doáb east of Sháhpur; while to the west of that place as far as Nihang the country owned the authority of the Chief of Sáhiwál. But in Sháhpur itself, a colony of Sayads, under Ghulám Sháh, established a semi-independent authority,* and this they were allowed to retain unmolested by their more powerful neighbours, owing doubtless to the reverence in which they were held as the descendants of a renowned saint. The remainder of the Doáb, to the junction of the two rivers, was held by the Siál Chiefs of Jhang, Izzat Baksh Rehán, a powerful *zemíndár* of those parts, being their Deputy in Kálowál. Such was the status of possession when the Sukar-Chakia confederacy under Mahá Singh began to acquire the ascendancy, and the power of the Bhangís to decline. The subsequent history of the district consists of a series of encroachments on the part of Mahá Singh and his renowned son Ranjít Singh, until the whole country was incorporated with the dominions of the latter.

Rise of Ranjít Singh.

By the deaths of Sirdárs Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh, the Bhangí confederacy was left without a head; and Mahá Singh, having joined his forces to those of the Kanhia *misl*, found no difficulty in making himself master of Kádirábád. By this event, which occurred in 1781, the *talúkas* of Midh and Músa fell into his hands, and two years after, he succeeded in taking Miáni and its dependencies from Tára Singh, Bhangí. For some time now there was a pause in the tide of conquest. Ten years after the event last recorded, Maha Singh died, leaving his son Ranjit Singh, a boy of thirteen years; and it was long before the latter had sufficiently established his authority round Lahore, to allow him to think of making conquests so far from the capital. But the process of annexation though slow was sure, and the wily young chief was never in want of a pretext for adding to his possessions. Bhera was coveted, and the reason assigned for interference in its affairs, was the tyranny of Jodh Singh, who had succeeded to the family conquests on the death of his father Dhanna Singh. With this plausible excuse, Ranjit Singh marched from Miáni in 1803, and having obtained possession of the fort by means of a stratagem, the person of Jodh Singh was secured, and the young Mahárája entered unopposed into possession of the country lying on both sides of the river as far as Jhaurián.

Conquest of Sáhiwál and Khusháb.

The next move was against the Biloch Chiefs of Sáhiwál and Khusháb. In 1804 Ranjit Singh had placed the former under contribution, and the tribute, which at first was almost nominal was afterwards raised to twelve thousand rupees a year. The increased demand was not met with promptitude, and thus furnished the Máharája with the

* The descendants of Ghulám Sháh and his father Nathú Sháh still hold the greater part of the land in Sháhpur and its neighbourhood.

Chapter II.

History and Leading Families.

Conquest of Sáhiwál and Khusháb.

pretext he was in search of. Accordingly, in 1809, a force was organized, and Ranjít Singh marched for Sáhiwál. Having taking up a position at Mángowál, one march from that place, he sent Sirdár Attar Singh to bring the Biloch Chief to his presence. But Fateh Khán, taught by experience, suspected treachery, and excused himself from obeying the call. On receiving, however, the Sirdár's solemn assurance that no harm should befall the boy, he sent his son Langar Khán with a handsome offering to the camp of the Maharája. To divert suspicion, Ranjit Singh received the boy very graciously, and having dismissed him with rich presents and the assurance of his continued friendship for his father, he retraced his steps and marched against Jáfir Khán. Fateh Khán, falling into the trap laid for him, dismissed his forces to their homes, and before he had time to make fresh preparations for resistance, Ranjít Singh, flushed with his success before Khusháb, of which place he had made himself master after a siege of only eight days, suddenly appeared before Sáhiwál and took the place by a *coup-de-main*. The chief was himself carried off a prisoner to Lahore, and the new conquered territory given in *jágír* to the heir-apparent, Kharrak Singh. Thus fell Khusháb and Sáhiwál; and at the same time the smaller possessions of the Sháhpur Syads and of Budh Singh, Bhangí, around Bakkhar, were added to the rapidly increasing territory under the sway of the Máharája. In the year following, the *talákas* of Faruka and Kálowál fell into his hands, together with the remainder of the country which had been subject to the authority of the Siál Chiefs of Jhang.

Conquest of the Tiwána country.

There remained now only the possessions of the Malliks of Mitha Tiwána, and these, too, soon shared the common fate. A well equipped force was despatched against them under Misr Diwán Chand in 1816. The Tiwána Mallik retired to Núrpur, in the heart of the *thal*, thinking that the scarcity of water and supplies might prevent the Sikh army from effecting its object But all obstacles disappeared before the energy of the Sikh commander, who sank wells as he advanced, so that after a time the Tiwánas, finding resistance hopeless, abandoned the place and took refuge with their old enemy, the Nawáb of Dera Ismáil Khán, who had not the generosity however to forget their former rivalry in pity for the fallen fortunes of the Tiwána Chiefs, but plundered them and turned them out. After this, for nearly two years, Mallik Khán Muhammad and his sons wandered from place to place, subsisting on the charity of their neighbours; but finding this kind of life insupportable, they determined on making an attempt to recover their former possessions. An appeal made to their fellow clansmen was heartily responded to, and, at the head of this irregular force, they appeared suddenly before the walls of their native town. The Sikh garrison, completely taken by surprise, abandoned the place and fled, and the Malliks were once more masters of land of the their ancestors. Their triumph was however but short-lived. In the early part of 1818, the ousted governor returned with a strong force, and the Malliks were a second time compelled to fly. The possessions of the Tiwána Chiefs were then given in *jágír* to the famous Harri Singh, Nalua, and were held by him till his death at Peshâwar on the 30th April, 1837.

Chapter II.

History and Leading Families.

After history of the Tiwána family

The attempt made by Khán Muhammad served to convince Ranjít Singh that it would be bad policy to drive the Tiwánas to desperation; when therefore the Mallik repaired to Lahore to tender his submission he was well received, and a liberal provision made for the support of the family. Villages on the left banks of the Jhelum, yielding ten thousand rupees a year, were assigned in *jágír*, and several of the chief's relations and dependants were taken into the service of the State. Matters remained in this state, the elders living quietly on their *jágír*, while the younger members of the family with their contingents served with the army whenever called on to do so, till the death of Harri Singh before Jamrúd. In the interim the old Malik Khán Muhammad, and his elder son Ahmadyár Khán had died, and Mallik Khudayár Khán, the younger son, with his nephew Kadir Baksh, were thus left as the representatives of the family. The former had had the good fortune, some time before, to place Rája Guláb Singh under a deep obligation, which resulted in a close friendship between them, and was the means of introducing the Malik at court where, befriended by the Raja and the latter's brother, the prime minister, Khudayár Khán, and his son, the well known Fateh Khán, soon rose to positions of great favour.

Fateh Khán was thus favourably situated when the news of the death of Harri Singh reached Lahore. He lost no time in obtaining from his patron, in his own name, the farm of the ancestral *talúkas* of Mitha Tiwána, and his father dying about the same time, he was left the acknowledged head of the tribe. From this time till the unprovoked aggressions of the Sikh army led to the first Sikh war, Fateh Khán took a prominent part in the politics of the country, and his love of intrigue found ample scope in the confusion into which the affairs of the State were thrown after the deaths, in rapid succession, of Ranjít Singh, his son and grandson. For some time Fateh Khán remained faithful to the side of his patron Rája Dhián Singh, and reaped the reward of his attachment in ever increasing grants of territory in farm. But ere long the prime minister was assassinated, and suspicion of complicity in the deed having fallen on the Malik, he retired to Bannu to escape the vengeance of Rája Híra Singh, the son of the murdered man. Soon after, emerging from his retreat, the restless Malik created a diversion in favour of Sardár Jawáhar Singh, to whose party he had now attached himself, by raising an insurrection in his native country and making himself master of Mitha Tiwána; but the expedition failed, and Fateh Khán, being ejected from the town by a Sikh force under Sardár Mangal Singh, was forced to take refuge in Baháwalpur, where he remained, till the death of Híra Singh, in 1844, allowed him to come forth from his asylum.

The rest of the Malik's story is soon told. During Jawáhar Singh's brief tenure of power, Fateh Khán enjoyed unbounded authority, the services of so unscrupulous a partisan being, in the existing state of affairs, beyond price. But bad times were coming for the Mallik. His patron was put to death by the army, and his enemies, headed by Rájas Teja Singh and Dína Náth, succeeded to power, and were not slow in gratifying their malice. He was called on to give an account of the revenues of the large tracts of country of which he had held the management, and was brought in a defaulter

Chapter II.

History and Leading Families.

After history of the Tiwána family.

to the extent of several lakhs of rupees. Unable to meet this heavy demand, he was thrown into prison, where he remained till Lieutenant (afterwards Sir Herbert) Edwardes, thinking he would be of use on the frontier, obtained his liberation and ultimately, when the Multán rebellion broke out, sent him to relieve Lieutenant Taylor in the charge of Bannu. The Sikh troops soon after broke out into open mutiny, and besieged Fateh Khán with his Muhammadan levies in the fort. The Mallik held out bravely, till the supply of water failed, when, seeing that the defence could be no longer protracted, he came out and was shot down while boldly challenging the best man of the Sikhs to meet him in single combat. Such was the fitting end to the career of a man who had in cold blood taken the lives of perhaps more of his fellow creatures than any other of his time.

When this occurred, Malik Fateh Sher Khán, the son of Fateh Khán, and Malik Sher Muhammad Khán, the son of the deceased Malik's first cousin Kádir Baksh, were serving under Major Edwardes' orders before Multán. Both did good service; the former remaining with Major Edwardes, while the latter was detached to follow on the tracks of the Bannu force, then in full march to join Sher Singh, and to endeavour to restore order in his native district. In the execution of this commission, Sher Muhammad Khán drove out the Sikh garrisons, and made himself master in rapid succession of the principal towns and strongholds in this part of the country beginning with Mitha Tiwána and ending with Sáhiwál; and added to his other services, by collecting a portion of the revenue and remitting it to Major Taylor, who was then employed in restoring order along the frontier. Nor must the services of Malik Sáhib Khán, the uncle of Sher Muhammad Khán, and a gallant member of this family, be forgotten. He too served with Major Edwardes' Irregulars, and was afterwards employed with Sardár Langar Khán of Sáhiwál and others, in putting to flight the force headed by the rebel Bhai Maharáj Singh, and in reducing Chiniot. In short, this family has always shown itself actively loyal in seasons of disturbance, and it is only in times of peace, when the naturally jealous dispositions of its members have full play, that their internal feuds render them a source of annoyance to all around them.

After the fall of Multán and the overthrow of the Sikhs at Gujrát, the Tiwána Maliks had time to look about them. They knew that they were to be rewarded, but the question was, who was to receive the lion's share as the head of the tribe? Sher Muhammad Khán claimed the turban, as the descendant of the elder branch, while Fateh Sher Khán rested his title on the acknowledged pre-eminence of his father, Fateh Khán. The dispute was eventually settled through the mediation of friends. It was decided that in point of rank they should be on an equality one with the other, and that in all the material benefits that might accrue to them as representatives of the tribe, both should share alike, and this agreement has since been acted on.

The Tiwána Malliks have been well rewarded. Soon after annexation they preferred a claim to a fourth of the revenues of

Chapter II.

History and Leading Families.

After history of the Tiwána family.

the Núrpur and Mitha Tiwána *talúkas*, and in consideration of their loyalty and good services, the claim was admitted, and villages yielding Rs. 6,000 a year were granted in *jágír* to each, to be held by them and their heirs in perpetuity. In addition to these grants, life pensions of Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 3,240 were conferred respectively on Malik Fateh Sher Khán and Sher Muhammad Khán; a pension of Rs. 480 a year was, at the same time, granted to Mallik Sáhib Khán. Lastly for their services during the mutinies, the Malliks obtained the following rewards: Maliks Fateh Sher Khán, and Sháhib Khán life *jágírs* of twelve hundred rupees each, and Maliks Sher Muhammad Khán one of six hundred rupees. To these substantial gifts was annexed the much coveted and highly prized title of Khán Bahádur.

History of the Sáhiwál Chiefs

It is now time to return to Sardár Fateh Khán of Sáhiwál, who was left a prisoner at Lahore. In accordance with his usual custom, Ranjít Singh after a while released his prisoner, giving him a *jágír* first in Jhang and then in Ahmadábád, near Pind Dádan Khán, stipulating, however, that Fateh Khán was to remain at Court. But, after a life of independence, the Biloch chief was ill fitted to play the courtier, his proud spirit chafed at the confinement, and, like the Tiwána Malik, he was tempted to strike a blow for independence. He applied to the Nawáb of Mankera for assistance. The request was favourably entertained, and the two chiefs, with their combined forces, actually started to attempt the recovery of Sáhiwál. But fear of the consequences to himself of failure, overcame the Nawáb's desire to assist his fellow clansman, and abandoning Fateh Khán to his fate, he precipitately retreated to his stronghold of Mankera. Fateh Khán, seeing that he had committed himself beyond power of recall, and that now he had nothing to hope for from Ranjít Singh, fled to Multán and soon after took refuge in Baháwalpur, where he died in 1819.

Langar Khán, the son of the deceased Chief, a lad of fourteen years of age, was left a pensioner on the bounty of the Nawáb, and remained at Baháwalpur till 1822, when Ranjít Singh hearing, while on a visit at Multán, that Fateh Khán was dead, sent for Langar Khán, and gave him a *jágír* of two thousand rupees a year with a personal allowance of three rupees a day. The *jágír* was afterwards (in 18[illegible]) increased to three thousand rupees, and the allowance to five rupees a day. Langar Khán with his men formed part of the Sikh contingent which, under Captain (afterwards Sir H.) Lawrence, accompanied General McCaskill's division in Pollock's advance on Kabul. Langar Khán also served with distinction under Major Edwardes' orders during the Multán rebellion. After annexation, as a reward for these services, the family *jágír*, valued at three thousand rupees a year, was released in perpetuity, and a life pension of twelve hundred rupees granted to Langar Khán. This Chief died in 18[illegible], and was followed to his grave in 1862 by the eldest of his three sons Muhammad Haiát Khán. The second son Mobárik Khán, is now the representative of the family.

The Lándla family.

There is yet one set of circumstances to be referred to, and then the history of the principal families of this part of the country may be said to be complete. It will be remembered that on Ahmad Sháh's

Chapter II.

History and Leading Families.

The Lámbha family.

final retirement, the Súkar Chakias, under the grandfather of Ranjít Singh, possessed themselves of the greater part of the Salt Range. The status in this respect remained undisturbed till 1827, when the members of this confederacy, among whom the conquered tract had been originally parcelled out, having fallen out among themselves, Ranjít Singh resumed their shares and divided them among his favourites; the Sún *talúka* falling to the share of Hari Singh, by whom it was held till his death in 1837. On the occurrence of this event, it was given by the Máharája to his old friend and playfellow, and afterwards one of the most successful of his generals, Sirdar Gurmukh Singh, Lámbha, and it was one of the few gifts of which this brave old man had not been despoiled by the envy and hatred of the Jammú family when we took the country. The majority of the villages constituting the *taluka* were then resumed, but the estate of Nowshera, worth rather more than four thousand rupees a year, was released in perpetuity. Sardar Gurmukh Singh died in 1853, and was succeeded by his son, Attar Singh, the present representative of the family, who resides in the Gujrát district, where he holds other *jágírs*.

The Mutiny

The following account of the events of 1857 is taken from the Punjab Mutiny Report. This station is the head-quarters of the customs line in connection with the Salt Range. Mr Wright, the Collector of Customs, brought to the assistance of Mr. Ouseley, Deputy Commissionner, a very valuable reinforcement in the shape of 100 of the men of the preventive service, who, being all armed and natives of the Punjab or else Patháns, created a valuable counterpoise to the mutinous company of the 46th Native Infantry, which formed the treasury guard. The transit of the 39th Native Infantry through the district on their way from Jhelum to Dera Ismail Khán caused a panic amongst the people of Sháhpur. Strange rumours began to circulate about these men, valuables were buried, people became unsettled, and the commanding officer of the regiment feared to come through Sháhpur while the company of the 46th was there, expressing a hope that Mr. Ouseley had not much treasure under his care. On the evening of the 22nd May a strong guard of police marched into the treasury with three European officers of the station, and took possession of all the surplus money, amounting to Rs 2,50,000. Part of this was forthwith sent towards Jhelum and part towards Dera Ismail Khán. Under orders which were subsequently received the Jhelum consignment was recalled; but the move which took it in the first instance from the 46th was a most ably planned one, as the Hindustáni troops were at the same time turned out of the treasury fort, which was garrisoned by the police battalion, fortified and provisioned, and a well sunk to supply drinking water.

At one time the villages of the *bár* were said to be in an unquiet state. Mr. Ouseley posted ten police horse on the confines of the tract of land so called, and, as no mutiny of the sepoys took place in the district, the wild tribes remained peaceful even when their brethren in the Multán Division broke out. The mutiny of a portion of the 9th Irregular Cavalry affected this country so far as that it called out the Deputy Commissioner, two or three of the customs officers, and a number of the police. The mutineers were pursued

Chapter II.

History and Leading Families.

The Mutiny.

by the police; the soldiery and district officers of five or six districts were on their trail and gave them no rest until Captain Hockin came up with them in the Jhang district and cut them up. A Hindustáni clerk in the customs office was detected in an attempt to unite Hindus and Muhammadans against our Government. He was apprehended, convicted and punished.

A force of local levies was raised, thus affording vent to the warlike spirit of the martial tribes of the district who chafed at inaction, and probably would have fretted us had not a legitimate object been given them on which to spend their strength. Of these levies upwards of 1,000 horse were raised from among the Tiwánas alone; and Mr. Ouseley describes his relief at their departure as great.

Status at annexation.

Probably there is no district in the Punjab, the territorial limits and constitution of which have undergone so many changes as that of Sháhpur. At annexation, the whole of the Chaj Doáb, from the boundary of the Jammu territory to the junction of the rivers Jhelum and Chenáb, was placed under the charge of Mr. E. C. Bayley, and administered by him as one district.

First formation of the district.

But the charge was found too extensive. Accordingly, in June of the same year (1849), this tract of country was divided and formed into the two districts of Gujrát and Sháhpur; the latter comprising the four *kárdárships* of Miáni, Bhera, Sáhíwál and Kádirpur, to which were added the three lowest *zails* of the *kárdárship* of Kádirábád, *viz.*, Midh, Ahmadnaggar and Kalowal on the Chenáb. As time wore on, however, and our acquaintance with the newly conquered country became closer, defects were discovered in the first apportionments of territory into circles of administration, and in respect to Sháhpur and the surrounding districts speedily led to changes. The first took place in 1851, when the whole *tahsíl* of Kádirpur was transferred to Jhang, on the ground that the *talúqas* of which it was composed had always been subordinate to that place, that it was more conveniently situated with respect to the head-quarters of that district, and that the inhabitants were chiefly Sials, closely connected with others of the same tribe in Jhang. For somewhat similar reasons, the *talúqa* of Khusháb was made over to Sháhpur from Leiah, from the commencement of the financial year 1853-54, and the following year saw the transfer back to this district of the Faruka *iláqá*.

Changes become necessary.

The Kádirpur *tahsíl* transferred to Jhang.

Khusháb and Faruka are received.

Constitution of the district in 1853-54.

The district now consisted of the three *tahsíls* of Bhera, Sáhíwál, and Kalowál, of which all but the narrow strip made up of the trans-Jhelum *parganahs* of Khusháb, Girot and Jaura, attached to the Sáhíwál *tahsíl*, were situated between that river and the Chenab. Presently however, further additions were made to the district. Early in the year 1857, as the Chief Commissioner was marching across the Sindh-Ságar Doáb, the leading men of Mitha Tiwana came to him in a body praying that the *talúqa* might be transferred to Shahpur; urging as their reason for desiring the change the great distance from the head-quarters of their own district (Leiah), and the comparative proximity of Sháhpur. The application was favourably entertained, and the transfer took place from the commencement of that financial year. A still more important revision

Mitha Tiwána received from Leiah.

Chapter II.

History and Leading Families.

Further changes.

of territorial jurisdictions was made during this year. A difficulty had always been experienced in providing for the effectual administration of that portion of the Sindh Ságar Doáb which lay within a radius of fifty miles from Kálábágh. Circumstances originally led to the selection of Ráwalpindi, Jhelum, and Leiah as sites for stations, and between these places the intervening territory was parcelled out in 1848 as best it might be; but soon it became apparent that they were far too remotely situated to allow of the exercise from them of an efficient control over this tract; and a proposition to create a fourth district having been negatived on the score of expense, the result, as regards this district, was the transfer to it from Jhelum of the following *talúqas* and villages:—

In the Salt Range.	The whole of Taluqa	Sún ...	...	19 villages.
	" " of "	Khabbakki	...	6 "
	Part of "	Núrpur Sehti	...	4 "
North of ditto.	" of "	Jabbi ...	...	8 "
	The whole of "	Myál ...	...	18 "
	Part of "	Pakkhar ..	...	4 "
South of ditto.	The whole of "	Katha ...	...	5 "
	Part of "	Ahmadábád	...	6 "

In all sixty-five villages, paying a revenue of nearly a lac of rupees.

A fourth *tahsíl* created.

These extensive additions to the area of the district trans-Jhelum, having rendered the creation of a fourth *tahsíl* on that side of the river absolutely necessary, the recently transferred tracts were formed into a new fiscal division, which received the name of the Jába *tahsíl* from the small village of that name in the Salt Range, where the head-quarters were established. From this time the limits of the district remained unaltered till the year 1861, when the revision of establishments led to the absorption of the Kalowál *tahsíl*, and the distribution of its villages between the Bhera and Chiniot *tahsíls*; the latter a sub-collectorate of the Jhang district. The last and most important changes were carried out in 1862, when the *talúqa* of Núrpur, in the *thal*, was received from Bannu, the Pakkhar *talúqa*, extending from Sakesar to Nikki, was cut off and attached to the Miánwáli *tahsíl* of that district, and the remainder of the Jába *tahsíl* lying north of the Salt Range was transferred to Jhelum. These interchanges of territory between Sháhpur and the surrounding districts necessitated a complete remodelling of the interior fiscal divisions, which was effected by forming the whole of the country still attached to the district trans-Jhelum into one *tahsíl*, the head-quarters being moved to Khusháb; and by the transfer from the Bhera to the Sáhiwál *tahsíl* of an equivalent for the villages which had been added to the former on the breaking up of the Kalowál *tahsíl*, as described above; at the same time, as Sáhiwál was now no longer centrical, the head-quarters of that *tahsíl* were removed to the *sadr* station.

The Kalowál *tahsíl* broken up.

Final changes.

Interior sub-divisions remodelled.

Subsequent changes.

In 1877-78 the following villages were transferred from the Sháhpur to the Gujranwálá district:—

1. Thadda Mullahanwálá,
2. Burj Fattu,
3. Chhuni Sultán,
4. Chhuni Rahmat Khán,
5. Chhuni Mír Mahomed,
6. Burj Ghouse,

Chapter II.

History and Leading Families.

and in 1880-81 the two villages, Burj Rahma and Burj Jowaya, were transferred to Gujranwálá, to which district they originally belonged, but had been cut off and attached to this in 1877-78.

Development since annexation.

Some conception of the development of the district since it came into our hands may be gathered from Table No. II, which gives some of the leading statistics for five-yearly periods, so far as they are available; while most of the other tables appended to this work give comparative figures for the last few years. In the case of Table No. II, it is probable that the figures are not always strictly comparable, their basis not being the same in all cases from one period to another. But the figures may be accepted as showing in general terms the nature and extent of the advance made.

District officers since annexation.

The following table shows the Deputy Commissioners who have held charge of the district since annexation with the period of their charge :—

SECTION B.—OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

Occupations of the people.

Table No. XXIII shows the principal occupations followed by males of over fifteen years of age as returned at the Census of 1881. But the figures are perhaps the least satisfactory of all the Census statistics, for reasons explained in the Census Report; and they must be taken subject to limitations which are given in some detail in Part II, Chapter VIII of the same Report. The figures in Table No. XXIII refer only to the population of fifteen years of age and over. The figures in the margin show the distribution of the whole population into agricultural and non-agricultural, calculated on the assumption that the number of women and children dependent upon each male of over fifteen years of age is the same whatever his occupation. These figures, however, include as agricultural only such part of the population as are agriculturists pure and simple, and exclude not only the considerable number who combine agriculture with other occupations, but also the much larger number who depend in great measure for their livelihood upon the yield of agricultural operations. More detailed figures for the occupations of both males and females will be found at pages 124 to 132 of Table No. XIIA and in Table No. XIIB of the Census Report of 1881. The figures for female occupations, however, are exceedingly incomplete.

Population	Towns	Villages.
Agricultural	9,767	193,835
Non-agricultural	41,864	176,042
Total	51,631	369,877

Principal industries and manufactures.

Table No. XXIV gives statistics of the manufactures of the district as they stood in 1881-82. The manufactures of the district are few and unimportant. At Khusháb and Girot and a few other places, *lúngis* of silk and cotton are made somewhat largely and have a more than local reputation. The *lúngi* is a long scarf either plain or coloured, and with or without embroidered ends. It is worn not as a turban, but round the shoulders like a scarf. These industries, however, though they have a reputation for excellence, are confined to the towns mentioned, and the amount of manufacture is not large compared with other districts. There is also a consider-

able manufacture of leather goods, and of gold and silver lace. These industries are confined principally to Khusháb and Bhera. The ironsmiths of Bhera are celebrated for their skill, and the hardware of that town is much sought after in the neighbouring districts.

Principal industries and manufactures.

The other manufactures of the district are turned and lacquered toys, &c., chiefly made at Sáhiwál; bankets woven all over the district, those of Núrpur being considered the best; mill-stones made at Katha at the foot of the hills; mats made in the hills, large numbers of which are exported to Lahore; felts already mentioned, for which Bhera is celebrated; and soap largely manufactured at the same place. The mineral products have already been described at pages 11 to 13. The following description is given of the process of tanning as carried on in this district:—

Tanning.

"*A cow's hide* is the most generally useful, being strong and soft; a good one is worth Rs. 2. *A buffalo's hide* is the strongest of all, but very hard. It is used for shoe-soles, &c.: worth about Rs. 4. *A camel's hide* is too hard for most purposes, but is used for making *ghi dabbas*: value Re. 1. *A bullock's hide* is inferior in usefulness to a cow hide. *A horse's hide* is scarcely any use at all, being too thin and fine. *A goat's hide* is useful for parts of women's shoes, &c.: value about two-and-a-half annas. The process of preparing a hide is as follows:—The skin is soaked a day and a night in water, then taken out and scraped. Then spread hair downwards on straw and after rubbing the upper side with one *chiták* of *sajjí* and one-and-a-half *sers* of lime, and a little water, it is tied up with the *sajjí* and lime inside. It is then soaked for six days in two *sers* of lime and water, after which it is rubbed on both sides with broken-up earthenware. This is repeated at intervals till the hair is all off. It is then taken out, well washed and scraped, and has now become *an adhaurí*, or untanned leather. The tanning process then begins. Well bruised *kikar* bark (*jand* is also used, but not considered so good) is soaked in water and the hide thrown in. When the tanning has left the bark, fresh bark is put in. This takes some days, after which the hide is sown up with *munj*, an aperture being left at one end, and hung up, the open end being uppermost. It is then half filled with bruised bark and water poured in, which, as it drops out, is caught in a vessel and poured back into the skin; this is continued until the lower part, when pricked, shows the colour of leather. The open end is then sown up, the other end opened, the skin inverted, and the process repeated with fresh bark, until the whole is tanned. The skin is then well washed, rubbed with the hand and dried in the sun. It is then soaked in water with bruised *madár* plants. *Til* oil is then rubbed over it, and it is again soaked a day in water. Then dried, sprinkled with water, rolled up, and beaten with clubs. It is then rubbed on the flesh side with a stick, called a *wedng*, made from the wild caper (*capparis aphylla*): the whole process, in the hot weather, takes about twenty-six days; in the cold, about eight days longer. Just before the skin is used, it is soaked for a day in a little water with a *chitak* of alum, four *chitaks* of pomegranate bark, a *chitak* of salt, and a *chitak* of *til* oil. During the day it is several times well twisted."

Mr. Lockwood Kipling, Principal of the Lahore School of Art, has kindly furnished the following note on some of the special industries of the district:—

Cotton.

Fine cotton goods bordered with silk, such as *lungis, patkas*, &c., are made at Khusháb in this district. They are of good quality and seem to be in fair demand. I know nothing of the ordinary country cloth, such as *khaddar* or *ghára*, and though it is probably produced here,

Chapter IV, B.

Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

Silk.

as in most other parts of the Punjab, there is no trustworthy information as to its quality or the quantity made for sale. Good coloured *khes*, loom-woven checks, and *bulbul chashm*, diapered cloths, are also made at Khusháb.

Pagris, and the other scarf-like forms of silk popular, are woven, sometimes plain and sometimes with gold ends, at Khusháb, which has a name for silk weaving and has sent good specimens to various exhibitions.

Wool.

Felt or *numda* rugs are made at Bhera and Khusháb, in both white and grey, unbleached or coloured wool, decorated with large bar-baric patterns of red wool merely felted and beaten into the surface. The white felts bear no comparison with those of Kashmír and parts of Rájpútána, and the texture is so loose and imperfect that they seem to be always shedding the goat's hair with which they are intermixed. The wool is not perfectly cleaned, and they are peculiarly liable to the attacks of insects. But they are among the cheapest floor coverings produced in the Province.

Goat's hair and camel's hair are worked up into rope, as in most pastoral districts. At Núrpur, *lois* or country blankets are made, but they have no special character of colour or texture.

Cutlery and Lapidary work.

The wares in wood and metal from this district, which have been sent to the Punjab and Calcutta Exhibitions, give an impression of great technical aptitude, which seems to find but little employment and scanty remuneration. It is a common place to say that there is in this country but little of the sub-division of labour, and none of the machinery, which make European products cheap; but even in India there are few examples of the union in one craftsman of so many trades as are practised by the Bhera cutlers. Long before the introduction of machinery the Sheffield cutlery trade was divided into many branches, and the man who forged a blade neither ground it, nor hafted it, nor fitted it with a sheath. At Gujrát and Siálkot the smith forges caskets and other articles of the *koftgar's* trade in complete independence of the workman who damascenes them with silver and gold. But at Bhera, the same artizan fashions the blade on the anvil, grinds and polishes it, cuts the hilts or handles from stone or mother-o'-pearl, and makes a leather covered sheath for dagger or sword. The favourite hilt is in the common green slightly translucent stone largely used in the *bázár* for amulets, neck beads, &c., and may possibly be hard alabaster or marble. It has been erroneously called plasma, and it is still more erroneously spoken of as jade. To both these, it is much inferior in hardness, being easily scratched and cut with a steel knife. I suspect it is found in the Salt Range, not far from Bhera, where alabaster and other stones occur. But the men say it is found in large pieces at Gundamak, not far from Jelálábád, that it costs two or three rupees per maund, and that there are troublesome and costly restrictions on obtaining it. It is brought down the Indus on rafts supported by inflated skins to Attock and thence by land to Bhera. This may be true, but I have only the word of a workman anxious to enhance the preciousness of his wares. The stone at all events has a better colour than true jade. Some of it is a delicate apple green, and other pieces are like verde antique marble. It is very useful in mosaic work. Besides knife handles and dagger hilts, it is fashioned at Bhera into caskets, paper-weights cups, &c. The work is always liberally smeared with oil to remove the white marks left by cutting tools.

A favourite form for a dagger hilt ends in an animal's head. In the collections of arms in the possession of some of the Rájpútáná and Central India Chiefs, this design is seen beautifully wrought in crystal, and jewelled jade. The Bhera rendering is a very elementary attempt at a head.

Other stones used resemble serpentine and Parbeck marble, and are found in the neighbouring Salt Range. The cost of the stamp on the application for leave to quarry them is said to be all that is actually paid. The names given are vague, and seem to be applied on very slight grounds. *Suleimán-i-patthar*, *Sang-i-Jarah*, *Pila patthar*, *Sang-i-marmar* are some of them, and they explain themselves. These are used for dinner knives and arms as well as for the ornamental articles made in stone.

A pretty herring-bone pattern of alternate zig-zags in black and mother-o'-pearl is frequently used for hilts. The mother-o'-pearl is imported from Bombay. The lapidary's tools in use differ in no respect from those in use at Agra, and indeed all the world over where machinery and diamond pointed drills are not used. A heavily loaded bow with wire string (or two for thin slices) is used for sawing, corundum, and water furnishing the iron wire with a cutting material, while the grinding and polishing wheels are the usual discs of corundum and lac, turned with the drill-bow for small work, or with the strap for heavy: but always with the to and fro non-continuous revolution of Indian wheels.

The best country iron, known at Bhera as *dána*, is in fact a sort of steel; and when this is used, some of the blades of Bhera cutlery are of tolerably good quality, but it gets rarer yearly. Old files of English make are sought out and reforged into various forms. Old blades of stub and twist steel are often refurbished, and the *ab* or *jauhár* (the wavy markings in the texture of the blade) are still prized. These markings are rudely imitated for the benefit of English purchasers. The blade is covered with a mixture of lime and milk, forming a sort of etching ground on which, as it is drying off, the artificer's thumb is dabbed, with the effect of printing the concentric markings of the skin. *Kases* (sulphate of iron) is then applied as a mordant, and, when skilfully done, the effect is not unlike that of a real Damascus blade. No expert, however, could be for a moment deceived by this etching.

There are apparently more cutlers in Bhera than can find a living. I have seen a Bhera knife purchased from a quantity shewn at a fair in Rájpútáná, and it is probable that these goods, produced in seemingly unnecessary quantities, are, like many more Indian products, carried farther by hawkers and pedlars than most Europeans would imagine.

Wood-carving.

At Bhera *chaukats* or door and window frames are most elaborately carved in *deodar* wood. The rates at which these beautiful works are supplied to native purchasers are almost incredibly low, but as a European demand has arisen they have been raised. The work differs from that of Chiniot in that the projections are flatter, pilasters and other details being often merely indicated in relief instead of a half or quarter section being imposed. And the whole of the surface is completely covered with boldly outlined forms of foliage and geometric diaper made out for the most part with a V-section cut. There is something rude and almost barbaric in this direct and simple method of execution; but although there is no attempt at high finish, the general design and proportions are so good, and the decorative scheme is so full and complete, that the technical imperfection of the work as carving is scarcely noticed. A large door-way, completely covered with ornamental work, measuring ten feet high and of proportionate width, costs to a native purchaser about Rs. 25, which is but little more than the price paid for an ordinary plain door in other places. No use has been made by the Public Works Department of this beautiful and wonderfully cheap carpentry. The production of these doors and windows is not confined to Bhera; they are also made at Miáni and perhaps at other places in the district.

Sáhiwál lacquer.

Colonel Corbyn, when Deputy Commissioner of Sháhpur, took a considerable interest in local manufactures, and especially in the lacquered

Chapter IV, C.

Prices, Weights and Measures and Communications

wood turnery of Sáhiwál. This differs from that of other places in being more crude in colour and simpler in execution. A particularly unpleasant aniline mauve is used; but there is a better class of vases, plateaux and toys made in two colours, red and black, or red and yellow, or black with either. The scratched patterns are bolder and larger than elsewhere, and many toys, *e.g.*, children's tea sets, are finished in transparent lac only, the colour and grain of the wood shewing through. Chess boards with chess men and a large variety of toys of forms that might puzzle an English child, are made at very cheap rates, but they do not seem to be as popularly known as they deserve to be. From the same town ivory toys of some neatness and skill in execution were sent to the Punjab Exhibition.

Combs are made at Núrpur.

Jewelry.

There is nothing very noteworthy or distinctive in the jewelry or silversmiths work of the country side. From the chief places of the district, as well as from Tiwána, specimens have been seen which shew an average of skill in work and design at least equal to that of most rural districts.

Leather.

Good embroidered shoes are made at Jabba and Anga.

Phulkáris.

It may be mentioned that the flower worked *chaddar* or *ohrni* of red or blue country woven cotton cloth ornamented with silk embroidery is worn in the district, but few are made for sale.

Course and nature of trade.

There are no statistics available for the general trade of the district. Table No. XXV gives particulars of the river traffic that passes through the district. Apart from its connection with the Salt Mines, the trade of the district is insignificant. Opium and *sajji* are bought up by traders from Ráwalpindi, Siálkot, Kashmír and the eastern districts, and salt finds its way in every direction. With these exceptions, all the surplus produce of the district, consisting of grain of all kinds, rice, cotton, wool, *ghí* and saltpetre, is sent down the river in country boats to Multán and Sakhar, and in exchange for these commodities, sugar of every description, rice, English piece-goods, the precious metals, iron, copper and zinc, are imported; the first two from Siálkot, Gurdáspur and the tracts comprised in the Jalandhar and Amballa divisions, and the remainder by the river route from Karráchi and Sakhar. In addition to the above, during the cold season, *manjith* (madder), dried fruits, spices, gold coins, &c., are brought down by travelling merchants from Afghánistán, and are bartered chiefly for coarse cloth, the produce of the looms of Khushab and Girot and in a less degree those of Bhera, Miáni, and the other towns of the district. Of late years the trade of the district has been more slack than formerly. The exports and imports of food grain have already been noticed at page 67.

CHAPTER VI.

TOWNS, MUNICIPALITIES, AND CANTONMENTS.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities, and Cantonments.

General statistics of towns.

At the Census of 1881, all places possessing more than 5,000 inhabitants, all municipalities, and all head-quarters of districts and military posts were classed as towns. Under this rule the places shown in the margin were returned as the towns of the district.

Tahsil.	Town.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Sháhpur ...	Sháhiwál ...	8,880	4,316	4,564
	Sháhpur ...	7,763	4,367	3,396
Khusháb ...	Khusháb ...	8,989	4,470	4,519
	Girot ...	2,776	1,430	1,346
Bhera ...	Bhera ...	15,165	7,625	7,540
	Miani ...	8,060	4,400	3,660

The distribution by religion of the population of these towns and the number of houses in each are shown in Table No. XLIII, while further particulars will be found in the Census Report in Table XIX and its Appendix and Table XX. The remainder of this chapter consists of a detailed description of each town, with a brief notice of its history, the increase and decrease of its population, its commerce, manufactures, municipal government, institutions and public buildings, and statistics of births and deaths, trade and manufactures, wherever figures are available.

Town of Sáhiwál.

The town of Sáhiwál lies in north latitude 31° 58′ and east longitude 72° 22′ and contains a population of 8,880 souls. It was formerly the head-quarters of a fiscal sub-division; it is one of the chief commercial towns of the district. It is not well built, and is completely surrounded by a *kacha* wall with six gates, of which the Láhori to the east and the Kashmíri to the north are the principal. The town is badly situated on a raised piece of ground, around which the surface drainage of the country for many miles round collects. It is said that Sáhiwál was founded by Gul Bahlak, one of the ancestors of the Biloch Chiefs of this place, and was so named after "Sai" of the Jhammat caste, who was the manager of the property. The municipality of Sáhiwál was first constituted in 1867. It is a municipality of the 3rd class. The committee consists of 11 members, with the Deputy Commissioner as its President. Table No. XLV shows the income of the municipality for the last few years. Sáhiwál carries on a brisk trade with Multán and Sakhar in cotton, grain, and *ghí*, and its *banya* traders also carry on a large agricultural banking business, and are gradually but surely acquiring the land in the neighbourhood. It is also the centre of the barilla (*sajji*) trade for the surrounding *bár* tract.

The only manufactures for which Sahiwál is noted are hardware and turnery in ivory and wood and lacquered work. A more detailed notice of some of the industries of the town will be found in Mr. Kipling's note given at pages 75 to 78.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Town of Sáhiwál.

The public buildings are a school, a dispensary, a *sarai* with rooms for European and native travellers, a town-hall, and a *tháná*.

Limits of Enumeration.	Year of Census.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Whole town ..	1868	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Municipal limits	1868	[illegible]	..	.....
	1875	[illegible]		..
	[illegible]	[illegible]	....	..

The population as ascertained at the enumerations of 1868, 1875, and 1881 is shown in the margin.

In 1855 the population was 9,437, the subsequent decrease being due to the transfer of the *tahsil* head-quarters. The constitution of the population by religion and the number of occupied houses are shown in Table No XLIII. Details of sex will be found in Table XX of the Census Report of 1881.

Sháhpur town.

Sháhpur is a small town of 5,424 inhabitants, at present at a distance of about two miles from the river Jhelum. It was formerly on the very bank of the river, which has of late been receding in the direction of Khusháb. Sháhpur with the adjoining villages Nathú-wálá, Kotlá and Jalálpur was founded by a colony of Saiyads who still form the proprietary body. One Sháh Shams was their common ancestor, and his tomb may still be seen near Sháhpur. The original tomb was to the north of the town, and was carried away by the river, when the coffin is said to have been removed to its present site, east of the town. He is now worshipped as a saint, and a large fair is annually held in his honor between 18th and 25th Chet (the end of March and beginning of April). A large number of people come from very long distances to worship this saint at his shrine, which is shaded by a grove of trees. At the last fair, held in the beginning of April 1884, it is estimated that 20,000 people were collected. A cattle fair was held in connection with this fair, and Rs. 500 were awarded in prizes. This town lies on the road from Lahore to Dera Ismail Khán and has some trade in cloth. It is three miles from the Civil station, and five from Khusháb. Though now removed from the river by a distance of two miles, in high floods the water still touches the walls. The road to Kushâb turns off at a right angle immediately in front of a picturesque gate, which leads into the only *bazár* of which the town can boast. The other gate, much smaller and ill built, leads to the river towards the north-west. The town has a school and a dispensary. In the western corner may be seen the low *kacha* walls of what was once a fort of the Saiyads, the site of which they still occupy; while outside the town and further east of the shrine of Sháh Shams, about one mile from the fort of the Saiyads, are the ruins of an old Sikh fort.

The town is a Municipality of the third class. The Municipal income for the last few years is shown in Table No. XLV.

The civil station of Sháhpur lies three miles to the east of the town on the road from Lahore to Dera Ismail Khán, and has a population of 2,328 souls. It is about in the centre of the district, where the *bár* begins to change into the fertile low-land strip of country stretching along the bank of the river. It is at present 30 miles from the railway. It has a small *bázár* neatly laid out, with fairly wide streets. The roads of the station are wide and well shaded by

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Sháhpur town.

trees, and are watered in hot weather from the inundation canal, which runs through the station. Picturesque glimpses of the Salt Range close the view to the west; good crops of grain and grass are raised in the lands attached to the station, chiefly by the aid of canal irrigation. The station has a large hospital, a school, two tanks and three public gardens. The annual horse fair is held here.

The district court-house, the treasury and the *tahsíl* are all substantial buildings of the usual type. There is also a police office, a Jail, and Police Lines with parade grounds. There is a sessions-house and a staging bungalow, and a commodious *sarai* was built for the public benefit by the late Malik Sáhib Khán, Tiwána, C.S.I. The church is in a pretty garden in the centre of the station.

Limits of Enumeration.	Year of Census.	Persons	Males.	Females.
Whole town ...	1868	6,514	3,624	2,890
	1881	7,759	4,367	3,392
Municipal limits	1868	3,694	...	...
	1881	4,367	...	...

The population as ascertained at the enumerations of 1868 and 1881 is shown in the margin.

Town or Suburb.	Population.	
	1868.	1881.
Sháhpur town	4,743	5,434
Civil Lines	1,771	2,325

The table shown in the margin gives the population of suburbs.

The Deputy Commissioner wrote as follows in the district report on the Census of 1881 regarding the increase of population observable in the civil lines: "This increase is only of an accidental nature, the majority of the people enumerated there being of a fluctuating description, composed largely of persons attending the courts, and other temporary in-comers. This is illustrated by the fact that while the proportion of males in every 100 persons is 51 in other towns, it is 17 in the civil station." The constitution of the population by religion and the number of occupied houses are shown in Table No. XLIII. Details of sex will be found in Table XX of the Census Report of 1881.

Town of Khusháb.

The town of Khusháb lies in north latitude 32° 17′ 30″ and east longitude 72° 24′ 30″, and contains a population of 8,989 souls. It is situated on the right bank of the Jhelam on the Lahore and Deraját road, about eight miles from the civil station. Seen from the opposite bank of the river the town is picturesque. The town being quite on the edge of the river, it has several times been washed away by the stream. Year by year the river has encroached on the banks, so that a portion of the inhabitants are in turn driven out of their houses and obliged to build on the further side of the river. The town is partly surrounded by a *kacha* wall with four gates, of which Láhori to the east and Kashmírí to the north are the principal. There are no data for giving, with any degree of exactness, the year of foundation of Khusháb. It is said by local tradition to have been built in A.D. 1503. But it must have existed long before this, and is probably one of the oldest towns in

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Khusháb town.

this part of the Punjab, as it was a flourishing place in the time of Bábar, and is frequently mentioned by him in his memoirs. It is favourably situated on the right bank of the Jhelam, about eight miles from the civil station. Indeed, from the manner in which it is mentioned, it is clear that the old town must have existed when Bábar's ancestor, Tamerlane, invaded Hindustán in A.D. 1398. Very little, however, of the old town remains: for the last fifty years the river has been gradually cutting away its right bank at this spot, and with it have disappeared the gardens of the good Ahmadyár Khán, the fort built by Jáfar Khán, Biloch, and nine-tenths of the older houses. In Colonel Davies' time a new town was laid out which, with its *bazár* thirty feet wide and more than half-a-mile in length, and its open streets, promises to surpass the former one. The Nawáb, Ahmadyár Khán, mentioned above, was Governor of Khusháb in Muhammad Sháh's time, and his tomb, about a mile to the south-west of the new town, is still a place of pilgrimage.

The municipality of Khusháb was first constituted in 1867. It is a municipality of the 3rd class. It consists of 11 members with the Deputy Commissioner as President, the *tahsíldár* the Vice-President, and the Hospital Assistant as *ex-officio* members. Table No. XLV shows the income of the municipality for the last few years.

Khusháb carries on a large trade with Multán, Sakhar, Afghánistán, and the Deraját, sending down cotton, wool, and *ghí* to the two former and country cloth to the latter, receiving in exchange English piece-goods, spices, iron, copper, &c., from Multán and Sakhar, dried fruits, madder, &c., from Afghánistán, and sugar and *gur* from Amritsar and the Jalandhar Doáb. It is the great mart for the grain of the Salt Range, and large numbers of cattle are employed in taking salt eastwards, and bringing back rice, sugar, &c. The principal manufacture is that of coarse cloth and cotton scarfs, *lungis*, there being some 600 weaving establishments in the town. The manufacture of art pottery has been commenced. A more detailed notice of some of the industries of the town will be found in Mr. Kipling's note give at pages 75 to 78.

The public buildings are a *tahsíl*, a *tháná*, a school, a dispensary, a *sarai* with rooms for travellers, and town-hall. At Khusháb we have the largest ferry in the district, as from here roads branch to Dera Ismail Khán, Miánwáli, Bannu and Talagang through the Salt Range. An English rowing boat is used for the dak. The population as ascertained at the enumerations of 1868, 1875, and 1881 is shown in the margin.

Limits of Enumeration.	Year of Census.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Whole town	1868	8,510	4,371	4,154
	1881	8,980	4,470	4,510
Municipal limits	1868	8,509	...	...
	1875	8,314	...	...
	1881	8,949	...	...

The population at the Census of 1855 was 7,261. The constitution of the population by religion and the number of occupied houses are shown in Table No. XLIII. Details of sex will be found in Table No. XX of the Census Report of 1881.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Girot Town.

Girot is a small town, the population comprising 2,776 inhabitants, situated on the right bank of the Jhelam. The town itself is an unpretentious collection of native houses without a wall or any building of importance. It has a school, a police *chauki*, a dispensary, a municipal committee-house and a rest-house. The Municipal Committee consists of nine members appointed by the Deputy Commissioner. Its income for the last few years is shown in Table No. XLV. The original town of Girot was so named by a merchant of the Goria tribe, who founded it during the Choghatta rule, about 425 years ago. Subsequently, about 904 Hijri, one Malik Bijár, of the Biloch tribe, founded a village near it, naming it Tibbi; but this latter was afterwards destroyed by Ahmad Sháh, Ruler of Kábul, and the descendants of Malik Bijár then founded the present town, calling it Girot after the original name.

The sites of the old villages of Girot and Tibbi are still included in the limits of the present town. The chief trade is in cloth manufactured by weavers there. This cloth is greatly prized in Afghánistán and Central Asia, where the trade mark is notorious. About Rs. 1,50,000 worth of cloth is exported annually.

Limits of Enumeration.	Year of Census	Persons	Males.	Females.
Whole town ..	1868	2,799	1,434	1,365
	1881	2,776	1,430	1,346
Municipal limits	1868	2,799	....	....
	1881	2,776		....

The population as ascertained at the enumerations of 1868 and 1881 is shown in the margin

The constitution of the population by religion and the number of occupied houses are shown in Table No. XLIII. Details of sex will be found in Table XX of the Census Report of 1881.

Town of Bhera. Description.

The town of Bhera lies in north latitude 32° 22' and east longitude 72° 57' and contains a population of 15,165 souls. It lies on the left bank of the Jhelam, 30 miles east of Sháhpur. It is the head-quarters of a fiscal sub-division, and is the largest and most imposing town and the most thriving commercial centre of the district. The town is surrounded by a wall, partly *kucha* and partly *pukka* with eight gates, of which the Láhori Gate to the east and the Thánwála to the north are the principal. It is the best looking town in the district, being built of brick throughout. There are some ancient buildings with wonderful wood-carving. There are also some gardens outside the town, among which Thánwála garden, and one in which the tomb of Miran Said Mahamadi is built, are specially worthy of notice. It has a *sarai*, detached *tahsíl* and *thána*, a dispensary, a town-hall, and a district school.

The early history of the town of Bhera is discussed at some length by General Cunningham in his "Ancient Geography of India," pp. 155 to 159, and Archæological Survey Report, Vol. XIV, pp. 35 to 40. The original town stood on the right bank of the river, and in former days must have been a place of considerable note, for Bábar, in his autobiography, when speaking of his designs on Hindustán, talks of the countries of Bhera, Khusháb, &c., and again in describing Hindustán itself, he defines the limits of the

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Town of Bhera. Description.

empire as extending from Bhera to Behár.* Some idea of its size may also be gained from the fact that it paid so large a sum as two lakhs of rupees to purchase its safety, when the troops under Bábar, disappointed of expected plunder in Bajaur, arrived before it in A.D. 1519. Soon after this, says tradition, the adjoining hill tribes descended and destroyed the city. The ruins of the old town still remain, and are known by the name of Jobnáthnaggar. It is identified by General Cunningham as the capital of Sophites, or Sopheites, the contemporary of Alexander the Great.† The same author speaks of it as the refuge, and for some time the capital, of the Bráhman kings of Kábul, expelled about the end of the 10th century by the Muhammadans.

The new town of Bhera was founded in A.D. 1540, during the reign of Sher Sháh, near a spot where a holy man calling himself Pír Káya-náth had for some time been established, and where his descendants are still residing round the tomb of their spiritual father. The place appears rapidly to have attained to its former size and importance, as it is one of the few places mentioned by name in the description of the Lahore *súba* given in the *Ain-Akbari*, from which we also learn that it was the centre of a *mahal* which paid a revenue of nearly five lakhs of rupees, and was one of the few spots in the whole empire where money was coined. After being plundered and laid waste by Núr-ud-dín, as mentioned before, the town was repopulated by the Chiefs of the Bhangi *misl*, to whose share it fell in the division of the territory acquired by the Sikhs. Its appearance has been greatly improved under British rule.

The municipality of Bhera was first constituted in 1867. It is a municipality of the 3rd class. The Committee consists of 13 members with the Deputy Commissioner its President, the *tahsildár* Vice-President, and the Hospital Assistant and the Head-Master of the school as *ex-officio* members. The members are selected by the Deputy Commissioner. Table No. XLV shows the income of the municipality for the last few years.

Bhera is a place of considerable trade, but inferior in this respect to both Pind Dádan Khán and Khusháb. A large colony of Khojás and Piráchas, Muhammadan converts from Hinduism, are settled here, and carry on a traffic with Kábul and the countries beyond it. Cotton was transported towards Sind in large quantities during the continuance of the American War; but the trade has now somewhat declined. *Ghí* is also sometimes sent down the Jhelam, the trade in this article being chiefly in the hands of Khojás. Rice, *gúr* and sugar are imported from the Jalandhar Doáb; country cloth is exported to Kábul, Multán, Deraját, and Sakhar. European cotton goods are brought from Amritsar and Karáchi. Coarse felts and hand *pankhás* are exported in different directions. The town is also famous for ironsmiths and stone-cutters, as well as wood-carvers; an excellent felt and soap are manufactured, the former being exported in large quantities. A more

* Erskine's Babar, p. 255 and 310.
† Archæological Report, 1863-64, p. 42.

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Town of Bhera. Description.

Limits of Enumeration.	Year of Census	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Whole town ...	1868	14,514	[illegible]	[illegible]
	1881	15,165	[illegible]	7,540
Municipal limits	1868	14,514	......	......
	1875	14,710	......	......
	1881	15,165	......	......

detailed notice of some of the industries of the town will be found in Mr. Kipling's note given at pages 75 to 78. The population, as ascertained at the enumerations of 1868, 1875, and 1881, is shown in the margin.

In 1855 the population was returned at the Census of that year as 13,973.

The constitution of the population by religion and the number of occupied houses are shown in Table No. XLIII. Details of sex will be found in Table No. XX of the Census Report of 1881. The annual birth and death rates per mille of population since 1868 are given below, the basis of calculation being in every case the figures of the most recent Census:—

Year.	Birth Rates.			Death Rates.		
	Persons	Males.	Females	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1868 ...	...	...	...	19	20	18
1869 ...	..	...	...	20	20	22
1870 ...	35	36	35	40	43	37
1871 ...	37	40	34	37	35	39
1872 ..	34	18	16	58	60	59
1873 ...	29	15	15	45	45	40
1874 ..	50	30	29	35	55	55
1875 ...	50	27	23	33	31	34
1876 ..	53	26	26	31	31	31
1877 ..	55	29	26	31	32	30
1878 ..	52	27	25	53	52	55
1879 ...	41	20	21	[illegible]	34	35
1880 ...	52	27	25	35	32	32
1881 ...	58	29	29	31	30	33
Average	47	25	24	36	32	38

The actual number of births and deaths registered during the last five years is shown in Table No. XLIV.

Town of Miáni.

The town of Miáni lies in north latitude 32° 31' 48" and east longitude 73° 7' 30", and contains a population of 8,069 souls. The town is situated on the left bank of the Jhelum, opposite Pind Dádan Khán, and is a 2nd class police station. The town is an ill-built town of narrow lanes and *bazárs*, the upper-storeys of the houses and shops almost touching each other. It is not surrounded by any wall. From time immemorial Miáni has been an important mart for the salt from the mines on the opposite side of the river. The original town was called Shamshábád. This was swept away by the river, and a town on the present site was built under the auspices of Asaf Khán, father-in-law of the Emperor Sháh Jehán, by two Hindus, Madho Dás and Shib Rám. Like Bhera, it grew and prospered till the decline of the Mughal monarchy, and, like Bhera, it was plundered and destroyed by Núr-ud-din, General of Ahmad Sháh, in A.D. 1754, and the inhabitants were dispersed in the neighbouring villages. In A.D 1787, Máha Singh, father of Ranjít Singh, induced a number of the descendants of the old residents and others to rebuild the town, and re-opened the salt mart; but it appears never to have entirely recovered Núr-ud-din's

Chapter VI.

Towns, Municipalities and Cantonments.

Town of Miáni.

visitation, for the descendants of the families which then abandoned the place and took refuge in the adjoining villages are still to be found in the latter.

The municipality was first constituted in 1867. It is a municipality of the 3rd class. The committee consists of eleven members appointed and selected by the Deputy Commissioner. The income for the last few years is shown in Table No. XLV. The prosperity of the town depended mainly on the salt trade, which was carried on here on a large scale, for almost all the salt of the Mayo mines destined for down-country markets passed through it, the town being always known as Lún (salt) Miáni; but its golden days have vanished, the salt depôt having been established at Lalá Musá. Four miles from Miáni is the small village of Chak Miáni. It was a salt mart when salt was conveyed across the river from Kheura by a wire tramway. The public buildings of Miáni are a police bungalow, a town-hall, a school, a *sarai*, with rooms for European and native travellers. The population, as ascertained at the enumerations of 1868, 1875, and 1881, is shown in the margin.

Limits of Enumeration.	Year of Census.	Persons	Males	Females
Whole town	1868 1881	6,957 8,069	3,668 4,490	3,289 3,579
Municipal limits	1868 1875 1881	6,957 6,159 8,069	... ...	... ...

Its population at the Census of 1855 was 6,005. The Deputy Commissioner wrote as follows in the District Report on the Census of 1881 regarding the increase of population: "The increase in Miáni has wholly taken place within a little more than the last year, and is due to the opening of the Salt Branch Railway, which ends at the spot." The constitution of the population by religion and the number of occupied houses are shown in Table No. XLIII. Details of sex will be found in Table No. XX of the Census Report of 1881.

PUNJAB DISTRICT GAZETTEERS.

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SIALKOT DISTRICT

WITH MAPS.

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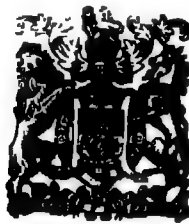
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CHAPTER I.—Descriptive.

SECTION A.—PHYSICAL ASPECTS.

Name. THE City of Siálkot, which has given its name to the district, is believed by the Brahmans to have been founded by one Raja Sul or Sálá, the uncle of the Pandhavas, whose heroic deeds are recorded in the Mahábhárata After his death, some 5,000 years ago, there is a tradition that the dynasty continued for some 1,500 years and then the country was flooded and remained one vast uninhabited region for 1,000 years. The popular belief is that it was re-founded in the reign of Vikramaditya of Ujjain by Rájá Sáliváhan or Sálbán, who built the fort and city and gave the place its present name : he was of Sía caste, mention of which is found to this day, and it is believed that the word means the fort of Sálbán or Sía. Legend also says that Sáliváhan had two sons: one, Púran by name, was killed by the instrumentality of a wicked step-mother, and thrown into a well. still the resort of pilgrims, near Siálkot; the other, Rasálu, the great mythical hero of Punjab folk tales, is said to have reigned at Siálkot. Towards the end of his reign Rasálu became involved in wars with Rájá Húdi, popularly stated to have been a Gakkhar chieftain. Being worsted in battle, Rasálu, as the price of peace, was forced to give his daughter in marriage to his conqueror, who gave the territory he had conquered to Rasálu's adopted son. According to a further legend related to Mr. Prinsep:—

" After the death of Rájá Rasálu, the country is said to have fallen under the curse of Púran (brother of Rasálu, who had become a *faqir*) for 800 years lying totally devastated from famine and incessant plunder."

It has recently been suggested that Siálkot is the site of the ancient town of Sákala or Ságal.

Area. The area of the district at the last settlement of 1913-14, was 1,962 square miles, but since then 193 square miles have been transferred to Gujranwala district, and another 216 square miles will shortly be taken away and added to the Sheikhupura district, leaving 1,553 square miles as the future area of Siálkot.

Boundaries. The district is in the Lahore Division and lies between north latitudes 31° 43' and 33° 52', and east longitudes 74° 14' and 75° 8'. It is bounded on the north by Gujrat district and Jammu

B

Boundaries.

State; on the east by Gurdaspur district; on the south by Amritsar district; and on the west by Sheikhupura and Gujranwala districts The tract is irregular in shape, with a length of 62 miles and a breadth of 46, lying in the Rechna Doab, between the Chenab river on the north and the Ravi on the south, and is submontane in character. A fine view is obtained at Siálkot of the Pir Panjál range of the Himalayas lying on the north and north-east.

General configuration.

The general aspect of the district is a plain sloping down from the uplands at the base of the Himalayas to the level country to the south-west, and the general attitude is 800 feet above sea-level.

Bounded on the north by the Chenab and on the south by the Ravi, the district is fringed on either side by a line of fresh alluvial soil, above which rise the low banks that form the limits of the river beds. At an average distance of 15 miles from the Ravi, another stream, the Degh, which rises in the Jammu hills, traverses this district and passes on into the district of Sheikhupura. This, too, has upon either bank a fringe of low alluvial soil. With the exceptions thus noted, the district is practically a level plain throughout. Its north-eastern boundary is 20 miles distant from the outer line of the Himalayas, but the foot-hills stop short of the district and its surface is a level plain broken only by the rivers Chenab and Ravi, by the Aik and Degh streams and a few *nálás* that are little more than drainage channels. The general slope as indicated by the lines of drainage is from north-east to south-west.

The north of the district is occupied by the Bajwát which might be described as an inland delta of the river Chenab, traversed by a network of streams which take out of one branch of the river on the north and fall into another branch on the south. The northern branch is joined by the Malkháni Táwi in the north-west of the Bajwát and the southern branch by the Jammu Táwi at its south-eastern corner.

Except in times of flood the Bajwát streams are limpid and have pebbly beds and add to the charm of this green well-wooded tract which forms a welcome relief to the brown monotony of the rest of the district.

The Bajwát and the riverains of the Chenab, Degh and Ravi are the most distinctive regions of the district. Elsewhere there are differences in the soil which is generally light and somewhat sandy in the north, fertile and of good average consistency in the centre, stiff and slightly sour in the south

General configuration.

There are also differences in the water level and consequently in facilities for well-irrigation. But generally the physical aspect of the district presents little variety. It is fertile and its congested population ensures that almost every available acre is brought under the plough. Although the supply of timber is barely sufficient, it cannot be said that trees are scarce, and there are few parts where one can get an uninterrupted view for any considerable distance.

River system.

The district is watered on two sides by two of the great rivers of the Province, the Ravi and the Chenab, which draw their supplies from the snows of the central ranges of the Himalayas. It also receives from the lower hills numerous smaller streams, which practically depend on the rainfall, and may be counted upon during the rainy months for a supply, more or less copious, and more or less intermittent, according to the season. Some of these, notably the Aik and the Degh, while destructive in the higher tracts, which slope rapidly to the south, are of utmost value as fertilising agents in the southern parts of the district.

The Chenab.

The Chenab breaks out from a rocky gorge in the hills six miles to the north of the Bajwát tract and flows on in two main branches, one going due south till it is joined by the Jammu Táwi at Beni Sang where the joint stream turns west: the other flowing westwards just outside the boundary of the district which it enters at Kaliál and then flows south-west to join the former branch at Sikka. Twenty-five years ago the eastern branch was the main one, but a barrage of stones was formed across its mouth opposite Akhnur and the main river was diverted to the branch known in this district as the Khano Bhau. The barrage at Akhnur is said to be the result of a big flood. It reduced the eastern branch to a trickle in winter and deprived the Bajwát streams of most of their supply, with the result that the water-courses which the people have excavated to irrigate their lands only flow when the river is in flood. There has been some compensation to the district, however, in the fact that the deposits left by the old Chenab in its course from Beni Sang have improved. The Jammu Táwi carries a fertile silt and as its waters now prevail in this reach the character of the deposit is less sandy than formerly. The effect of the barrage at Akhnur may be judged by the change in the depth of the old Chenab. Twenty-five years ago it was seldom less than 15 feet at any season: now it is fordable at several places during winter. On the other hand the Khano Bhau cannot be crossed except in boats. There are ferries at Pul Bajwan, Chak Khoja, Beli Gangwal, Kuri, Khánu Bhéu, Mari, Kuluwál, Bhakriáli and

The Chenab.

Sodhra. There are also ferries over the Bajwát streams and some subsidiary ferries on the main river.

In recent years the set of the river below Marála has been towards the northern bank and much land has come under cultivation. Till 1906 the deep-stream rule prevailed, but in that year a fixed boundary was laid down for the riverain estates.

The Rávi.

The Rávi enters the Raya tahsil of Siálkot at the north-east corner, and flows in a fairly straight line down the entire length of the southern border till it joins Sheikhupura district. Shortly after entering Raya it is joined by the Basantar, which rises in the hills to the east of Jammu. The Ravi flows through a level country, and the force of its current is much less than that of the Chenab. At no part of its course is it confined within high banks, but the bed of the river gradually widens, and its action becomes more erratic as it gets further away from the hills. Its deposits are more fertile than those left by the Chenab, and the Khádir circle of the Raya Tahsil is much more fertile than the riverain circles of Siálkot and Daska.

The stream forms no permanent islands in the river bed, but patches of sand, left dry by the retiring floods, form temporary and shifting islands, upon which not unfrequently a thick growth of reeds springs up. The river is fordable in places during the cold weather, but the passage is not without danger on account of quicksands. There are eleven ferries. The Ravi is nowhere navigable, but small country boats come up from Lahore for the *kána* grass from the *belas*, and timber is floated down from Chamba.

The Degh Nala

The Degh is formed by the union of two petty streams north of Jasrota in Jammu territory, and enters the north-east corner of the Zafarwál tahsil near the village of Lehri. At Tehra it splits into two branches which re-unite at Saidpur Hanjli. Just before entering the Pasrúr tahsil two branches are again formed and these continue more or distinct throughout that tahsil, the right branch crossing the canal near Bhagatpur and the left branch entering the Raya tahsil at Tetharwáli. The supply of water, being drawn from the lower hills and dependent solely upon the local rainfall, is somewhat uncertain and intermittent. There is water, however, in the channel at all seasons of the year; and here and there springs of water occur in the bed. When heavy rain has fallen in the hills the discharge of water is sudden and abundant, causing floods, which are frequently destructive. From the plain country, too, considerable accessions of volume are received during heavy rain;

The Degh Nala.

for the river valley, lying low, forms the main drainage artery of the eastern portion of the district. The nature of the banks varies much. Abrupt in some places, they become in others so gradually sloped as to be almost undistinguishable. The bed of the torrent is of coarse sand, forming in places quicksands of considerable depth. The current during the rainy season is very rapid, being scarcely fordable even when only knee-deep. When waist-high the stream is quite unfordable. The course of the main current shifts constantly from side to side of the river bed, but there have been no instances of late years of any violent change. The action of the Degh varies with its distance from the hills. It rushes through the whole of Zafarwál and the north of Pasrúr, doing little but harm owing to the rapid slope of the country. To the south of Pasrúr and in Raya, however, its value as a fertilising agent is great, the alluvial deposits are rich and widely spread, and the gentle flow allows the water to be used for irrigation.

The Aik Nala.

The Aik also rises in the Jammu hills, and enters this district at the village of Umránwáli, about six miles to the east of Siálkot. Its general direction is south-west, and it skirts the south of the city. On the upper reaches the bed is deep and narrow, and the stream rarely overflows. When it enters the Daska tahsil, however, it gradually rises to the level of the surrounding country, and the force of the current abates. In Daska the Aik is of the greatest service to the villages within its sphere of influence. It brings down a rich silt in large quantities, and the Aik assessment circle of this tahsil is the richest tract in the district But where the Upper Chenab Canal crosses the drainage of this *nálá* there has of late years been so much water-logging that measures have had to be devised for remedying a serious evil In particular, the town of Sambriál has been rendered almost uninhabitable by seepage. During the rains, the supply of water in the nálá is abundant, but it dwindles during the dry part of the winter season. Except after heavy rain, it is fordable at any point. It is crossed by two strong masonry bridges close to the city and cantonments, by a railway bridge near the city, and by a smaller wooden bridge on the road to Gujránwála.

Other lines of drainage.

There are several other smaller streams in the district which, though they receive, as a rule, no supply from the hills, serve the useful purpose of carrying off the surface drainage of the country. Of these, the most important are the Sabzkote, Gadgor, Lunda, Palkhu and Dhan nálás, with their different petty tributaries. These are generally known by different names in different parts of their course They cannot compare with the Aik and Degh as irrigation agents, but they are utilised,

B3

Other lines of drainage.

wherever possible, by the zamindars who erect *jhallárs*, or Persian wheels, on their banks.

Marshes.

There is no piece of water in the district which could be called a lake, but numerous marshy depressions, locally known as *chhambhs*, occur in many parts. These are fed by rain, surface drainage, and the small streams, which are a feature of the northern part of the district. They are of considerable value as reservoirs for purposes of irrigation, and many of them have had their capacity considerably increased by artificial embankments. In such cases the water is made available for irrigation by means of ducts. In other cases a simpler process is followed, of baling water from them to the level of the fields in closely-woven baskets. It was believed by Mr. Prinsep that, under encouragement from the District authorities, much might be done to improve and extend the means of irrigation thus provided. Nothing was done, however, till 1888-89, when the general question of these *chhambhs*, and the channels leading to and from them, was taken up by Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomery, the Deputy Commissioner, and for the next five years the whole irrigation system depending on them was thoroughly overhauled. Since then several of the reservoirs have silted up and dams have fallen into disrepair. Colonel Montgomery's most ambitious schemes have suffered from the rivalry of the canal. The Jiwan Goraya cut from the Degh has been diverted into the Ravi to save the canal banks from its onset, and the whole system of irrigation which depended on that cut has been superseded by the Raya Branch. Similarly the usefulness of the Satrah Bund has been greatly curtailed because the canal has usurped its place in several villages. This bund dates from the time of the Moghal emperors. Almost all the *chhambhs* dry up before the winter rains begin and again at the beginning of the hot weather. Generally speaking, cultivation of the area recognised as belonging to the reservoirs themselves is forbidden. All natural products, such as *nilophar* (*nymphæa lotus*) and *khas* grass (*Cymbopogon aromaticus*) are the property of the border villages. The principal marshes in the district, with the approximate area under each in acres, are as follows:—

Tahsil	Name.	Area in acres.
Zafarwál	Manjke	585
Raya.	Arid Afghan	154
	Kulla Mandbhála	78

Marshes.

Tahsil.	Name	Area in acres.
Pasrur	Satrah	1,83[illegible]
	Patla	110
	Thatha Milkhi	125
	Sáloke Dandián	232
	Dharang	147
	Kasmowála	173
	Budha Goráya	70
	Lala	70
	Thatta Gulab Singh	109
	Bhopar	105
Siálkot.	Gurbí	52
	Suragpur	131
	Richhara	91
Daska.	Luhrike (Wadda)	147
	Khakkli	697
	Dharmkot	196
	Marhana	298
	Daska	593
	Kotli Kewal Ram	149
	Bhola Musa	211
	Uddowar	129
	Pandori	94
	Gujra ke	74
	Talwandi Musa Khan	282
	Oibuan	165

Old canals.

There are in many parts of the district traces and traditions of ancient canals long since fallen into disuse. Mr. E. Prinsep, who conducted the two first settlements of Siálkot, was of opinion that most, if not all, of these were capable of restoration. His remarks on the subject in the report of the first regular settlement are as follows :—

"The most noticeable is a cut that was made by Ali Mardán Khán, 250 year ago, to bring the waters of the Tavi to the Imperial Gardens at Shahdráh. It is said to have joined the Palkhú at Nandpúr. There are traces of it at Kotlí-Lohárán, Zahúra, and Banút, so that it must have been nearly 20 miles in length. The people assure me that it was a successful undertaking, that it flowed the whole year round, was used for irrigation, and is quite capable of restoration. During Akbar's reign, another cut was made by one Maulvi Ghulám Mustáfa from the Aik, above Siálkot, for the purpose of watering the gardens and tanks of Miánpúra. Again, one Sheikh Raza of Ghúna made an attempt to supply the *chhamb* of Partánwáli by a cut from the Aik, opposite Malochhit, which, not proving successful, induced Sardár Shám Singh to make a similar attempt for the same purpose at Dhesián, a little higher up, which did answer for a time. Traces of it are said to be still visible. So also to Dárá Shikoh, the brother of Alamgír, is attributed the construction of a canal to bring the water of the Degh through the centre of the high tracts in the vicinity of Pasrúr; traces of which, in the form of old

Old canals.

tanks and aqueducts, are still apparent. A proposal to restore the Ali Mardán Canal was lately made, and Government ordered a survey and called for a report. The head of the canal lay in Jammú territory, and there were other difficulties to be met. The result was that the project was abandoned."

The only other old work of this kind is in the north of Raya tahsil. About fifty years ago, the zamindars made a deep cutting from the large depression or *dhab* at the village of Dode in Gurdáspur as far as the villages of Ishar Mahádeo and Hussan Hussain in this district. But the channel soon silted up, and the people have never been ready to incur the annual expenditure necessary for keeping it clear.

Geology.

The district consists of an alluvial plain and no rock formations have been found. The composition of the soil is discussed in Chapter II, section A. A little *kankar* is still found near cantonments, but it is mostly worked out.

Botany.

There is no book on the botany of the district to which reference can be made. The wild flora are similar to those of the plains with an admixture of plants of the lower hills in the Bajwát and near the Jammu border generally. A description of the trees, shrubs, and weeds commonly found in the district is given under the heading of Forests in Chapter II, Section C, where their economic value is discussed. Generally speaking, the district is well wooded owing largely to the avenues kept up by the District Board, but the intensive cultivation of the tract militates against the existence of wild life in any form.

Fauna.

Of wild animal life there is very little in the district and what little exists is practically confined to the portions of the Bajwát that border on the Jammu State and to the Ravi riverain. In these two tracts jackals, foxes, wild-cat, hares, pig, *nilgai*, wild cattle and wolves are occasionally found. Much damage to crops is suffered by villages on the Jammu border owing to the incursions of wild cattle and other animals which find asylum in the State rakhs, and the unfortunate zamindars make night hideous with the din they produce in order to scare away the destroyers of their harvest. Away from the riverain of the Chenab and Ravi even the jackal is rarely to be found, but a few hares lead a precarious existence around cantonments, and in the *kalar* tracts of Daska, Pasrúr and Raya there are a few black-buck.

SECTION B.—History.

Early history.

Sákala (now Siálkot City) was the capital of the Madras who are known in the late Vedic period (*Brihaddáranyaka Upanishad*). Sákaladvípa or the 'island' of Sákala was the name of the *doáb*, or land lying between the two rivers, between Chandrabhága (Chenab) and Irávati (Ravi). Sákala was the capital, or one of the capitals, of the Greek kings of the House of Euthydemus, and the residence of Menander (Milinda). After the invasion of the Húnas (Huns) in the last quarter of the fifth century A. D it became the capital of Toramána and his son Mihirakula.

The antiquities of Siálkot are discussed by Sir Alexander Cunningham in his *Archæological Survey Reports*, II, 21, 22, and XIV, 44 to 47. Its early history is closely interwoven with traditions of the Rájá Sáliváhan, his son Rájá Rasálu, and his foe, Rája Húdi, so famous in Punjab folk-lore.

The first settlers.

In the earliest days, we are informed, the whole surface of the country was waste and studded with thick forests, but inhabited by a pastoral race, called Yahars or Yírs, who lived in *júns* or rude mat huts, chiefly along the banks of rivers. These tribes were numerous and powerful. Some time after the invasion of Alexander against Porus, it is said that large volunteer armies flocked into the province from remote parts of Hindústán. Among them arrived Shún, Hún and Dall, the three reputed sons of the great Rája Rachor Ráo of Rajpútána, whose capitals were Ujjáin and Indore. The emigrants fraternised with the early settlers, and introduced the art of agriculture and the use of wells for irrigation. It is even computed that out of 500,000 warriors some 350,000 devoted themselves so diligently to the cultivation of land, that in 250 years after their arrival the whole country from Lahore to Multán and Kasúr to Sialkot was cleared of jungle. These settlers were assisted by the original tribes, who were known also under the names of Yírs in the Jech and Sind Ságar Doábs; Jhúns and Pachádás in this Doáb; and Bhúlar, Mán, Her in the Bári Doáb. The Shún Dal in the time of Vikramáditya are recorded as the most powerful tribe in the Punjab, but they would not intermarry with the aborigines, who were looked upon as an inferior race of Ghator, Ghauts or Gat (Sanskrit, *yuta*), or as they are now called Jats. Even to his day in the heart of the Hindu agricultural tract, the people will tell you there are only 2½ pure Jat races now remaining, *viz*, the Bhúlar, Mán, and Her, which last counts only as half a caste; that all the rest are really of Rájpút origin. But those days have passed and little traces exist of such races

now. In the vicinity of Nainákot, and also at the foot of the hills near Jammu, may be found a tribe of Jhúns, and there is reason to think that the Húndal clan, who own several villages in this district, bear a close affinity to the first emigrants from Rájpútána.

The first settlers.

The principal tribes now are the Bájwás, who probably came from the direction of Multán; the Awáns, who say they came from Ghazni; the Chumans, from Makíálá in Central India; the Sindús from Oudh; and the Salehria Rájpúts from the hills, who jointly hold nearly 800 estates, or over one-third of the district. Of these the Awáns only can point to a distinct Muhammadan origin. There are also the Minhás, who are a royal clan from their having a common pedigree with the Jammu princes; and the Bajús, who give their name to Bajwát. It is a curious fact that both of these clans, who now are essentially Rájpút in name and association, have a common pedigree, the Minhás with the Virk and the Baju with the Bájwa clans, both of whom are called essentially Jat, which shows the prevalence of the Rájpút origin.

Principal tribes and whence they emigrated.

The places of greatest antiquity appear to be the cities of Siálkot, formerly called Sulkot; Pasrúr known as Parasrúr. Pasrúr is surrounded by villages held by the Bájwa Jats, whose first founder, Kholu, settled in Panwána and had six sons, who founded Bhágowál, Rúrki, Khánowáli, Chowinda, Nárowál and Pasrúr; Mankah founded Pasrúr. The tradition is that during the better days of the Mughal empire, a *faqír* came to visit the *khánqáh* (shrine) of Syad Jalál. Mankah hearing of his arrival in accordance with old usage offered him Re. 1 as a *nazar*, which was indignantly refused. The *faqír* took his departure, but did not forget the civility, for 12 years after he returned to the *khánqáh* as none other than Humáyun summoned Mankah, and made him the ruler of the Pasrúr *pargana*. So Mankah built the city, locating traders of every kind. On Mankah's death, owing to his son being a minor the fief was managed by Fatah Chand, son of Naru (the brother), who went in person to Delhi and was honoured by Akbar.

Places of antiquity—Pasrúr.

But of Siálkot we have information which carries us back to a very distant period. It is said to have been originally founded by Rája Sul or Salá of Pandhu renown, hence called Sulkot, about 5,000 years ago, whose dynasty continued for 1,500 years. After the flood, the popular belief has it that the whole country remained one vast uninhabited region for 1,000 years. The first account of its restoration takes us to the time when Siálkot was a part of Kashmír, and Rája Súm Datt enjoyed

Siálkot.

Siálkot.

unmolested rule for one century more. It was about this time when Vikramáditya was monarch of Ujjáin, that Rája Sulwán (or Sálivában) built the fort and established the principality of Siálkot. He was of the Sía caste, mention of which is to be found to this day; some think Siálkot takes its name in this way.

Rája Salwán (Sálivában).

A curious legend exists that a Khatráni woman, when bathing in the Aik, was wooed by a serpent called Básak Nág. She conceived and bore a son who was called Salwán, who rose to be a man of great power and wealth, and through the assistance of this snake was made a King. This legend has probably a direct connection with the Nág worship of the hills, and must be of great antiquity. It is said Vikramáditya even visited Siálkot, and Salwán refusing to go and meet him, a severe battle was fought in which the former lost his life, and Rája Salwán, exulting over his triumph, caused the era to be changed to that of Saka, which is even referred to now-a-days; thus the Sambat year 1916 agrees with 1779 Saka. Rája Salwán had two sons, Púran Bhagat and Rasálu. The former, turning *faqír*, so incensed his father that he ordered his hands and feet to be cut off and thrown down a well in Karol, near Siálkot, which is called Púranwála to this day, and is noted for its very cold water and its healing qualities. Every Sunday, on a new moon, it is the resort of pilgrim females, who seek a remedy for barrenness.

Rája Rasálu

Rája Rasálu lived to take a more distinguished part in the events of these primitive times. About A.D. 360, one Rája Húdi (believed to be the chief of the Gakkhar tribe) had established himself in the country along the banks of the Attock river, between Kálábágh and the Fort of Attock. He took formal possession of all the country to the west of Jhelum, and contracted an alliance with Rasálu, whom he induced to give the promise of his daughter in marriage. On Rasálu's failing afterwards to fulfil this promise, Rája Húdi brought a large force straight to Siálkot. The former, unable to oppose him in the field, shut himself up in the fort, against which Rája Húdi expended all his skill for six months; he then gave up in despair and plundered the country, subjugating the Shún Dals and Jats, who first fled, and then, uniting their forces, met him at a place called Sang Saugh (a large village about 14 miles to south-east of Lahore, and the site of the famous Sangála of Alexander). Meanwhile Rája Rasálu's daughter being anxious for the marriage, made private overtures, which ended in Rája Húdi's successful elopement with her to his army at Lum, near Lahore. After a long altercation the quarrel was hushed up,

and the lady was ever after called *Sárang*, from the place of reconciliation, which became a famed locality. The ruins of Sárang or Sárangíri still lie in the Sikh Mánja, close to Saurián, some 12 miles east and north of Lahore. The two Rájas became friends, and so pleased was Rája Húdi, that he gave the whole new country he had conquered to Rájá Karm, the adopted son of Rasálu, with the title of Maliki Múlk, and by this treaty Sárangíri and its dependencies were made over to the Sía family. After the death of Rája Risálu, in A.D. 400, the country is said to have fallen under the curse of Púran for upwards of 300 years, lying totally devastated from famines and incessant plunder. In the year 790 A.D. the fort and city of Siálkot were demolished by a large army under Rája Niraut, supported by the tribesmen of the Yúsufzai country. They attacked Sárangíri, scarcely leaving a vestige behind. After which for a long period there is no news of Siálkot beyond that it remained a portion of the territories of the Rájá Brahm Deo of Jammu, at first paying tribute, and then revenue, to the *subáhdar* of Lahore as an appanage of the Mughal empire

Rájá Rasálu.

8th Century.

In the year 1184 Shaháb-ud-dín Mohammad Ghori invaded the Punjab, then in the hands of the last of the Ghaznavid kings Being unable to reduce Lahore he devastated the country and then retired to Siálkot, the fort of which place he repaired and strengthened and left a garrison in it. After his departure to Ghazni, Sultán Khusru Malik of Lahore in alliance with the Ghakkars besieged Siálkot Fort, but was unable to capture it. Some time later however the fort seems to have fallen. Sohdra ferry is also mentioned. It seems to have been one of the principal ferries in the Chenab in former times.

Musalman Invasions, 12th Century.

On his return journey from Delhi in 1399 Taimúr marched along the foot of the low hills and captured Jammu where he compelled the Rájá to embrace Islám. He must also have visited Siálkot.

14th Century.

In 1520 Bábar advanced into India by way of Siálkot which capitulated and the inhabitants were saved from massacre.

16th Century.

In 1524 Khusrau Gokaltásh was appointed Governor of Siálkot.

Bábar's last and successful invasion of the Punjab was effected by an advance from the Indus in 1525. Passing below the hill of Bálnáth of the Jogis he forded the Jhelum and sent on Saiyids Tufán and Lachín with orders to push on with all speed to Lahore and direct his troops there not to fight but to effect a junction with him at Siálkot or Pasrúr. He himself

16th Century.

advanced along the skirts of the hills towards Siálkot which place he reached on the 14th Rabi I. His Turki garrison there appears to have joined his camp on the Chenab, but to have been attacked on their march by the Jats and Gujars whom he visited with condign punishment. Bábar had apparently great difficulty in calling in his detachments, for according to the *Chughatái* he sent Shálam and Núr Beg to the Begs at Lahore with orders to get information about the position of the enemy and report where they could effect their junction with him. Some of his troops in Lahore joined him at Siálkot and he then advanced to Pasrúr where other leaders joined him, and thence he pushed on to Kálánaur. He then laid siege to Malot in the Jaswán Dún.

Siálkot under the Mughals.

At the time of Akbar, the present district (with the exception of Bajwát, trans-Chenab) formed part of the Rechnábád *sirkár*, or district, of the Lahore *súbá*. There was a land measurement and a fixed money assessment upon the number of *bighas* cultivated each year. There were superior officers of collection in each district, and a *kánúngo* in each *pargana*, whose business it was to keep the records and be at the same time a referee in all disputes. Under Sháh Jahán, the well-known engineer, Ali Mardán Khán, had charge of Siálkot. His administration is well spoken off. He not only demanded a reasonable revenue, altering the cash demand to suit the season, but helped the people to pay it by cutting canals, and by other improvements. There is no record of the revenue realized by him.

In the reign of Sháh Jahán a Mughal army from Kábul and Peshávar under the command of the Prince Murád Bakhsh marched by way of Siálkot to Pathánkot which seems to show that the road from the north passed that way, as in the time of Alexander and the Chinese pilgrims.

Invasions of the Duránís, A.D. 1748 and A.D. 1751.

At the end of the reign of Muhammad Sháh, when the Mughal power at Delhi was on the decline, the outlying districts were left pretty much to themselves. Anarchy and misrule prevailed everywhere; Siálkot had been appropriated by a powerful family of Patháns, and the submontane tracts were in the hands of Rájá Ranjít Deo. Zafarwál, Pasrúr, and Daska, though subordinate to Lahore, were split up into *niwais*, or *tappás*, afterwards called *táluqás*. At this juncture Ahmad Sháh Duráni, in A.D. 1748, returned from Kábul with increased forces, determined to punish Mír Manu for thwarting his plans at Sirhind. Mír Manu, on finding reinforcements from Delhi had not been sent to his aid, entered into negotiations in which the Abdálí was allowed the four districts of Gujrát, Siálkot, Pasrúr and Aurangabad. In A.D. 1751 Ahmad Sháh,

Invasions of the Duránís, A.D. 1748 and A.D. 1751.

finding the revenues had not been paid of these four districts, returned to Gujrát and sent an embassy to Lahore to demand payment, which was refused. The Abdáli marched to Lahore, was met by the united forces of Adína Beg Khán from Jullundur and Kaura Mall of Multán, gave battle at Sháhdara, and finally establishing his power in the Punjab and Sirhind, left his son Taimúr to rule at Lahore.

Rise of Ranjít Deo, the Rájput chief.

About this time the hill districts seem to have been under two Rájas, Kirpál Deo and Ranjít Deo, the seat of the former being at Bán-ká-killah, whilst the country to the west of the Táwi belonged to the latter. By a skilful ruse, on the pretence that a powerful demonstration was going to be made upon him from Delhi with a view of extorting tribute, Ranjít Deo urged his kinsman to come up to him in the hills. Ranjít Deo then acknowledged his vassalage to Delhi, and was allowed to appropriate the dominions of Kirpál Deo. From this date Ranjít Deo became subordinate to Delhi, and continued to establish his sway, which was carried as far as the Roras and Patháuwáli *táluqas*. On the several occasions of the Duráni invasion of Lahore, the wily hill chief made overtures for an alliance, which were at last accepted. It is said that when the former returned from Hindustán after having taken Mathra, he further confirmed this alliance by the gift of the three Bádsháhi *parganás*, Zafarwál, Sankhatra, and Aurangábád. On the confines of *pargana* Zafarwál stood a large *táluqa*, which is said to have covered over 84,000 *bighas*, known in Mughal days as "Orang Sháhpúr Latíf." It is otherwise known as Chawinda, from its being held by four classes (*chár vandán*) or divisions, Dúdra, Kóndrah, Dúgrah, and Reki. It is a very old place, and was founded by Nának, one of the sons of Kálu, the founder of the Bájwa colony. Rahmat Khán, the chief of this tribe, who was man of large wealth and influence, had built a fort, and was strengthening his position when he was suddenly attacked by Ranjít Deo, who succeeded in adding Chawinda to his dominions. At a time when Ranjít Deo was in difficulty, and was himself a prisoner at Lahore in the hands of Khán Bahádur, a Kátil Rájpút of Tikaria, a great brigand, succeeded in wresting *táluqa* Chaubára from one Chajju Khán, the agent of the Rájá. Prithu took the fort, killed Chajju and made the Salchriás subordinate. He built a small fort (*garhi*) and a shooting box (*bárádarri*); whence the place is to this day known as *Garhi Chaubára*. He killed every Minhás inhabitant of Játoke. On hearing of this, Ranjít Deo, being himself a Rájpút of the same tribe, gave battle at Ala, near Chárwa, defeated Prithu, and thus added Chaubára to

Rájpút ascendancy established.

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CHAP. I, A. Physical Aspects. The Hakra depression.

the theory that the Hakra is the old bed of the Jumna, and his reasons are best given in his own words:—

As previously stated the desert portion is divided from the central tract by a depression called the Hakra, but in the southern portion of the State the advance of the sand-hills blown across from the great Indian desert has almost obliterated all traces of this river bed.

In the Calcutta Review for July 1874 an attempt was made to prove that this lost river was at one period the Sutlej. In my opinion the fact of the river Sutlej flowing within a defined valley of its own, bounded on either side by lands so much higher in level and of so different a character, precludes the idea of the higher tract ever having been traversed by the Sutlej. The Hakra river is referred to by Tod in the Annals of Bikaner, where he writes: "Tradition asserts that these regions were not always arid or desolate and that their deterioration dates from the drying up of the Hakra river, which came from the Punjab and flowing through the heart of the country emptied itself into the Indus between Rori, Bhakkar and Uch."

The Sirhind tract between the Sutlej and the Jumna is the watershed of the Indus and Gangetic valleys, and the Hakra depression is still the outlet of all the drainage channels of the western Sirhind tract, the main channel being the Ghaggar river.

It is not improbable that at some distant period the Jumna on leaving the hills turned westward and emptied itself into the Indus. The Western Jumna Canal was excavated in the reign of Firoz Taghluk about A. D. 1360—70 and, as all these old native canals were dug in depressions left by changes in the course of rivers, the probability is that this canal was dug in the dry bed of the Jumna or at least in a portion of it. Locally the Hánsi branch of this canal is stated to have been dug in the bed of the Chitrang.

It seems probable, that there has been a gradual upheaval of the Sirhind and Hariána tracts, which may have diverted the Jumna into the Gangetic valley, and gradually lessened the flow of water in all the Sirhind drainage channels. These channels are now dry except after heavy rains in the sub-Himalayan tracts, and the Ghaggar stream now only occasionally reaches the Bikaner border, whereas formerly there was a perennial stream in most of these channels. Along the banks of the Ghaggar and Hakra are the remains of old cities now only ruined mounds. In the Sirsa District some of these mounds have been excavated and found to contain marble and stone carvings of great excellence. It is nearly certain that the stone *lats* or pillars put up by Firoz Shah at Hissár and Fatahábád were exhumed by him from the old buried cities and the ruins of his old palace at Hissár show that he largely availed himself of these old stone carvings to adorn his underground passages and apartments.

Similar ancient towns and forts, such as Marot, Phul-ra, Mír-gadh, Wallhar, Dín-gadh, Mauj-gadh and Deráwar, are found on the banks of the Hakra in the Baháwalpur State.

The problem was attacked again in 1886[3] by Mr. R. D. Oldham, a Deputy Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, to whose views great weight must attach. In his opinion the Hakra is the old bed of the Sutlej, though it may have been also fed from

(3) Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol LV, 1886. On probable changes in the Geography of the Punjab and its Rivers, pages 322-43.
The Mihrán of Sind and its Tributaries. Ibid Vol. LXI, 1892, pages 155—207.

CHAP. I. A.
Physical Aspects.
The Hakra depression.

a branch of the Jumna, and that it was lost when the former river turned westwards to join the Beás. This opinion is based mainly on hydrographical data and its author points out that the Hakra depression is being constantly filled up with an alluvium similar to the existing soil which explains the absence of sandy silt in its bed, and that the high level of the plain over which it pursues its course is a common characteristic of all the rivers of the Indo-Gangetic plain.

Lastly the late Major H. G. Raverty in a lengthy article discussed the historical aspect of the question, and his conclusions are that in the thirteenth century 'the Beás flowed in its *old* bed past Debál-pur (Dipálpur) and the Bihat (Jhelum), the Chenáb and the Rávi, having united into one stream to the north-east of Multán, flowed near it on the east side, and united with the Beás some 28 miles to the southward of that city and east of Uch, instead of west of it, as the united waters of the Punjab now flow: (page 166). Thus Uch and Multán both lay in the west bank of the Panj-nád and were closely united, politically, in consequence.

Further reference may be made to an article in the Physical Geography of the Baháwalpur State by Mr. J. W. Barns, F. R. G. S., Superintendent of Irrigation, published in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 1872. That writer considered that the 'Bángar' (or uplands of the Cholistán) had at a former period been flooded not intermittently, as land is by the Punjab rivers, but steadily. He also found testaceous molluscs in the Bángar which, in his opinion, had had at one time a settled agricultural population.

The smaller depression.

Besides the Hakra there is in this State another but smaller depression running from three to twelve miles from the Ghárá and Chenáb rivers and parallel with them, from the north-east in a south-westerly direction. This depression bears various names, being designated at different places as noted below :—

PLACE.	NAME OF THE DEPRESSION.
Hásil Sáhrú.	Baggán-wáli.
Macleod Ganj.	Tirwálná.
Minchinábád.	K?h Budhí.
Shahr-Farid and Mahár Sharíf.	Haryarí and Gharúán.
Hásilpur.	..hál or Pakhála.
Tibba-Raiká.	Jamlána.
Shaikh Wáhan.	Chilkána.
Talbáni.	Phát.
Khairpur-East.	Gágrá.
Durrpur and Kathála.	Garang.
Saujar.	Jarát.
Dera-Bakhkhá.	Kulkí.
Baháwalpur.	Wáhand.
Uch, Chaudhri and Garhi Ikhtiyár Khán.	Trukrí.
Maú-Mubárak.	Kálá.
Naushahra.	Gurhila.
Garh-i-Begar.	Wáhand or Tallá.
Kot Sabzal.	Gurhila.

CHAP. I. A.
Physical Aspects.
The smaller depression.

Various stories are current among the people regarding this depression. Old people among the Hindús say that in times long past there lived in the Jumna a huge dragon which was ordered by the gods to quit the river and seek an abode in the ocean, so, to enable it to reach the ocean secretly, the Jumna was bidden to send forth a stream. This stream is marked by the bed of the present depression. Another curious legend is that Darius Hystaspes (Gushtasp), who ruled this country, gave it to his daughter as her dower and that she constructed a canal of which the present depression is the remains. It is also said that it is an old bed of the Beás, or of an independent river which eventually fell into the Sutlej at some place higher up.

Of these legends the first is in accord with the theory that the waters of the Jumna once flowed westward, not eastward as now. And the second is curiously confirmed by certain loops in either side of its course, and which the people say were the distributaries of the huge canal.[1]

Whatever the facts dimly commemorated in these legends may have been, the people regard the Trukrí and Gurhila as one and the same stream, but Colonel Minchin was disposed to identify the Trukrí with the old bed of the Beás, and to regard the Gurhila between Firoza and Bhakkar as the old bed of the Indus, and he wrote :—

The old bed of the Sutlej can be distinctly traced along the edge of the central tract from the Sirsa border to the town of Goth Channi, where it was joined by another river, which I believe to have been the Beás; the two rivers then continued their course to the village of Firoza, where there is a deep depression some miles in extent at which point the united rivers fell into the Indus. General Cunningham has shown that the Indus was joined by the Chenáb opposite the town of Uch, and the old line of the river can be traced from this point to Firoza in the bed of the old Khanwah Canal, and in his description of the changes in the course of the Beás, he states that "in most of our maps, the old Beás is conducted into the lower course of the Bhatiyari, whereas its still existing and well defined channel joins the Chenáb 20 miles below Shujabad and its most southerly point is 10 miles distant from the nearest bend of the Bhatiyari." I believe the General is mistaken on this point, and that in the seventh century the Beás ran in two large channels, one as he points out near Shuja'abad and the other in the Bhatiyari channel, which was continued through the Baháwalpur State to its junction with the old bed of the Sutlej at Goth Channi. This channel, which is now called the Trukri, flows below the old town of Uch. It is clearly a continuation of the Bhatiyari, as it commences on the left bank exactly opposite the place where the other channel ends on the right bank. Its position west of the town of Uch accounts for the preservation of this old town. The Chachnáma in describing the march of Muhammad bin Kásim states that "he journeyed from Alor, till he arrived at the Fort of Pa-biya on the south bank of the Beás. It was an old Fort and the chief of it was Kaksas. When he had settled affairs with Kaksas, he left the Fort, crossed the Beás and reached the stronghold of Askalanda." If any trust is to be placed in the old chronicler a branch of the Beás then flowed both west and south of Askalanda, which is identified

[1] With reference to these winding channels Mr. Barns writes as if they are undoubtedly ancient irrigation works.—J. R. G. S., 1872, p. 396.

with the modern town of Uch and therefore the Trukrí, which flows to the west and south of Uch must have been the bed of the Beás.

CHAP. I, A. Physical Aspects. The smaller depression.

The old bed of the Indus can be traced from Firoza to *Bhakkar* in the depressions locally known as the Gurhíla and Raini channels. General Cunningham has described the changes in the lower course of the Indus as follows :—" Below *Bhakkar* the original course of the Indus was to the east of the Alor range, but, as the waters gradually worked west-wards, they at last turned the northern end of the range at Rori and cut a passage for themselves through the gap in the limestone rocks between Rori and *Bhakkar*. This change is assigned to the beginning of Dahir's reign and must have taken place shortly after his accession in A. D. 680. The changes in the upper course of the Indus must have taken place about the same time. According to local traditions the town of Jajja west of Khanpur was founded by Raj Jajja Bhuta in A. D. 834, at which time the Indus must have left the old line near the sand-hills and approximated to its present course and was most probably flowing on the line shown by the Sádiqwáh Canal "

But according to local tradition the depression below Jajja is an old bed of the Indus and near Patan Munára, this depression is known as the Sej, and the Gurhíla runs midway between it and Naushahra in a bed of its own some two miles south-east of that town. Local tradition further states that the Sej and Gurhíla flowed at one and the same time, and that when the Sej in time had become a *dhand*, or back-water of the Indus, the Gurhíla continued flowing for a long period.

Thus the Sej should apparently be regarded as an old bed of the Indus, but not so the Gurhíla.

Further, it may be observed with regard to the latter that it was flowing as an independent stream while the Narra [1] or eastern branch of the Indus still ran, for in the legend of Sohni and Mahínwál the following lines occur :—

Agge tar Tanot ho taden khuh khájc kháro.
Dethari jo kot tho bayo shahr Bhingáro.
Júnd, Jokhia tarijo Dhakkar chautho Khohanro.
Putar há Dátar da waja hinjo peo ho Paháro.
Waggo nagáro jo Khán Sammá *á já kayá.*
Gurhílo gur wahe jaden hain wahe Naro.[1]
Sohnion, Mahin-har jo tadih ho wáro.

"In former days there was a habitation named Tanot. (Tanot is a fort and town in Jaisalmer State). It was then that a well named Khárá of bitter water was dug. Besides, there was a fort of Detharí (Detharí is said to be near Haidarabad and a town called Bhingárá near Shikárpur in Sindh). Except these there were no other habitations. Juná, Jokhiá, Dhakkar and Khohánrá, sons of Pahárá by Dátar his wife, were released by Khán Sammá as soon as the latter had ascended the throne. In those days the Gurhíla, of which the water was as sweet as sugar, and the Náro stream were

(1) The Narra (Sindhi Naro) does not run in Baháwalpur, but furthersouth in Sindh.

CHAP. I, A.
Physical Aspects.
Geology.

flowing. Sohni too and Mahínhár, the famous pair of lovers, lived then."

There is nothing of geological interest in this State, which is situated entirely in the alluvium.

CHAP. I. B.

History.

Section B.—History.

Authorities.

The authorities for the modern history of Baháwalpur are principally the three following works:—(1) the *Táríkh-i-Murád* by Sayyid Murád Sháh, Gardezi, Assistant Political Agent and Chief Judge of Baháwalpur from 1866 to 1876. This work, written in 1867-75, exists only in manuscript. It was based upon original materials as well as on (2) the *Jawáhar-i-Abbásiya* by Shaikh Muhammad Azam, a Darbári of the State (this work, written between 1809 and 1830, is also in manuscript); (3) the *Mirát-i-Daulat-i-Abbásiya*, by Daulat Rám, a courtier of Baháwal Khán II, written about 1800 and used, indirectly, by Sir H. Elliot in his account of the Tuhfat-ul-Kirám; and (4) *sanads* of former rulers now in possession of certain families. To these may be added the Táríkh Ahmad Sháhi, in manuscript.

In addition there are several local religious histories such as the Malfúzát of Shaikh Hakim of Mau Mubárak, the Malfúzát of Pír Khiliás, and those of the Bukhári and Giláni Makhdúms of Uch. The Malfúzát of the Sáhib-us-Sair of Sammasatta and the Jawáhar-i-Farídi (a published volume) are almost purely religious. The Malfúzát of the Qibla-i-Alim of Mahárán Sharíf deals with the reigns of Mubárak Khán I and Baháwal Khán II. These *malfúzát* or biographies of religious personages have however not been by any means fully examined.

For the history of the territory which are now included in the State Sir Henry Elliot's History of India as told by her own historians is invaluable; and for the early Mughal period Raverty's translation of the Tabaqát-i-Násiri (cited as T. N.) is most useful.

Leaving aside the mythical invasions of Osiris, Dionysus or Bacchus, King of Egypt, of Semiramis and Sesostris as subjects of uncertain if interesting speculation, we may refer to the historical domination of the Persians in North-Western India as evidenced by the fact that Darius Hystaspes sent Skylax of Karyanda to explore the course of the Indus. The conquests of Darius however appear to have been confined to the countries on the Indus north of the Kábul. Unfortunately Skylax's account of his voyage has perished, and it appears to have been unknown even to Alexander who believed the Indus to be the upper course of the Nile.

515—509 B.C.

The Iranians in Sind.

It is certain, both from the Greek historians and the Muhammadan chronicles of a later date that the Persians held the valley of the Indus and possibly extensive territories beyond it in the Punjab and Rájpútána. Strabo in his Geography says that at the time of the Greek invasion the Indus was the boundary of India and of Ariane, and in the possession of the Persians, and that afterwards the Indians occupied a larger portion of Ariane which they received from the Macedonians.[1] A Muhammadan historian[2] also states that Bahman, son of Isfandiyár, also styled Ard-shir-i-*Daráz-Dázú*, 'of the long arm,' founded a city in the territory of Sind, which was named by him Bahman-nih or Bahmanabad, and after-

(1) J. A. S. B. 1892, p 198 Cf McCrindle's Ancient India, p 15.
(2) The author of the Zain-ul-Akhbár, called the Gardaizi, who wrote in 1052-3 A. D.

The Iranians in Sind.

wards, in his own time, called Mansúriah. And a later writer,[3] quoting from an old Hindi chronicle, says that in the time of Gushtasib (Hystaspes), ruler of Irán, Bahman, his grandson, surnamed Ardshir, son of Isfandiyár, led an army into Hind and Sind, and subdued a considerable portion of it.... Bahman founded a city between the frontiers of the Hindús and Turks (the Indo-Scythians) which he named Kandá'íl, and in another part called Budah, he founded Bahmanábád which was believed to be Mansúriah. This account is confirmed by Muhammad-ut-Tabari, a trustworthy chronicler, who says that the ruler of Hind whom Bahman had overcome, threw off his allegiance, and that Bahman then despatched Akhtúnúsh,[4] the sage, who had accompanied Bukht-un-Nassar against Jerusalem, to suppress his rebellion. This expedition was successful, the Indian king was slain and his kingdom conferred in fief on Akhtúnúsh, who afterwards became ruler of Iráq.[5]

It is not proposed to dwell here upon the episodes of Alexander's invasion. The changes in the courses of the rivers render all attempt to trace his route and identify the places he conquered futile, with the information now at our command. When he conquered Sind, the modern Dahar and Sohdas tribes were possibly in possession of both banks of the Indus. The former have been identified with the Dahae of the Greek historians while various tribes such as the Ossadai, Sogdi and Sodrae have been held to be the modern Sohdas, by McCrindle,[6] Colonel Minchin and others, while General Cunningham remarks :—

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(3) The author of the Mujmal-ut-Tawáríkh, writing about 1131 A. D The Hindi chronicle had been translated in 1026 A. D. Raverty points out that *nuh* (in Sindhi *no*) or *ábád* is a Tajik, not a Sanskrit, termination. Tod Annals II, p. 44, gives Bahman as an ancestor of the Ráná of Odeypoor.

(4) The Biblical Ahasuerus, and Artaxerxes of the Greeks

(5) J. A. S. B. 1892, pp. 197-8.

(6) Invasion of India—McCrindle, 354. He also identifies Sodrae with Soorai. Colonel Minchin also has the following interesting note on the Joiyas :—

"It seems to be clearly established by General Cunningham that at a very early period the country lying between the ancient city of Ajudhan now known as Pákpattan, on the right bank of the Sutlej in the tract known as the Jalandhar Beth and Bhatner, Sirsa and Hánsi lying on the old bed of the Chitrang or Kulela River (which has been identified by General Cunningham with the Neudras River of Alexander's historians, but is now only a deep depression, the drainage channel of the Sirhind Division) which constitutes the extreme north-eastern portion of the State and a portion of Bikanir, was inhabited by a race called the Yaudheyas, to whom the same authority attributes "the foundation of the town of Ajudhan or "Ayodhaunne, the battle field, which is evidently connected with their own name of "Yaudheya or Ajudhiya the warriors. The Yaudheyas are mentioned in the Allahabad "inscription of Samudra Gupta and at a still earlier date by Panini in the Junagarh "inscription of Rudra Dama. Now as the great grammarian was certainly anterior "to Chandra Gupta Maurya, his mention of the Yaudheyas proves that they must "have been a recognised clan before the time of Alexander."

They are identified by General Cunningham with the existing tribe of Joiyas, which is included by Colonel Tod amongst the 24 ruling races of Rájpútána. He stated that this race possessed the same haunts as the Dahia or Dahers, they extended across the Garra or Sutlej into the Northern desert of India and in ancient chronicles are entitled lords of Jangal Desa, a tract which comprehends Hariana, Bhatner and Nagore. He adds, that the tribe, like the Dahers, are now extinct, but in fact both these tribes are still found in the Baháwalpur State, and they were converted to the Muhammadan faith by the well-known saint Faríd-ud-dín Shakar Ganj, whose shrine is in Ajudhan, and from whom the place derives its modern name of Pákpattan, the ferry of the pure one. He died A. D. 1265-66. The Jobiyas repudiate their Rájpút origin and have invented a pedigree deriving their descent from Ibu Tálib, the brother of Abdula, the father of the Prophet.

CHAP. I, B.

History.

The Iranians in Sind.

"On leaving the confluence of the Punjab rivers Alexander sailed down the Indus to the realms of the Sogdi where he built another city according to Arrian Diodorus describing the same people under a different name says that he received the submission of the Sodrae and Masarnae nations on opposite banks of the stream and founded another Alexandria. From these accounts it is evident that the Sogdi of Arrian and the Sodrae of Diodorus are the same people, although the former have been identified with the Sodha Rájpúts by Tod and M' Murdo, the latter with the servile Sudras by Vaux[7] . . . ."

When Alexander had gained his victory over the Malloi in the battle of Multan, the Oxydrakae sent heralds to him with tenders of unconditional submission. The Oxydrakae were doubtless the people residing in the vicinity of Uch[8] who sent to Alexander 1,000 men, the bravest and noblest of their race, as hostages, besides 500 war chariots with their drivers and horses, fully equipped. Alexander was gratified by this mark of respect shown by the Oxydrakae, and returned their hostages keeping only the chariots with their horses and drivers.[9] Leaving Philippos in charge of the country round the modern Multan and Uch, Alexander sailed down the Indus towards a place where he laid the foundation of another Alexandria.[10]

From this place he sailed down himself to the land ruled over by Musicanus, which was reported to be the most opulent in India. Secrotas praises not only the fertility of the country but also the manners and character of its people and the laws and administration of its ruler, a ruler who had neither come to surrender himself and his country, nor sent envoys to seek his friendship. He had not even sent presents to show the respect due to a mighty king, nor had he asked any favour from Alexander. He therefore made his voyage down the river so rapidly that he reached the frontier of the country of Mousikanos before that prince had even heard that Alexander would attack him. Mousikanos dismayed by his sudden arrival, hastened to meet him, taking the choicest presents and all his elephants with him. He offered to surrender both his nation and himself, and acknowledged his error which was the most effective way with Alexander to obtain from him whatever one desired. Alexander therefore granted Mousikanos a full pardon on

(7) Cunningham's Ancient Geography, Vol I, p. 253.

(8) Muhammad Latif's History of the Punjab, p. 69.

(9) McCrindle's Invasion of India, p. 154.

(10) Al Idrisi,(1) the author of the Nuzhat-ul-Mushtak (compiled about the end of the 11th century A D) gives the following account of *Sandur*, or Uch —

"Sandur is situated three days journey south of Multan. It is famous for its trade, wealth, sumptuous apparel, and the abundance which prevails on the tables of the inhabitants It is considered to form part of India, and is situated on the banks of a river which falls into the Mihran From Multan to the vicinity of Mansura the country is occupied by a warlike race, called *Nadha* (most probably Yadhs, the more correct reading of Yaudhya, the Joiyas). It consists of a number of tribes scattered about between Tábarán, Makran, Multan, and Mansúra, like the Berber nomads The Nadhas have peculiar dwellings and marshes in which they take refuge, on the west of the Mihrán They possess excellent camels, and particularly a sort which they breed, called *Kurah*."(2)

(1) Sir Henry Elliot, Vol I, p. 83

(2) The tradition is that the *Karah* was a race of lean and swift-paced camels of the *Pacara* breed, now extinct in Bahawalpur though it still exists under the same name in Rajputána.

account of his submission and penitence, expressed much admiration of his capital and his realm, and confirmed him in his sovereignty. Krateros was then ordered to fortify the citadel which protected the capital, and this work was executed while Alexander was still on the spot. A garrison was placed in the fortress, which he thought suitable for keeping the surrounding tribes in subjection. Mousikanos, however, at the instigation of the Brahmins, revolted during Alexander's absence. He was captured by Peithon and crucified by Alexander's orders.

The Iranian in Sind.

It has been held by many authorities that the capital of Mousikanos was Alor, which subsequently formed the seat of the government of the Rai dynasty and of Chach the Usurper, but it appears more probable that the part of the Baháwalpur territory south-west of Uch and now forming the Kárdárís of Khánpur and Sádiqábád was at least included in the dominions of Mousikanos. This was the view held by General Haig who thought that 'the Kingdom of Mousikanos . . . . must have embraced the district of Baháwalpur which answers better to the description of that kingdom as the most flourishing in all India than the country around Alor.' (11)

Alexander had fixed the confluence of the Akesines (Chenáb) and Indus as the boundary of the satrapy of Philippos, and he now made Oxyartes and Peithon satraps of the country to the south from the confluence of these rivers to the sea. Hence their jurisdictions must have met in the modern State. Philippos was soon assassinated by his mercenaries, and Peithon appears to have been driven from his satrapy by Poros after Alexander's death.(12) Poros in turn was decoyed by Eudemos into his power and executed.

THE BUDDHIST PERIOD.

The Buddhist Empire of Asoka undoubtedly comprised Sind and under the Kushan dynasty a Buddhist monastery was erected at Suí Vihár in the reign of Kanishka as its Bactrian-Pálí inscription shows. This *vihára* appears to have been one of a line of *viharas* along the Indus. Materials, however, for a detailed history of the State during this period are lacking.

A. D. 495.

From the close of the Kanishka period to A. D. 495 nothing is known with any certainty, though the Tárikh-i-Murád avers that the ruined fort of Mau, which was built by Rája Sahans Karor as a

(11) It is not unlikely that the ruins of Pattan Munára or Pittanpur on the Sej, an old bed of the Indus, mark the site of the capital of Mousikanos. The ground for this theory is that among the ruins of Pittanpur stand the remains of a huge tower which once formed part of a Buddhist temple. It is said that this tower was partially demolished in 1740 A. D. and a brick was then found which bore an inscription recording the erection of the monastery in the time of Alexander, and that its bricks were burnt, so fertile was the country, in *sirhon* (rape) refuse. Unfortunately this inscription appears to have been lost. As regards the name Mousikanos it appears to be a territorial title, as Curtius calls the people Musicani. Lassen takes this to represent the Sanskrit *Mushika* (a mouse or thief) and thinks that the Mushika still exist in the great tribe of the Magasi or Magassi Biloch, some of whom are still to be found in the Mianwáli District and who form the bulk of the population of Kach Gandáva. McCrindle's Invasion, page 157, note 2.

(12) Mr. Crindle's Invasion of India, pp. 156-7. Ibid, pp. 400-1.

CHAP. I, B. History.

residence for his mother, became the abode of the Shaikh Hakim Qoraishi, and in the Malfúz or Biography of Shaikh Abul Gais, Hakim,[13] which purports to have been written in the eighth century H., it is alleged that Sahans Karor was a contemporary of Christ and a ruler of part of Sind. On this evidence Sahans Karor can only be regarded as a legendary king.

THE RAI DYNASTY.

The Rai Dynasty A. D. 495.

About 495 A. D., however authenticated history begins again for in that year Rája Díwáij commenced his reign. He was one of the Rai dynasty, a line of rulers as to whose origin nothing is known, though their dominions were vast, extending to Kashmír and Kanauj, to Qandahár and Seistán, and, on the west to Makrán and the port of Debal, while on the south they held Súrat. Their capital was Alor, and under their rule Sind was divided into four provinces, *viz.*, Bahmanábád and Siwistán: the province in which lay Askalanda or Talwára and Pabiya or Chachpur, and which comprised the greater part of the Baháwalpur State: and the fourth province which included Multan and the Western Punjab.

A. D. 495.

Five rulers of the Rai dynasty governed Sind for 137 years after 495 A.D. These were—

Rai Díwáij,
|
Rai Siháras I,
|
Rai Sáhasi I,
|
Rai Siháras II,
|
Rai Sáhasi II,

all of whom reigned with splendour and success. Rai Siháras repulsed an invasion under a Persian king or a governor of Sijistán, but fell in the battle fought at Kich. Rai Sáhasi II, the last of his line, remitted taxation on condition that the fortresses of Uch, Sevrai (now Sarwáhí) and Mau, all in Baháwalpur territory, and other strongholds, including Alor, were kept in repair by his subjects. But he allowed Chach, a Brahman, to obtain great influence in his kingdom.

Chach the usurper, A. D. 631.

Chach, known to the Arabs as Sasa, the son of Si-Láij, was a Brahman[14] and is said to have invented chess. On the death of Rai Sáhasi II, Chach married his widow and established himself on the throne, excluding the rightful heir of the Rai, who called in Mahrat,[15] Rána of Chittor, to his aid. Chach, however, resisted Mahrat, though he was only shamed into going forth to fight by his queen, and when challenged to single combat by the Rána treacherously slew him by a ruse. Having then proclaimed his brother Chandar his successor at Alor, Chach advanced on Pabiya which was held by Chatrá, a descendant of the Rais, and over-

[13] See Religious Life, *infra* and Ell I, p. 405. Pottinger on the authority of the Majma'-i-Wáridát says the Rais reigned for 2,000 years, which must be a gross exaggeration.

[14] Most of the Sarsut Brahmans in Baháwalpur claim to be his descendants.

[15] The reputed founder of Marot.

CHAP. I. B. History.

threw him. Chatrá then fled to Uch where he was assassinated, the fortress being surrendered to Chach, who next wrested Multan from the possession of Bajhra, also a kinsman of the Rais. Finally Chach reduced Sikká. His rule extended to Kashmír, Kandahár and Las Bela, and he made an expedition to Kirmán. Dying in the fifty-first year of the Hijra, after a reign of thirty-three years, Chach was succeeded by his brother Chandar who ruled for eight years and was in turn succeeded by his nephew Dáhir who was slain in the ninety-third year of the Hijra.

Chach the usurper.

A. D. 706.

A. D. 713.

For some years there were serious disputes between Dáhir and his younger brothers Raj and Dharsiya. The latter wanted to marry his sister Bái to the Rája of the Bhátiyas and Dáhir was opposed to this proposal. This induced the Bhátiya to attack Dáhir; but the latter totally defeated the former by the assistance of the mercenaries of the tribe of the Alafis—a tribe that had taken refuge in the territory of Dáhir, who had left Makrán after having killed the governor of the place.

These events are thus described in the manuscript history of the late Colonel Minchin:—

"According to the Chach-náma which Sir H. Elliot considers is a translation of a genuine Arab history, the present Baháwalpur State formed one of the Satrapies of the kingdom of Alor. It was called Askalanda and Pabiya, the former title recording the ancient name of Uch, and the latter I strongly suspect might be translated trans-Beás; as I have shown that the town of Uch is situated on the left bank of an old branch of this river and this fort was evidently situated on the delta formed by the junction of these rivers. These towns were also known as Talwára and Chachpur. The former name may have been given because of the strip of sand running close down to the town of Uch and the latter undoubtedly records the name of the Brahman usurper, who supplanted the Rai dynasty at Alor, and the name is still retained in the town of Chachar opposite Mithankot. Sir H. Elliot identifies Chach with Sassa the Indian, the inventor of chess, as Sassa is simply the Arabic form of writing the word Chach. His accession took place in A. D. 631 and shortly afterwards he determined to visit the whole of his empire, and accordingly marched up the left bank of the Indus to Pabiya to which he laid siege; the governor, however, as soon as his provisions were exhausted, fled to Askalanda. Chach having left an officer in charge of Pabiya, proceeded to Askalanda. There was, however, a great and brave man in the Fort of Askalanda who was in the interests of Chach, and, being promised the governorship of both these forts, killed Chatrá, the fugitive governor of Pabiya and sent his head to Chach. Having completed this expedition, Chach proceeded towards Sikka and Multan, but was delayed for three months at a ford on the Beás which he was unable to cross. This must have been the other branch of the Beás which joined the Chenáb 30 miles below Multan. Eighty-two years later Muhammad ibn Qásim having accomplished the conquest of lower Sind and Alor followed the course taken by Chach, and according to the old chronicler journeyed till he arrived at the old fort of Ya-biha or Pabiya. It was an old fort and the chief of it was Kaksas. He was a cousin of Dáhir, the son of Chach, and was present at the battle where he was slain, and having fled came to this fort in a wretched plight. When the Muhammadan Army arrived, hostages were sent and chiefs and nobles went forth and made submission. Muhammad ibn Qásim having learnt

CHAP. I, B. History.

that Kaksas belonged to the family of Alor appointed him as his Wazir with the title of the Mubárak Mushír. When he had settled the affairs with Kaksas he crossed the Beás and reached the stronghold of Askalanda. The siege lasted for seven days, when the chief, who was a nephew of the chief of Multan, left at night and took refuge in the fort of Sikka, which is a large fort on the south bank of the Rávi. The people, artizans, and merchants then sent a message soliciting the protection of Muhammad ibn Qásim. He granted their request, but put the whole garrison of four thousand men to the sword and sent their families into slavery. He appointed Atba, son of Salma Tamimi, governor, and proceeded towards Sikka and Multan."

THE ARAB INVASIONS.

A. D. 636.

As early as 636 A. D. in the fifth year of the reign of Chach and in the *khiláfat* of Umr, Debal, the port of Sind, had been attacked by the Arabs under Mughírah, and in 38 or 39 A. H., or fully twenty years later, Háras invaded the kingdom but retired carrying off much plunder, and in his second inroad in 42 A. H. he was defeated and killed at Kikán. But two years later Muhallab ibn Sufra was detached by Abdu'-r-Rahmán, the conqueror of Kábul, and invading the Indian frontier penetrated to Multan but effected no permanent lodgement.[16]

After Rai Dáhir's accession, however, the Arab invasions began in earnest. The pretext was the refusal of Dáhir[17] to make reparation for the plundering of eight Arab ships at Debal by the piratical Meds. This led to the despatch against his kingdom of an army under Muhammad Imádu-d-Dín ibn Qásim, two punitive expeditions against Debal having failed.

The forces of Muhammad-i-Qásim comprised 6,000 picked cavalry from Irák, with 6,000 camel-riders and a train of 3,000 Bactrian camels. At Makrán he was joined by Muhammad Hárún whose reinforcements included five catapults, each manned by 500 men. With these forces Muhammad ibn Qásim reduced Debal early in April, and then Nirún and Sehwán. He defeated and slew Dáhir at Ráwar[18] in June, taking Alor, Uch and Multan, with other minor strongholds, in the same month. Askalanda was at this time held by Bajhrá Táki, a grandson or nephew of the Bajhrá who had held Multan against Chach the usurper, and so a descendant of the Rais. Bajhrá offered a strenuous resistance, but after a six days' siege abandoned the fortress and fled to Sikká, and Muhammad put the garrison to the sword, sparing only its traders, artizans and peasants. He then left Utba Tamímí in charge of the place and besieged Sikka, which fell in seventeen days. Bajhrá finally took refuge in Multan and capitulated.[19]

A. D. 712.

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(16) Briggs' Farishta, I, 4

A. D. 700.

(17) Dáhir had, however, it would seem, in H. 81, repulsed an invasion by Ranmal, governor of Rámal[illegible], a province of Kashmir, with the aid of the Arabs.

(18) The site of Ráwar appears to be midway between Brahmanabad and Nirún. Ell. I, 122

(19) This account differs somewhat from that given in the Chach-náma (quoted in the Multan Gazetteer, 1902, *in extenso*). It is taken from the Persian edition of the Chach-náma and Colonel Minchin's manuscript.

Only three years later, however, Muhammad ibn Qásim was recalled and put to death by the Khalífah Sulaimán, owing, it is said, to the false accusation of Surya Devi, a daughter of Dáhir, that she had been dishonoured by him. Muhammad was succeeded by two governors who accomplished little, but in 99 H. 'Amru ibn Muslim-al-Bahálí was appointed by the Khalífah 'Umar ibn Abdu-l-Aziz to the command in Sind, and he induced many of the Hindu Chiefs to accept Islám in return for their admission to its privileges. Among these Jai Sinh, a son of Dáhir, embraced Islám, and was restored in the possession of his territories, and resisted Junaid, the successor of 'Amru, when the latter marched to the Indus. In the fighting which ensued Jai Sinh was slain, and nothing more is heard of the Rai dynasty of Sind.

A. D. 718.

In the contest between the Abbassides and the Ummayids for the *khiláfat* Abdu'-r-Rahmán, appointed governor of Sind by the former, was opposed by Mansúr, the nominee of the latter, and slain in battle, but Músá Tamímí eventually defeated Mansúr and he perished of thirst in his flight to the desert. Háshám, a vigorous governor, was next appointed, and he was succeeded by Umar bin Hafs, called the Hazármard. In 771 A. D. Rúh became governor and under the Khalífah Hárún-ur-Rashíd Abu'l-Abbás for a long period ruled Sind with splendour and success, and the era of prosperity which the province enjoyed under the Abbassides was hardly interrupted by the revolt of Bashír bin Dáúd, under the Khalífah Al Mámún, as Bashír soon returned to his allegiance and was succeeded by Músa, son of the famous Barmecide Yahya, who was dismissed for squandering the government revenues in charity and was replaced by Ali bin Isá. The governorship of Ali is noteworthy for his occupation of Kaikan, the country of the Jats, in which he established a military colony, and for his expedition against the Meds, whom he completely subdued, building in their country the 'Sakr-ul-Med' or Med's causeway, a name preserved in the town of Sukkar or Sakkar. His son and successor Mohammad also carried on a naval war against the Meds, of whom numbers were slain.

A. D. 750.

A. D. 836.

After 870 A. D. the power of the Khalífáhs declined, and Sind was the first province to slip from their control, for in 257 A. H. the Khalífáh Mu'hamad conferred its government, with those of Balkh and Tukháristán, upon Ya'kúb ibn Lais in order to divert the Suffárides from their designs against 'Iráq. After Ya'kúb's death two principalities, Multan and Mansúra, were founded. The latter extended from Alor to the sea, so that the present State of Baháwalpur must have been wholly included in the independent kingdom of Multan, which the traveller Ma'súdí, who visited the Indus valley in 915-6 A. D., found to be flourishing under the Amir of Multan, Abu'l-Talhat ul-Munabba Qoraish, a descendant of Ghálib, who had established himself on the shores of 'Umán before the birth of Muhammad. His family, says Ma'súdí, had held the kingdom of Multan "nearly from the beginning of Islám,' *i.e.*, probably since the Arab conquest. His dominions

A. D. 871.

A. D. 870.

CHAP. I, B. History.

extended to the frontier of Khurásán, and there were reckoned to be 120,000 hamlets round the capital. Most of the revenue was derived from the rich offerings made at the Temple of the Sun at Multan which was resorted to by people from all parts of the continent. A few years later Istákhri and Ibn Haukal visited the valley of the Indus. The latter, in whose relation that of Istakhri is included, says, the Multan territory was fertile and its produce cheap, though its fertility was inferior to that of Mansúra. The people were dressed like those of Irák, though the Amir was habited like a prince of the country, and some persons wore their hair long, and their dresses loose, on account of the heat. The Muhammadans and the idolators were dressed alike. The Arabic and Sindian languages were spoken at Multan and at Mansúra, and at Mansúra the traveller found some descendants of the Khalifah Ali, who had him driven by persecution to seek a refuge in that country. The Muhammadan power was however far from being firmly established, for the inhabitants of the Mansúra kingdom were eventually obliged to protect themselves against the Meds and other savage tribes of the desert.

A. D. 985.

The prosperity of the Multan territories was not however destined to endure, for in 375 A. H., the Karmatian sectaries, after their overthrow in Iráq, took refuge in Sind. This remarkable sect was founded by Abdulla bin Maimún, a Persian, who preached that the line of the true Imáms closed with Ismail the seventh Imám in succession from Ali, Hasan and Husain. Denying the doctrine of the resurrection Abdulla taught that good deeds were not rewarded nor evil punished in this world or the next, and these doctrines were spread by secret societies as well as by open war. The sect derives its title from Karmat, a minute Arabic script used for the secret despatches of the sect by Ahmad, one of Abdulla's followers. It was also called Mulláhida. The Karmatian conquest merits more than a passing notice, for distinct traces of it are still to be found in the popular religious ideas of the State. It is indeed possible that these ideas are older than the Karmatian heresy and that their prevalence among the population of Sind facilitated the rapid subjugation by its adherents of the kingdoms of Mansúra and Multan. No doubt the weakness of the petty local kingdoms favoured the progress of the Karmatians, who were powerful enough to destroy the great Hindu temple at Multan, and also to change the site of the orthodox mosque in that city. But the Karmatians must have found some strong local support in Sind, for 'as they came as refugees from Bahrain and Al Hassa they could scarcely have traversed an inhospitable country, or undertaken a long sea voyage, in sufficient numbers, to appear suddenly with renovated power in Sind,' and the facility with which the Karmatians conquered Sind is thus accounted for by Sir Henry Elliot[30] :—

"Many Hindu converts doubtless readily joined them, both in the hope of expelling their present masters, and in the expectation of receiving a portion of their patrimony for themselves, after the long exclusion under

[30] Vol. I, pp. 491-2.

which they had groaned. One of the Baloch clans, indeed, still preserves the memory of its heresy, or that of its progenitor, in retaining its present title of Karmati ...... Independent of the general dissemination of Shiá sentiments in the valley of the Indus, which favoured notions of the incorporation of the Godhead in Man, the old occupants of the soil must, from other causes, have been ready to acquiesce in the wild doctrines of the heretics, who now offered themselves for spiritual teachers, as well as political leaders.

"Their ...... incarnation of the Deity; their types and allegories; their philosophy divided into exoteric and esoteric; their religious reticence; their regard for particular numbers, particularly 7 and 12; the various stages of initiation; their abstruse allusions; their mystical interpretations; their pantheistic theosophy, were so much in conformity with sentiments already prevalent among those willing disciples, that little persuasion could have been required to induce them to embrace so congenial a system of metaphysical divinity, of which the final degree of initiation ...... undoubtedly introduced the disciple into the regions of the most unalloyed atheism.

"So susceptible, indeed, must the native mind have been of these insidious doctrines that Hammer-Purgstall and others ...... have very reasonably concluded that the doctrines of these secret societies,—such as the Karmatians, Ismáilians or Assassins, Druses, Batinis, and sundry others, which at various periods have devastated the Muhammadan world, and frequently threatened the extinction of that faith,—though originally based upon the errors of the Gnostics, were yet largely indebted to the mystical philosophy and theology of Eastern nations, and especially of India, where the tenets of transmigration and of absorption into the Deity were even more familiar both to Buddhists and Brahmans than they were to these miserable schismatics.

"The Hindu population, therefore, though they had much to dread from them, if it continued obstinately in the path of idolatory, was likely to offer a rich field of proselytism to such zealous fanatics as the Karmatians, or 'people of the veil,' whose creed could not have been less attractive to an ignorant and superstitious multitude, from its eluding in many instances the grasp of human apprehension, and from its founder being announced, in profane and incomprehensible jargon, to be 'the Guide! the Director! the Invitation! the Word! the Holy Ghost! the Demonstration! the Herald! the Camel!'"

Farishta thus remarks on the Karmatian rule in Multan:—

'On referring to historical works such as the Tarjuma-i-Ma'ání, &c., it appears that Sultán Mahmúd wrested Multan from the possession of the Karmatian heretics and that it remained under his splendid dynasty till its decline, when the Karmatians regained its possession and appointed Hámid Khán Lodhi, a man of their own faith, as its governor.'

THE GHAZNIVIDE PERIOD.

A. D. 978.

When Sabuktagín invaded the dominions of Jaipál, the Brahman Rája of Lahore, Hámid Khán Lodhi the Karámita, sided with the Hindu ruler against the Muhammadan invader, doubtless because Sabuktagín [31] had been the main instrument, under the last of the Samani rulers of Khurasán, in suppressing the Karámita sectaries

(31) T. N., Vol. I., pages 46—8.

CHAP. I, B. History.

in that country, but he ultimately did homage to the invader. The Lodhis, however, did not abandon the Karámita beliefs, and therefore no lasting alliance between them and the Ghaznivides was possible, so that we find Abul Fath Dáúd, the grandson of Hámid Khán, in alliance with Anang Pál, Rája of Lahore, in his resistance to Mahmúd of Ghazni. On Mahmúd's second invasion in 395 A. H. he was occupied with the reduction of Bhatindah,[22] whose governor Rája Bijai Rai had revolted against the suzerain Anand Pál, and had molested Mahmúd's Muhammadan deputies, but his third invasion was directed against Multan. Abul Fath invoked the aid of his ally, Anand Pál, and the latter true to his allegiance opposed Mahmúd, but was totally defeated near Peshávar and fled to Sodhra. Mahmúd then advanced on Multan by way of Bhatindah and the city was surrendered to him after a siege of seven days, Abul Fath becoming his tributary. But the invasion of Khurasán by the king of Káshgar recalled Mahmúd to Ghazni, and Sewak Pál, a Hindu converted to Islám, whom he had appointed his deputy in India, seized the opportunity to revolt, but Mahmúd suppressed this rebellion and then in 1008 A. D. turned his arms once against Anand Pál for his countenance of Abul Fath's resistance three years before, according to Farishta,[23] or possibly for connivance in Sewak Pál's revolt, and completely defeated him and his allies, capturing Nagarkot. In 1010 A. D. Mahmúd again advanced on Multan, which had revolted, and having taken Abul Fath prisoner sent him to the fort of Ghurák where he remained in confinement till his death. The author of the Mirát-i-Masú'dí adds that after this event Multan was deserted, its *ra'is* or chief, Anand Pál, taking refuge in Uch. Fourteen years later however Mahmúd again visited Multan which must have recovered some of its former importance for he there fitted out his army for his expedition to Somnáth and marched thence through the Baháwalpur territory, visiting Maujgarh, Colonel Minchin thinks, on the way. After the fall of Somnáth he marched back along the Indus and wrested Mansúra in 416 A. H. from an apostate (a follower of the Karmatian heresy according to Sir Henry Elliot) and placed a Muhammadan prince on the throne. He then attacked Bhátia (possibly the modern Bhutta Wáhan in the Sádiqabad Kárdári) and reduced its inhabitants to obedience.[24] On his way back to Ghazni, says Colonel Minchin, he passed through the Baháwalpur deserts where his army suffered greatly. The following story, told in the Jámi-ul-Hikáyát, has every appearance of truth: "Two Hindús offered themselves as guides and led the way for three days into a desert where there was neither water nor grass, and then told Mahmúd that they had been commissioned by their chief to lead him astray. 'You have the sea *(darya-i-azam)* before you and the army of Hindostan behind, do with us what you like for not a single man of your army will escape.' A waterfowl was seen

A. D. 1004 — A. D. 1005. — A. D. 1024. — A. D. 1025.

(22) According to a Hindu chronicler of Jammu Bhatindah was Jaipál's capital and place of residence, T. N., I., p. 79.

(23) Briggs, page 46.

(24) Kámil-ut-Tawáríkh, Sir Henry Elliot, Vol. II, p. 249.

flying in the air. The Sultán said, where there are waterfowls there must be sweet water, and proceeded after it. At length he reached the banks of a great river, the water of which was brackish and unfit to drink. He then saw another waterfowl, and followed it up and came to a valley in which they discovered sweet water. There they found a descendant of Ali, who was dwelling there with his family. The Sayad declared his ignorance of the road, but pointed out an old man close by who knew it. The latter led them to a certain spot on the bank of the river, but the army found it unfordable. The Sultán casting himself upon the protection of Providence, regardless of himself and fearless of the consequences, with the name of God upon his tongue, urged his horse into the stream. The army followed and, with the assistance of God, crossed in safety." Sir Henry Elliot considers this could only have been the Sind or Panjnad,[25] but Colonel Minchin thinks that it was probably, from the water being brackish, a branch of the Hakra, and that after crossing that stream the army must have proceeded to Uch and crossed the *Sutlej* at some point towards the north-east, the Indus flowing in those days close to Uch in the bed of what is now the Panjnad.

In connection with this period the Mirát-i-Masúdi[26] gives an account of a young noble, Sálár Masúd, a nephew of Sultán Mahmúd, who being unable to remain at Ghazni in consequence of the enmity of the Wazír Hasan Maimandi, obtained permission from the Sultán to travel for a year in the Punjab, and leaving the Ghazni Court with a strong body of troops came to Multán, which he found deserted, for since Mahmúd had plundered it for the second time, it had never been restored, and the Rais Arjun and Anang Pál, the lords of the place, had gone to reside in the province of Uch. Thence they sent ambassadors to Masúd to inquire if he thought it right thus to overrun a foreign country, adding, "perhaps you will have cause to repent it." Masúd replied, "The country is God's, his slave has no kingdom, but he to whom God gives it will be the possessor." He then bestowed *khilats* on the ambassadors and dismissed them with a caution to prepare for war. As soon as they had departed, he sent six Amírs, *viz.*, Mír Husain Arab, Bázíd Jafar, Tarkán, Nakí, Feroz and Umr Mulk Ahmad, with several hundred troops to attack Uch. Rai Anang Pál came out of his stronghold to meet him. The combat raged for three hours, and many veterans fell on both sides, and the Rai was at last obliged to yield. The conquerors entered the city and plundered it, carrying off an immense amount of property.

A. D. 1034.

In 425 H. Niál-Tigín, governor of Multán, revolted, but Tílak Malik, son of Jai Sen, was sent against him and he was drowned in the Indus on his flight to Mansúria.

It will now be necessary to digress and give a brief account of the Sumra and Samma dynasties of Sind, before dealing with the period of the Sultáns of Ghor.

(25) Elliot, Vol. II, p. 474.
(26) An historical romance, partly translated in Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 513-549.

CHAP. I, B.
History.

THE SUMRA AND SAMMA DYNASTIES OF SIND.

The Sumrás.—According to the Tuhfat-ul-Kirám the Sumrás are descended from the Arabs of Sámira or Samarra who accompanied the Tamim family, which furnished governors to Sind under the Abbassides, to the Indus valley in the second century of the Hijra, but Elphinstone and Elliot concur in regarding them as Rájpúts (of the Pramára[27] race according to the latter), who, with a kindred tribe called Umra, gave their name to Umra-Sumra the country round Alor. The Sumrás undoubtedly supplanted the Tamim and ruled independently over Sind for more than a century, but it would appear that under the Tamims the Sumrás exercised considerable power. Hence Abul Fazl states that the rule of the 36 Sumra princes lasted for 500 years, but the Táríkh-i-Táhiri, describing them as Hindús, assigns to their rule a period of only 143 years from A. H. 700-843, and says that their dominions included Alor, but that their capital was at Muhammad Tur in the *pargana* of Dirak.

A. D. 1320. The Tuhfat-ul-Kirám states that when Ghází Khán Malik, in the year 720 H. marched towards Delhi with an army collected from Multán and Sind, overthrew Khusro Khán, and assumed the title of Gyás-ud-Dín Tughlak Shah, the Sumrás took advantage of his absence and asserted their independence, but Muhammad Yúsuf, the author of the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawárikh*, says that during the reign of Sultán Abdur Rashíd, son of Mahmúd of Ghazni, an indolent and weak-minded ruler, the people of Sind became disaffected, and the Sumrás assembled in the vicinity of Tharri in 445 H., chose as their ruler a man named Súmra, who reigned independently for a long period, and left the kingdom to his son Bhúngar.[28] The latter reigned fifteen years, and died in 461 H. Bhúngar was succeeded by seventeen rulers of this dynasty. Then the government fell to Hamír who being a tyrant was deposed by the Sammás.

A. D. 1053.

A. D. 1069.

The Sumrás, says Sir Henry Elliot, may possibly have allowed a titular sovereignty to the Ghaznivides even down to the time of Abdur Rashíd in 1051 A. D., or paid tribute as an acknowledgment of fealty, but after that time, the advance of the Seljuks on the northern frontier of the empire and the internal disorders of the government, must have offered too favourable a conjunction for them to profess any longer an even nominal subordination to

No.	Name	Number of years in reign	
3	Duda, son of Bhungar	24	
4	Sanghar	15	
5	Hafif or Khafif	[illegible]	
6	Umr	40	
7	Duda II		
8	Phatu	33	
9	Genhrá	16	
10	Muhammad Tur	15	
11	Genhrá, II	A few years	
12	Duda III	14	
13	Tai	24	
14	Chanesar	18	
15	Bhúngar II	15	
16	Khafif II or Hafif	18	
17	Dúdá IV	25	
18	Umr, the Sumra	35	The founder of Umarkot.
19	Bhúngar III	10	

(27) Reinaud guesses that they may be *Som-Rai*, that is, of the lunar race, but being without question of the Pramára stock, they are necessarily Agnikulas.

(28) Henry Elliot, Vol I, pp. 344 and 485.

CHAP. I, B. History.

distant monarchs unable to enforce it; that the Sumra power could at no time have been extensive and absolute in Sind, which was subject to perpetual incursions from the Ghorian, Khilji and Tughlak dynasties of Delhi and the Punjab, as well as the still more ruinous devastations of the Mughals, that during these visitations the Sumrás took refuge in the native deserts, till it pleased the stronger power to retire after ravaging the crops and securing their plunder, that they could have enjoyed little freedom and independence, and can only claim to rank as a dynasty, from the absence of any other predominant tribes, to assert better pretensions to that distinction.[29]

"In the sacred books of the Druses," says Sir Henry Elliot,[30] "we find an epistle of Mauláná Bahá-ud-Dín, ... the principal "compiler of the Druse writings, addressed in the year 423 H. "(1032 A. D.) to the *Unitarians of Multán and Hindustán in "general, and to Shaikh Ibn Súmar Rája Bal in particular*:—

'Oh illustrious Rája Bal, arouse your family, the Unitarians, and 'bring back Dáúd the younger into the true religion; for Ma'súd only 'delivered him from prison and bondage, that you might accomplish the 'ministry with which you were charged against Abdulla, his nephew, and 'against all the inhabitants of Multán, so that the disciples of the 'doctrines of holiness, and of the unity, might be distinguished from the 'party of bewilderment, contradiction, ingenuity and rebellion.'

"Here," continues Sir Henry Elliot, "the name is purely Indian, "and the patronymic can be no other than one Sumra. That some "of that tribe, including the chiefs, had affiliated themselves to the "Karamatians is more probable than the other alternative, suggested "by M. Reinaud, that certain Arabs had adopted indigenous denomi-"nations. It seems quite evident from this curious coincidence "of names that the party particularly addressed was a Súmra; "that this Súmra was a Karamatian; . . . . and that the "Karamatians of the valley of the Indus were in relation and "correspondence not only with those of Persia and Arabia but also "with the Druses . . . . ."

The capital of Hamir, the last Sumra Chief, was the town of Pattanpur, the ruins of which are still called Patan-Munára, in the present Kárdári of Sádiqábad, and, on his overthrow by the Sammás, he is said to have abandoned his capital and repaired to the Dragul hills on the Balochistán border, where he settled with all his tribes which eventually adopted the name of Gorcháni, still a sept of the Baloch.[31]

The Samma Dynasty.—The Sammás deprived the Sumrás of their dominion in Sind in 752 H. and retained their power till 927 A. H. When Firoz Tughlak, King of Delhi, invaded Sind in 762 A. H., the Sammás opposed him with 40,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry and kept him at bay for two and a half years. And in 912 H. Dilshád, the Wazír of Jám Nanda, conquered the country as far as Uch.

A. D. 1351. A. D. 1521. A. D. 1361. A. D. 1506.

(29) Compare Henry Elliot, Vol. I, pp. 493-94.
(30) Vol. I, p. 491.
(31) Tárikh-i-Murád, Vol. II, pp. 115-16, also compare Dera Gházi Khan Gazetteer, p. 70.

THE GHORIAN SULTANS.

CHAP. I, B.

History.

The vitality of the Karámita movement may be gauged from the fact that these sectaries had recovered Multán some years prior to 571 H., in which year the Sultán Muizz-ud-Dín[38] of Ghor recovered it from them and then advanced to Uch which was in possession of a *rájá*. Finding the place too strong to be easily taken by siege Muizz-ud-Dín made overtures to the *ráni*, who was despotic over her husband,[39] promising to make her his consort and Queen of the World if by her efforts the city were taken. The *ráni*, stipulating that her own property should be spared, agreed to give her daughter in marriage to the Sultán and shortly after caused her husband to be put to death and delivered up the city. The *ráni's* daughter then became a Muhammadan and was married to the Sultán who sent her with her mother the *ráni* to Ghazni where they both died within two years of the surrender. This *rájá* of Uch was, according to the Mirát-i-Jahán-Numá a Bháti chief, a tribe which had previously held a large part of Sind, but it is added that Uch was actually taken by assault. In 573 or 574 H. Sultán Muizz-ud-Dín marched an army towards Náhrwála by way of Uch and Multán but was defeated and returned successful, though he was able in 578 H. to conquer the whole of the territory on the sea-coast in an expedition against Diwal, and presumably became master of all Sind. In the histories of his conquests in India Multán and Uch do not appear to be further mentioned so that we may infer that they remained peaceably under his rule, but it is worth noting that Muizz-ud-Dín's assassination was most probably the work of two or three Fidáis of the Mulahida or heretics who were, we may conjecture, Karámitas.

Muizz-ud-Dín ("Muhammad of Ghor") was succeeded by the Sultán Qutb-ud-Dín I-bak, 'al-Mu'izzi-us-Sultáni,' the slave of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín and the founder of the Slave dynasty. During his rule[40] Malik Násir-ud-Dín-i-Aetamur was feudatory of Uch, but after his death in a campaign against the Maliks of Túrkistán the government of Uch was entrusted to Malik Násir-ud-Dín Kabája who had espoused two of Qutb-ud-Dín's daughters, and on that Sultán's death he proceeded to Uch and possessed himself of Multán, Siwistan and Diwal, as far as the sea-coast, subsequently annexing the country to the eastward as far as the Sarsúti and Tabarhinda (? Bhatinda). He also took Lahore. He was, however, ousted from Lahore, Multán and Uch by the forces of Sultán Taj-ud-Dín I-yal-duz in 612 H., but was reinstated in their possession as tributary of I-yal-timish after the latter had defeated I-yal-duz and put him to death. But Kabája did not remain long subject to Sultan Shams-ud-Dín I-yal-timish and allowed his tribute to fall into arrears whereupon the latter in 618 H. marched from Delhi on Lahore to enforce its payment, and rapidly fording the Beás

1210 A. D.

1215 A. D.

1217 A. D.

(38) His proper title, after his accession, was Muizz-ud-Dín Muhammad, though he is usually called Shiháb-ud-Dín or Muhammad Ghorí. T. N., p 446.

(39) *Ibid* pp [illegible], where Raverty gives the correct translation of Farishta's account of this affair.

(40) T. N., pp 531-2. Also pp 533-4.

compelled Kabája to seek refuge in Uch whither I-yal-timish was not prepared to follow him. Kabája consolidated his power in Sind and acquired great power, in spite of constant hostilities between him and I-yal-timish. He reduced the Súmrá power to insignificance, only Thatká, Júngal and Tafúr remaining in their possession.

THE MUGHAL INVASIONS.

Meanwhile far-reaching events had occurred in Central Asia and the power of the Mughals made itself felt. The Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín Khwárazmi, the ruler of Ghor and Ghazni, was defeated on the Indus near Peshâwar in 618 H. by Chingiz Khán and, refused a refuge by I-yal-timish, endeavoured to obtain a footing in the country east of the Indus. He defeated the Khokhars in the Salt Range and then, in alliance with them, turned to Uch and Multán. The Khokhars had had a long-standing feud with Kabája who was encamped with 20,000 men near Uch and their forces led by Jalál-ud-Dín's general overwhelmed him in a night attack and the Sultán came to Uch, but returned to the Salt Range in the hot season, Kabája being restored in his possession of Multán on payment of a large sum as tribute [34a].

But Chingiz Khán had meanwhile organized another army against Jalál-ud-Dín who retreated towards Lower Sind, and on arriving at Multán demanded a contribution from Kabája which was refused. Unable to enforce his demand the Sultán marched on Uch, but as that city also proved hostile he burnt it and retired to Siwistán.

The Mughal forces under Turti, the Nu'in or general, following in pursuit invested Multán (621 H.) but abandoned the siege after six weeks on account of the intense heat and retreated. The Khwárazmi forces must then have partly re-occupied the country for two years later we find a body of the Khalj tribe, which had formed part of the army of Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín established in the district of Mansúra. Kabája however having defeated the Khalj and slain their leader re-occupied Uch and Multán[35] in 623 H.

1224 A. D.

1226 A. D.

Uch had, it would seem, by this time recovered from its burning by Sultán Jalál-ud-Dín for in the next year Minháj-i-Saráj, the author of the Tabaqat-i-Násiri, was appointed to the charge of the Firuzi College in that city, but it enjoyed but a brief spell of tranquillity for in 625 H. I-yal-timish in alliance with the remnants of the Khalj and Khwárazmi fugitives marched from Delhi *viá* Tabarhindah on Uch while the governor of the province of Lahore marched on, Multán. Uch was closely invested and appears to have fallen after a siege of nearly three months, but Kabája who had fled to Bhakkar was still untaken, and I-yal-timish despatched a force against him. Kabája endeavoured to make terms, but without success, and taking boat to escape down the Indus he was drowned by the sinking of the vessel on the 22nd of Jamádi-ul-Akhir, 625 H. The fate of his son Muhammad Bahrám Sháh is unknown

1227 A. D.

1228 A. D.

May 29th 1228 A. D.

(34a) T. N., pp. 293-4, also pp. 534-541.

(35) Or returned to Multán. He was apparently in the city during its siege by the Mughals and it does not appear when or how he left it.

CHAP. I, B
History.

and his territories passed under the sway of the Slave Kings of Delhi. Kabája had ruled with varying fortunes for twenty-two years. After his death the Sumrás recovered their power in Sind.

At the time of the death of I-yal-timish Malik Saif-ud-Dín, Ibak-i-Uchchah was feudatory of Uch, and soon after in 633 or 634 H. (1236 A. D.) Multán was threatened by an invading force of Qárlugh Turks under Malik Saif-ud-Dín Hasan, but the Ibak advancing from Uch repelled this inroad.[36] (1239 A. D.) But in 636 H. the Qárlughs took Multán, Uch being then held in fief by Malik Muayyid-ud-Dín, Hindú Khán,[37] and retained its possession.

(1240 A. D.) In 638 H. the Mughals advanced again on Multán, but finding they were likely to be vigorously opposed turned their faces towards Lahore which they sacked. In consequence of this inroad Malik Izz-ud-dín Kabír Khán-i-Ayáz, whom the Queen Razíyyah had removed from the fief of Lahore to that of Multán, proclaimed his independence and took possession of Uch and its dependencies. (1241 A. D.) He died however in the following year (639 H.), and was succeeded by his son Táj-ud-dín Abu-Bakr-i-Ayáz who subjugated Sind and several times attacked and defeated the Qárlughs before Multán.[38]

(1245 A. D.) In 643 H. Kyuk Khán, the grandson of the Chingiz or "great" Khán, despatched armies to invade China, Irán, Hindustán, Khurásán and Iráq. The army of Hindustán was placed under the command of the Nú-ín Mangútah and invaded the Delhi Kingdom by way of the Salt Range and the Sind Ságar Doáb, keeping along its western frontier and entering the province of Multán in order to assail that city and Uch, then the frontier strongholds of the kingdom. Its advance caused Malik Saif-ud-dín Hasan, the Qárlugh Turk, to abandon Multán and embark on the Indus for Sihwán. Mangútah first invested Uch, the environs of which he destroyed, but the place was vigorously defended and the Mughals lost one of their chief leaders. Meantime Malik Ghiás-ud-dín Balban, afterwards King of Delhi, had organized the royal forces to repel the Mughal invasion, and marched, not by the direct route from Delhi *viâ* Sarustí (Sirsa) and Marot but by Lahore, crossing the Beás and then advancing down the east bank of the Ráví, which was generally fordable, so as to cut off the Mughal line of retreat up the Sind Ságar Doáb to the Salt Range.[39] This movement compelled the Mughal leader to raise the siege of Uch and dividing his army into three divisions he retired, abandoning many prisoners, to Khurásán.

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(36) T. N., I., p. 633.

(37) *Ibid*, p 645. 634 H. was eventful for a great outbreak of the fanatical Karamitas which took place in Delhi in that year. *Ibid*, 646.

(38) T. N., pp. 655-56.

(39) At that period the Beás flowed in its old bed north of Dipálpur and united with the combined streams of the Ráví, Chenáb and Jhelum, 28 miles south of Multán and to the east of Uch. By crossing the Beás higher up Malik Ghiyás-ud-dín had only to cross the Chenáb, after its junction with the Jhelum, to hold the Mughal invaders at his mercy, separated from their base and liable to be also attacked from Multán. Cf. the T. N., pp. 667 and 809, and Raverty's article in the J. A. S. B., 1892, pp. 155-162. It is not clear whether Ghiyás-ud-dín actually crossed the Ráví or not

CHAP. I. B.
History.

In 644 H. the Sultán Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd Shah 'made the Malik-ul-Kabír' Nusrat-ud-dín Sher Khán-i-Sunkar,[39a] Malik of Sind and Hind, and in that same year the Mughals held Multán to ransom, extorting 100,000 *dirams*, whereas from Lahore they realized only 30,000.[40] Subsequently the fief passed to Malik Izz-ud-dín Balban-i-Kashlú Khán and in 647 H. Malik Saif-ud-dín Hasan, the Qárlugh, advanced from Banián,[41] which territory he held in spite of the Mughals, to attack Multán, but Balban-i-Kashlú Khán advancing from Uch to defend it engaged the Qárlughs. Malik Hasan was slain, but his followers kept his death secret, and though Balban had entered Multán after the battle he was compelled to evacuate it, and the Malik Násir-ud-dín, Muhammad Hasan's oldest son, took possession of it. Sher Khán, however, shortly afterwards recovered it and placed his own retainer Ikhtiyár-ud-dín-i-Kurez in charge of the city. In 648 H. Balban advancing from Uch made an attempt to wrest Multán from Ikhtiyár-ud-dín, but failed and retreated to Uch. Ikhtiyár-ud-dín further appears to have defeated the Mughals in this year for he is mentioned as sending many captives of that race to Delhi in the month of Shawwál. In 649 H. Malik Balban showed a tendency to revolt at Nagaur, which he also held in fief, but made his submission when the royal forces marched on that stronghold. Malik Sher Khán next marched on Uch from Tabarhindah and Lahore, by way of Multán, and Balban hastening from Nagaur to Uch, went to Sher Khán's camp and was there detained as a prisoner until he surrendered Uch, whence he went to Delhi. Early in 650 H. the Sultán,[42] Mahmúd Shah, marched in person with his army from Delhi towards Lahore, intending to proceed to Uch and Multán, in order to reinstate Balban-i-Kashlú Khán in those dependencies after ousting Sher Khán from them, but he returned with his army to Delhi without crossing the Beás.[43] In 651 H. however he again marched on Uch and Multán and the Malik Sher Khán withdrew from his positions in the Indus valley and fled to Turkistán, leaving Uch, Multán, and Tabarhindah in the hands of retainers. Early in 1254 they were conferred on Arsalán Khán Sanjar-i-Chast and Mahmúd Sháh returned to Delhi, but some time in 1255 they were restored to Malik Balban-i-Kashlú Khán, who in the following year tendered his allegiance to Hulákú Khán and by him a body of Mughal troops under Nú-yín Sálin was sent to Uch. In 1257[44] Balban-i-Kashlú Khán marched along the Beás with the troops of Uch and Multán against Delhi, but the revolt failed and Balban, deserted by his troops, fled to Uch and thence to Hulákú in Iráq, whence he returned with a Mughal Intendant and a body of troops under Nú-yín Sálin.

1246 A. D. — 1249 A. D. — 1250 A. D. — 1251 A. D. — 1252 A. D. — 1253 A. D. — 1256 A. D.

[39a] He was a cousin of the Ulugh Khán, afterwards the Emperor Ghiyás-ud-dín, Balban, and an Ilbari Turk, formerly a *mamlúk* or slave of Altamsh. Soon after he rebelled against Mahmúd Shah and assumed independence, but he was eventually compelled to receive a Mughal Sahna or intendant. T. N., pp. 796 and 1169.

[40] T. N., p. 677.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 680. Raverty says Banián must have been the hilly tract west of the upper part of the Sind Ságar Doáb *Ibid.*, p. 677

[42] T. N., pp. 693-95.

[43] This event is said by some to have occurred in the previous year.

CHAP. I. B. History.

1266 A. D. The Sultán Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd Sháh was succeeded by his minister Ghiyás-ud-dín Balban, under whom Sher Khán continued to govern Lahore and the other territories exposed to the Mughal inroads, until in the 4th or 5th year of the reign he died. Balban then appointed his eldest son Nusrat-ud-dín Muhammad, governor of Sind, Lahore and Multán, with the title of Qáim-ul-Mulk. This prince for many years kept the Mughals at bay, but at length he was defeated and slain by the famous Mughal leader Samar, "the bravest dog of all the dogs of Chingiz Khán," at Dipálpur 1285 A. D. in 683 or 684 H., whereby he earned the title of the Khán Shahíd or Martyr Prince. His Court at Multán was a brilliant one, but the Mughals appear to have confined his power to the territory south of the Beás. His son Kai-Khusru was deprived of the throne of Delhi but allowed to retain the fief of Multán until murdered by Kai-Kubád soon after his accession. A similar fate awaited Malik Sháhik, *amír* of Multán, and the Slave Dynasty was soon supplanted by the Khiljis.

1290 A. D. Under Jalál-ud-dín, Firoz Sháh II, the first of that house, the Mughals, though they continued to invade India, began to embrace Islám and enlist in the service of the emperor, who cantoned them at Moghalpura near Delhi, while his son Arkali Khán, the governor of Lahore, Multán and Sind, appears to have cantoned his contingent of Mughal mercenaries at Uch Moghla near the town of 1296 A. D. Uch.[(48)] Arkali Khán, the rightful heir of Ibráhím Sháh, was absent 1297 A. D. at Multán on that king's death and thus lost the throne. A year later Alá-ud-dín sent his brother Ulugh Khán to oust Arkali Khán from Multan, and he, with his brother, gave himself up and was 1298 A. D. subsequently blinded. In the following year (697 H.) the Mughals besieged Siwistán (Sehwán) but were repulsed by Zafar Khán, a *malik* of the Delhi Court. Nevertheless towards the end of the 1304 A. D. year they were able to advance as far as Delhi and in 704 H. a defeat inflicted on the Mughals by Ghází Beg Tughlaq Khán, governor of the Punjab, led to an invasion by the Mughals under Aibak Khán or Kabák who ravaged Multán. Ghází Beg was however able to attack and rout the invaders with terrible slaughter on the banks of the Indus as they retired. This success stemmed for 1327 A. D. a time the tide of Mughal invasion, but in 727 H. the Mughals subdued Lamghán and in the ensuing year Muhammad Ibn Tughlaq 1338 A. D. suppressed the revolt of Kashkú Khán at Multán, and 11 years later he had to put down a second revolt under Bahrám Abiya.

1342 A. D. In 743 H. Sháhú, an Afghán chieftain, descended on Multán, killed Bahzád Khán, its viceroy, in battle and only submitted when 1351 A. D. the emperor in person moved on Multán. Muhammad Ibn Tughlaq died in Sind on an expedition against the rising power of the 1365 A. D. Sumrás, and his cousin Firoz Sháh III, who was in the camp, proclaimed himself emperor and marched to Uch whence he 1393 A. D. proceeded to Delhi. Firoz Sháh was also compelled to undertake an

(48) The Tuhfat-ul-Kirám says that Jalál-ud-Dín assigned Uch and Multán to Arkali Khán in 1293, and adds that after his blinding Nusrat Khán, Governor of Sind, retained possession of Multán and Uch as well as Sind. E. H. I. I. p. 341

expedition against the Sumrá chief Babinia but he was able to compel his submission.

1394 A. D.

In 796 H. Sárang Khán, who had been appointed governor of Dipálpur, quarrelled with Khizr Khán Sayyid, the *amír* of Multán, and allying himself with the Bhatti chief got possession of the province. He was however defeated in turn by troops from Delhi and fled towards Multán, Uch being held for him by Alí Malik.

1396 A. D.

In 800 H. as a preliminary to Timúr's inroad his grandson Pír Muhammad invested Uch but on the advance of an army from Delhi under Táj-ud-dín he raised the siege. He however defeated Táj-ud-dín in the Beás and drove him back on Multán which surrendered to him after a siege of six months. Timúr himself having crossed the Indus besieged Shiháb-ud-dín, the ruler of an island in the Jhelum, and drove him towards Uch, whereupon Shaikh Núr-ud-dín pursued and defeated him.[436]

1401 A. D.

After Timúr had left the Punjab Khizr Khán, who had been reinstated in his governorship of Multán, to which was added that of the Punjab and Dipálpur, established a virtually independent kingdom at Multán, and after a series of victories over the nobles of the Delhi kingdom he seized that throne and founded the Sayyid dynasty, which professed to be mere deputies of the Mughals. Nevertheless under Khizr Khán's successor, Mubárak Sháh, Mirza Sháh Rukh, the Mughal who held Kabul, deputed his lieutenant Shaikh Ali, to invade Bhakkar and Siwistán, and the Delhi king nominated Malik-ush-Sharq Malak Mahmúd Hasan governor of Multán to oppose the invaders. This he did successfully, and in 830 H. he was transferred to Hissár, Malik Rajab Nádira becoming feudatory of Multán until 832 H. when Mahmúd Hasan was re-appointed with the title of Imád-ul-Mulk. When Shaikh Ali invaded the Punjab in 1431 A. D. the Imád-ul-Mulk compelled him to retreat, but returning to Multán he was followed by Shaikh Ali who defeated his lieutenant Sháh Lodí and occupied Khairábád near Multán. The Imád-ul-Mulk was however able to repulse two assaults on Multán and eventually, when reinforced by Mubárak Shah II, defeated Shaikh Ali who fled to Kábul. Malik Khair-ud-dín Khání then became governor of Multán, and Shaikh Ali continued to harass its frontiers. Having seized Tulamba, which he destroyed, he was only driven back on Martot (? Marot) by the advance of the Delhi emperor at the head of a large army and in 836 H. captured Lahore. Dipálpur also nearly fell into his hands, but was relieved by the Imád-ul-Mulk from Sirhind. Mubárak Sháh II then advanced to the Rávi near Dipálpur, Shaikh Ali retreating before him, and captured Shorkot from Amír Muzaffar Khán, the Mughal.

1414 A. D.

1423 A. D.

1429 A. D.

1433 A. D.

The province of Multán was however by this time in a state of anarchy and in 841 H. intelligence reached Mahummad Sháh IV of Delhi that the Langáhs had risen in revolt.

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(436) A local History, the Malfúzát of Pír Khális, in the possession of the *mujáwars* of the shrine of Pír Khális, says that Timúr crossed the Sutlej at a place opposite Pír Khális and halted there. Pír Khális lies in the Minchinábád Kárdárí. Timúr appointed Malik Abdur Rahím, Governor of Multán, with the title of Alá-ul-Mulk.

CHAP. I, B.

History

THE LANGÁH AND NÁHAR AFGHÁN DYNASTIES.

1437 A. D.

In 840 H. the Langáh Afgháns, as Farishta styles them in (the province of) Multán, broke out in rebellion, and at the same time Bahlol Khán Lodí, who, after the death of his uncle Islám Khán Lodí, had usurped the government of Sirhind, took possession of Lahore, Dipálpur and all the country as far south as Pánípat.[44] From this it appears that the Langáhs were powerful at Multán as early as 1437 A.D., but in his History of the Kings of Multán[45] Farishta gives an account of their rise to power which would make it appear that their advent to Multán was some years later.

1443 A. D.

1445 A. D.

1469 A. D.

According to this account the province of Multán, left open to invasion from Ghor, Ghazni and Kábul in the anarchy which had long since ensued when the Tughlak dynasty ceased to rule, suffered greatly from predatory inroads, so its inhabitants assembled in 847 H. and elected Shaikh Yúsuf of the tribe of the Qoraish to be ruler of Multán and Uch, and in his name the *khutbá* was read and money coined. This prince reorganized the government and gained the friendship of the neighbouring Zamíndárs, among others of one Rai Sihrá,[46] the chief of Síwí and its territory, whose daughter he married, but after he had only reigned two years Rai Sihrá seized him by treachery and usurped his authority under the title of Qutb-ud-dín. Shaikh Yúsuf was expelled from Multán by Qutb-ud-dín and sent to Delhi where he was received with great respect by the king, Bahlol Lodí, who gave his daughter in marriage to his son Abdulla.[47] After ruling Multán and a large part of Sind for 16 years, Qutb-ud-dín died much lamented in 874 H., and was succeeded by his son Husain, a prince of cultivated mind and a patron of science and literature.[48] He was moreover a successful soldier. Early in his reign he reduced Shorkot (then called Shiwar) and Hot, whence he marched against Kotgirwar and Dhankot, both of which forts he reduced, leaving his brother as governor in the former. Meanwhile Sultán Bahlol Khán sent an army under his sons Barlik and Tártár Khán Lodí to recover Multán for Shaikh Yúsuf, but Husain Langáh was able to first reduce Kotgirwar where his brother had set up as an independent sovereign, and then to turn on the Lodis who were on the point of attacking Multán. Sallying forth from the city Husain attacked the Delhi forces with his Multáni horse and routed them, though they soon afterwards captured the fort of Hot by a stratagem.

Husam was essentially a Lord Paramount of the Baloch Chiefs, many of whom flocked to his court. Malik Sohráb (Duvally) entered his service with his sons Ismail and Fateh Khán and

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(44) Briggs' Farishta, I. 536.

(45) Briggs, IV, p. 380-2.

(46) Hardly an Afghán title. Cf. Beal's Oriental Dicty., 321.

(47) Briggs, IV, p. 383. In the Ain-i-Akbari, however, Abul Fazl, who styles Qutb-ud-dín a foreigner and calls him Mahmúd Sháh, says that Shaikh Yúsuf reigned 17 years, not 2.

(48) He was a contemporary of Jám Nisám-ud-dín or Nanda, of the Sammá dynasty in Sind, who in 866 H. (1461 A. D.) succeeded Jám Sanjar.

received Kotgirwar and Dhankot in fief.[49] Other Baloches received the part of Sind lying contiguous to Balochistán, till all the country between Sítpur and Dhankot was occupied by Baloches. Uch he conferred on Jám Ibráhím Sahna,[50] and Shiwar on Jám Bázíd his brother, who had fled from the court of Jám Nanda the Sammá.

On the death of Bahlol Khán, Husain sent an ambassador to Delhi and effected a treaty with Sikandar Lodí, whereby it was agreed that hostilities should cease and that the armies of Delhi and Multán should co-operate in case of foreign aggression.[51] Husain soon after this abdicated in favour of his son Fíroz, who attempted to assassinate Belál, the eldest son of the Imád-ul-Mulk, the minister of Husain, who still held office under himself, because he was jealous of Belál's popularity, and in revenge for this the Imád-ul-Mulk poisoned Fíroz. Husain in spite of his age was induced to re-ascend the throne, and continued to rule till 908 H. when he died and was succeeded by his grandson, Mahmúd, the son of Fíroz.

1488 A. D.

1502 A. D.

The reign of Mahmúd Sháh was chiefly eventful for the revolt of Jám Bázíd, who had become minister to Husain shortly before his death. Bázíd was provoked to rebel and took refuge in Shiwar (Shorkot) which fort he placed under the suzerainty of Sikandar Lodí, king of Delhi, by whom Daulat Khán, governor of the Punjab, was deputed to assist the revolted minister. Daulat Khán acting as a mediator induced the contending parties to fix upon the Rávi as the boundary of their territories, Bázíd thus becoming an independent ruler, or, at any rate, a feudatory of the Delhi kingdom. Moreover, Bázíd must have obtained control over the territory round Uch, for to the chagrin of Mahmúd Sháh he gave it in *jágír* to one Mír Jakar Zand,[52] the father of Mír Shahíd and Mír Shahídá, the latter of whom is said to have been the first to disseminate the Shia tenets in India.[53] This incident coupled with the fact of Bázíd's piety (he used to send cooked provisions daily down the Chenáb from Shiwar to Multán for the holy personages of that city) point to religious differences as being at the bottom of Bázíd's disaffection.

Towards the close of Mahmúd Sháh's reign the Arghúns invaded Multán, but that king died in 931 H. before they reached his capital. On his death Lashkar Khán, the head of the Langáh tribe, deserted to Husain Arghún after laying waste its adjacent territory. The *amírs* raised to the throne Husain Langáh II, son of Mahmúd, who was still a minor, but the Arghúns soon after took Multán by storm and the Langáhs' dynasty ended.

1524 A. D.

1525 A. D.

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(49) Malik Sohráb Hot, coming from Kachh Mekrán entered Husain's service in 876 H (1471 A. D.) receiving from him lands on both sides of the Indus nearly corresponding to the old District of Dera Ismail Khán, *i.e.*, the Bhakkar and Leiah Tahsils with the Dera Ismail Khán District of the North-West Frontier Province. Briggs, III, p. 388.

(50) Not apparently a Baloch tribe, but a tribe of Sind, claiming descent from Jám Jamshid, *i.e.*, an Iranian origin. Briggs, II, p. 388—9.

(51) Sikandar Lodí had ascended the Delhi throne in 894 H.

(52) Possibly we should read 'Mír Chákar Rind.' He is said to have come from 'Solypoor.'

(53) Briggs, III, p. 395—6.

CHAP. I, B. History.

The Langáhs, however, held but a small portion (Kárdárí Baháwalpur and the *iláqa* of Uch) of the modern State of Baháwalpur, most of its territory being held by other rulers, of whom the Náhars were the most prominent.

The Náhars.

Concurrently with the establishment of the Langáh power Islám Khán I Lodí, an uncle of Bahlol Khán, the King of Delhi, founded a rival state which had its capital at Sítpur and included the Kin tract, now a part of the Dera Ghází Khán District, Kashmor near Fatehpur Machka, Janpur and Khán Bela (now in Khánpur Kárdárí) and most of Kárdárí Sádiqábád,[54]—in short most of the tract now known as the Lamma. This State however was divided between the two grandsons of Islám Khán I, Islám II holding Sítpur with the northern part and Qásim Khán the south from Umarkot, now in Dera Ghází Khán, to Kashmor. The rule of this branch of the Lodís was so harsh and oppressive that the successors of Islám Khán I acquired the title of Náhar or wolf.

The rule of the Náhars endured with some vicissitudes till 1700 A. D. Under Bábar they indeed lost their independence and they paid tribute to Akbar,[55] but they remained in possession of their State. In 887 H. however Háji Khán, chief of the Mirráni *tuman* of the Baloch, conquered a large part of their territory and founded Dera Ghází Khán. Still the Náhars retained the territories on both banks of the Panjnad and Indus, now in Kárdárís Ahmadpur East and Khánpur of the modern State, till the 18th century, but they were further deprived of a considerable territory by Shaikh Ráju, the deputy of Nadir Sháh, who founded Rájanpur.

1484 A. D.

During this period anarchy prevailed in Sind, the north and north-west of which country was held mainly by the Sammás up to 1521 A. D., as already described, while in the south Amír Fateh-ullah Khán also called Thull Khán Abbási, the ancestor of the Abbási Dáúdpotrás, acquired the *iláqa* of Bhangár by conquest from Rája Dallu, the ruler of Alor and Bahmanábád, and named his conquered territory Qáhir Bela.

The Arghúns.

Towards the close of this period a new power arose in Sind. Sháh Beg Arghún having been driven from Qandhár by Bábar in 928 H.[56] invaded lower or southern Sind, took Siwí in 1514, Thatha in 1521 A. D. and made Bhakkar, which he strongly fortified, his capital, after totally defeating the Sammás in a pitched battle. On his death in 1525 A. D. his son Sháh Husain succeeded him and his general Bála Ahmad plundered Deráwar, the country round Bhutta Wáhan and the tract which now forms Kárdári Sádiqábád. In revenge the Dáhrs, aided by the Baloch, sacked Sewrai (modern Sarwáhi) in the Arghún kingdom whereupon

A. D. 1522.

(54) Many *sanads* granted by the Náhars are still held by families of the Dáhr and Chachar tribes and by the Sayyids of Jánpur in Kárdárís Khánpur and Sádiqábád, which prove that these tracts were once held by the Náhars. Their name is possibly preserved in Náhrwáli, a village in Baháwalpur Kárdári.

(55) Náhar families in Khánpur Kárdári still preserve seals engraved with the names of the Mughal emperors above, and the Náhar rulers below.

(56) Briggs II, p. 37.

Bába Ahmad seized Obaura and annexed it to the Arghún dominions. Further by way of reprisal for a raid by the people of Fatehpur and Deráwar and the Baloches of Sewrai in which a number of Sháh Husain's camels had been stolen, the Bába pillaged those three towns, but on his return he was attacked by the Baloch near Sewrai and received a wound from the effects of which he died at Matíla, now Mírpur in the Sukkar District.

Sháh Husain retaliated by sending fresh forces which devastated the whole country up to Mau Mubárak and on the Baloch submitting to his rule the Arghún frontier was extended to Bhutta Wáhan. Soon after this Sháh Husain married a daughter of the Khalífa Nizám-ud-dín, Bábar's minister, which brought him into alliance with that emperor then engaged in subjugating the Punjab. Bábar invited Sháh Husain to occupy Multán and marching along the bank of the Indus, by the route which Chach and Muhammad Ibn Qásim had taken centuries before him, the Arghún advanced on Sewrai, which the Baloch abandoned and took refuge in Uch. Having destroyed the fort at Sewrai Sháh Husain advanced to Mau Mubárak, devastating the country and massacring all the inhabitants who fell into his hands. From Mau he proceeded to Lar, whose chief Nanda, the Dáhr, submitted, and thence to Uch where he defeated the combined forces of the Baloches and Langáhs though they greatly outnumbered the invaders. He then occupied Uch whose inhabitants were terrified by the sight of their leaders' heads borne on the lances of the Arghún cavalry and made but a faint resistance. All the Baloches and Langáhs found in Uch were put to the sword, and the massacre and pillage of the town was only stopped at the intercession of the Sayyids. The fortifications of Uch were destroyed and having thus made the place defenceless Sháh Husain advanced on Multán. On hearing this Mahmúd Sháh, the king of Multán, deputed one Shaikh Bahá-ud-dín Qoraishi with Mauláná Bahlol to wait upon Sháh Husain and remonstrate against his further advance. Husain however replied that he was commissioned by Bábar the Pádsháh and also desired to visit the shrine of Shaikh Bahá-ud-dín *Zakaríya*, and continued his advance.(57) Multán fell after a long siege(58) and Sháh Husain placing Khwája Shams-ud-dín, one of his *amírs*, in charge of the fort and nominating Lashkar Khán Langáh, the deserter, his deputy, returned to Thattha, whereupon Lashkar Khán expelled Shams-ud-dín and assumed the title of governor.(59) To assure his northern frontier Sháh Husain rebuilt the walls of Uch and left a considerable garrison in the place. He himself intended to return to Sind, but learning that a vast treasure was concealed in the fort of Deráwar he summoned Ghází Khán who held it for the Rájá of Jaisalmer

(57) Briggs, III, p. 397.

(58) 15 months according to one account, Briggs III, p. 435, 'some months' according to one Mauláná Sadulla of Lahore, who was present. *Ibid*, p 399.

(59) So Farishta, Briggs III, p. 400, quoting the eye-witness. But Farishta in his history of Husain Arghún says the inhabitants rebelled and made one Shamsher Khán governor, and that he expelled Shams-ud-dín *Ibid*, p 436. In any event Sháh Husain was too weak or unwilling for some reason to punish this revolt.

CHAP. I, B. History

to surrender the stronghold. Ghází Khán however refused to betray his trust and Sháh Husain marched on Deráwar, sending in advance a force under Sambal Khán to seek a place for the main army to encamp. The scarcity of water compelled that leader to sink 300 wells in the Hakra, and the army was thereby able to lay siege to the place and destroy the walls by mines, but eventually it was carried by assault, the Arghúns placing their shields on their heads and scaling the walls sword in hand. Its defenders were put to the sword and the treasure found in the place divided between the king and his army.

1530 A. D.

The emperor Bábar died in 937 H. leaving his son Kámrán, governor of Kábul and Qandhár, and Humáyún, Bábar's eldest son and successor, further relinquished the Punjab and the country on the Indus to Kámrán, whose deputies governed Multán till his death in 1585. Meanwhile in 947 H. the emperor Humáyún had been entirely dispossessed of his territories by Sher Sháh Súrí and turned his thoughts to Sind, then under Husain Arghún, hoping to find support in that territory, once subject to Delhi. Humáyún encamped near Uch, but Bakhshwi Langáh who was governor of Multán under Husain Langáh refused to permit him to enter the town or to interview him in person, though he supplied him with boats to cross the Indus. For two and-a-half years, from 947 to 949 H. Humáyún remained in Sind vainly negotiating with Husain Arghún, who played off Mirza Yádgár, Nasír Humáyún's uncle, against him. In the Moharram of 949 H. he marched to Uch, and thence *viâ* Deráwar and Warsalpur to Phalodí intending to enter the Marwar territory, but fearing treachery, took refuge in Amrkot where Akbar was born. Humáyún thence fled to Qandhár. Thereafter Sháh Husain entered into a close alliance with Kámrán to whom he gave a daughter in marriage. Nine years later in 966 H. Husain died and the Arghún dynasty became extinct.[(60)] After the death of Husain Arghún Sind was divided between two of his governors, Mahmúd and Mirza Isa Turkhán, the latter of whom held Bhakkar, but after Akbar's accession to the throne of Delhi his generals Muhib Ali and Mujahid wrested it from Mahmúd and its territory was annexed to Multán in 982 H.

(Margin: 1540 A. D.; 1540-1542 A. D.; 1542 A. D.; 1545 A. D.; 1554 A. D.; 1575 A. D.)

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A. D., the Hans tribe, whose seats were at Malká Hans and Shafí Hans, now in the Montgomery District, took possession of the Dhaddar *iláqa* in the west of Kárdári Khairpur East. The Lakhwera sept of the Joyás under Salím Khán and his son Faríd Khán held on lease from the governor of Multán the whole of the Kathala *iláqa*, and the Wattús and other tribes of the Ubbhá paid revenue to them. They also established their overlordship over the Bhattís, and over the Dhaddís of Umarpur (now in the Montgomery District). But as Salím Khán and his son ruled oppressively the former was arrested and sent to Delhi, and his village of Salímgarh, now Mári Shauq

(60) Briggs III, p. 437

CHAP. I. B.
History

Sháh was levelled to the ground. Faríd Khán also was constantly in revolt and is said to have fought twenty-one engagements with the Mughal governors of Multán, but he eventually submitted, and paid tribute to them for his estate of Shahr Faríd. During these troubles the Dhuddís rose to considerable power, and took possession of a large part of the Ubbhá where many legends are still told of the wars waged by them.

Baháwalpur before the rise of the Dáúdpotrás

Before the Dáúdpotrás rose to power the territory which forms the modern State of Baháwalpur was held as described below :—

1. A large part of Kárdárí Sádiqábád and some part of Khánpur Kárdárí was held by Núr Muhammad Kalhorá, also called Khudáyár Khán.
2. The forts of Winjhrot, Bhímwar, Deráwar, Marot, and the country round the two latter, with most of the southern parts of Kárdárís Sádiqábád and Khanpur belonged to Jaisalmer.
3. Uch was an appanage of Multán but the Bukhári and Giláni Makhdúms exercised a secular authority which was strengthened by their spiritual sanctity.
4. A large part of the Baháwalpur Kárdárí and a part of the Ubbhá was under the governor of Multán.
5. The *iláqa* of Shahr Faríd was ruled by Faríd Khán II Lakhwera.
6. At the close of the 17th century most of the Wattús of Minchinábád paid tribute direct to the court of Delhi, but some were subject to the ruler of Shahr Faríd.
7. The forts of Wallhar, Phúlrá, Anúpgarh with the adjacent territory, were held by the Rájá of Bikaner, Zoráwar Singh.

THE ABBASI DÁÚDPOTRÁS.

The history of the Dáúdpotrás seeks to connect itself with one of the most curious and interesting episodes of Indian history, and gives a highly circumstantial and intrinsically not improbable explanation of the title Abbási. In 1343 (744 H.) Muhammad Ibn Tughlaq, king of Delhi, considering that no king or prince could exercise regal power without confirmation by the Khalífa of the race of Abbas, and that every king who had or should hereafter reign, without such confirmation had been or would be overpowered, solicited [61] and received a diploma of investiture from the Khalífa of Egypt. His successor the enlightened Fíroz Sháh III was similarly invested in 1356.[62] After the death of Al Mustansír-billáh his descendants for four generations from Sultán Yasín to Sháh Muzammil remained in Egypt, but the latter's son Sultán Ahmad II left that country between 1366 and 1370 A. D. in the reign of Abu-l-Fath al M 'utazid-billáh Abu Bakr the sixth Abbásside Khalífa of Egypt and came to

(61) E. H. I. III, p. 249.
(62) Do. IV, p. 9.

CHAP I. B. History.

Sindh by way of Kích and Mekrán hoping to find supporters at the court of Delhi.

In the Bhangár territory a Hindu Rájá, Rai Dhorang Sáhta attempted to check his progress, but eventually submitted and gave him a third of his territory, with his daughter in marriage, and the earlier Arab immigrants acknowledged his authority. Amír Ahmad Khán II constructed canals and sank wells in his new principality. He was succeeded by his son Abú Násir or Amír Ibn who succeeded in defeating Rai Jhakrá, the son of Rai Dhorang and his ally Rai Lákhá Sammá, ruler of Kot Kángra. On the death of Abú Násir,

Abdul Qáhir or Qahir Khán.

Abdul Qáhir succeeded him. He conquered the fort of Púrkar from Gauhar Khán, who submitted and gave him his daughter in marriage. The fort was accordingly restored to him but Qáhir appointed a *mutamid* to collect the revenue of the conquered territory.

Amír Sikandar Khán.

Abdul Qáhir was succeeded by Amír Sikandar or Sangrasi Khán, during whose reign there were no conflicts with the neighbouring tribes and peace prevailed.

Amír Fath-ullah Khan or Tholl Khán

Seeing the rising power of the Abbási Amírs, the neighbouring kings and rulers became jealous of them, and on the death of Amír Sikandar Khán, Rájá Dallú Wattú, ruler of Rowar and Bahmanábád, attacked the Amír Fath-ullah Khán while he was still a minor and caused a formidable rebellion of the Sáhta tribe, his subjects. Amír Fath-ullah Khán was obliged to abandon Bhangár and eventually established himself with his subjects in the delta, which was in the possession of the Gujjars who submitted without resistance. To this new possession he gave the name of Qáhir Bela to preserve his ancestor's memory, overcoming the hill tribes who opposed him.

Amír Baháullah Khán

Amír Baháullah Khán, son of Fath-ulla Khán, further enlarged his dominions. The Sáhta and Sammá tribes of Bhangár, who had revolted presented themselves before him in Qáhir Bela and returned to their allegiance. After his death, the kingdom

Amír Muhammad Channí Khán.

of Qáhir Bela devolved upon his son Amír Muhammad Channí Khán, and in his reign Sindh was wrested from the Tarkhán dynasty and annexed to the Mughal empire under Akbar. When Prince Murád, the son of that emperor, came to Multán, he issued *firmáns* to the chiefs and Zamíndárs to attend and do homage there. Neither the Tarkháns nor the Arghúns had ever had possession of the whole of Sindh and various parts of southern and western Sindh had been ruled by local chiefs, always at war with, and jealous of one another. Accordingly each of them offered valuable presents to Prince Murád in order to out-bid his rivals. When the Prince learnt the noble origin of Amír Channí Khán's family and his personal qualities he conferred on him the title of *Panjhazári* and directed that the revenue of the *iláqa* from Channa to Laharí Bandar should be collected by him on behalf of the Delhi Government. He was also granted a large *jágír* and at the Prince's bidding took up his abode in Siwistán and founded a new town which he named Jhankár Bázár or Chakára Bázár.

Amír Muhammad Channí Khán.

Besides other tribes, the tribes of Siwistán, the Koreja, Sahtá, Chhína, Abra, and others, became his subjects and after a prosperous reign he died at the age of 150 leaving two sons, Muhammad Mahdí Khán and Dáúd Khán. On his death-bed Muhammad Channí Khán made a will directing that the *dastár-i-amárat* or turban of government should be placed on the head of Amír-záda Muhammad Mahdí Khán and that the Hamáil Sharíf or holy Qorán and the *tasbih* or rosary (sacred relics) which had been in the possession of the family since the time of the Caliphs should be given to Dáúd Khán.

Muhammad Mahdi Khán died after a short reign, and on his death disputes arose as to the succession with the result that the Abbási power was greatly diminished. The two claimants to the throne were Kalhora, son of Muhammad Mahdí Khán and Amír Dáúd Khán. The Arab tribes sided with the latter and those of Sind with the former. Ultimately Amír Dáúd Khán was forced by circumstances to withdraw his claim, and abandoning the throne to Kalhora he went with his followers to Wadera Jhangí Khán, the owner of Shahr Wanji, where he founded villages and took to agriculture.

Thus the Abbásis became divided into two branches, the descendants of Kalhorá, who became known as the Kalhorás and long ruled over Sind, and those of Dáúd Khán afterwards called the Dáúdpotrás who founded the Baháwalpur State. These branches remained at feud with each other for a very long period as will be shown in due course.

Amír Dáúd Khán.

Dáúd Khán, who held a considerable tract of country, was succeeded in turn by Mahmúd Khán, Muhammad Khán I and Amír Dáúd Khán II. In the meantime the numbers of the Abbásis and their kin had so multiplied that they were compelled to seize a larger tract of country and the separation of the Kalhorás and Dáúdpotrás was finally effected in the time of Dáúd Khán II. Amír Sálih Muhammad, son of Chandar Khán and grandson of Dáúd Khán II, was a well-intentioned ruler and was recognized as their chief by the Dáúdpotrás and other Abbásis. Sálih Khán was succeeded by Haibat Khán and the latter by Amír Bhakkar Khán I.

By the time of Amír Bhakkar Khán I the Abbási Dáúdpotrás had spread beyond the limits of Shahr Wanjí and his son Bahádur Khán I with the object of increasing the number of his followers and on account of the growing strength of his tribe left Wanji and moved to the town of Mawah, the Zamíndárs of which submitted to him, and for the next three or four generations the Abbási Chiefs remained in their new settlement. Bahádur Khán I was succeeded by Bhakkar Khán II, and the latter by Muhammad Khán II in the headship of the family.

Amír Fíroz Khán.

On the death of Muhammad Khán II, Árab Khán, who had abandoned the world, of his own free will placed the *dastár-i-amárat*

CHAP. I. B. History.

Amír Bahádur Khán.

on the head of his younger brother Fíroz Khán or Piruj Khán and to him the Abbási Dáúdpotrás paid homage. Since then the chieftainship has been held by his descendants. Fíroz Khán settled in the Tarái *iláqa*. The Abra and Chínna tribes held him in great reverence. He had many sons of whom Bahádur Khán II was the eldest. Bahádur Khán abandoned Tarái and settled in Bhakkar, acquiring a large area on the banks of the Indus from Mirza Khán, who held Sind under the emperor Alamgír, as an *inám*. He founded the town of Shikárpur, still a flourishing town in Sind, and in its territory the canal and dam of Punnún Khán, built by and named after a nephew of Bahádur Khán, are still known by that name.

Meanwhile Nasír Muhammad Kalborá had collected a large force and made a sudden attack on Bhakkar and Siwistán putting several officials to the sword. Nawáb Mirza Khán, governor of Sind, opposed him but unsuccessfully, and it was not until Prince Muhammad Muizz-ud-dín, the governor of Multán, under orders from Aurangzeb marched a large army against him that he was taken prisoner and sent to Delhi whence he escaped and sought refuge with Amír Bahádur Khán. Mahr Karimdinna, Rais of Lakhi, also attacked Shikárpur but returned discomfitted, and the Dáúdpotrás in revenge seized Lakhi and sacked it continuing to make raids on his territory every now and then. Amír Bahádur Khán had not reaped the full fruits of his conquests when he died and was succeeded by his son Muhammad Mubárak Khán I.

Bakhtiyár Khán, son of Mirza Khán, had greatly oppressed his subjects during his father's lifetime, and on his death the whole country rose against Bakhtiyár Khán, compelling him to seek a refuge with Bahádur Khán who on account of their old friendship granted him lands whereon he soon after built Bakhtiyárpur. Bakhtiyár Khán was appointed *Muhafiz Darra*, or Warden of the Siwi and other passes by the emperor of Delhi and being jealous of the rising power of the Abbási Dáúdpotrás and forgetful of Muhammad Mubárak Khán's generous conduct towards him he began to harass them. The Dáúdpotrás thinking it inadvisable to take up arms repaired for a time to Tathi Míran Sháh where they built a stronghold and there sanguinary battles took place between Muhammad Mubárak and the Dahrs and subsequently with Sayyid Arzan Sháh, Rais of the Mírán Sháh *iláqa* who was incited by Bakhtiyár Khán to make war on the Amír. Harassed by the aggressions of Bakhtiyár Khán, Amír Muhammad Mubárak Khán complained against him to Prince Muizz-ud-dín at Multán and urged him to dismiss Bakhtiyár Khán from the governorship of Sind, but this request was not granted. Meanwhile when the Amír was at Multán with 300 picked Abbási soldiers, Ghází Khán Mirráni, governor of Dera Ghází Khán, raised the standard of revolt and would certainly have defeated Prince Muizz-ud-dín had not the Amír with his men reached the field in time. With their help the Prince defeated the rebels. The Mirránis had attacked the private

tents of the Prince but by the courage of Sanjar Khán Pirjáni the women were rescued. These services won the Prince's heart and he now treated the Abbásis with due honour and respect. Muhammad Khán took the opportunity to again urge the deposition of Bakhtiyár Khán and to this the Prince agreed. Accordingly, the Prince accompanied by Muhammad Mubárak Khán invaded Shikárpur and encountered Bakhtiyár Khán who was slain by Sanjar Khán Pirjáni. By the Prince's order Bakhtiyár Khán's body was cut into four pieces, one being sent to Bakhtiyárpur, another to Khairpur, a third to Shikárpur, and the fourth to Bhakkar, where they were exposed on the gates of those towns.[1]

1702 A. D.

The Prince entered Shikárpur in great pomp, and after bestowing rewards on Muhammad Mubárak Khán and other Abbásis granted them Shikárpur, Bakhtiyárpur and Khánpur in *jágír* and also entrusted to them the superintendence of the fort and district of Bhakkar.[2]

These *jágírs* they enjoyed for many years, but at last the Kalhorás envious of their prosperity again commenced war. It will not be out of place to give an account of the Kalhorás here.

After the death of Kalhorá Khán the Kalhorás gradually decreased in power, and for a considerable period remained in obscurity. In 818 H. Adam Muhammad Kalhorá acquired power and even fought against the imperial officials. On his death the Kalhorás again sank into obscurity but Ilyás Muhammad, his grandson, gained a great reputation for asceticism and mysticism (*tasawwuf*) and made many disciples. His son, Nasír Muhammad surpassed his father and was revered by all classes. His son, again, Yár Muhammad Kalhorá, a contemporary of Amír Muhammad Mubárak Khán, acquired extraordinary political influence in Sind, but having attempted to wrest some parts of that country from Muizz-ud-dín he was compelled on that Prince's arrival at Shikárpur to flee to the Cholistán. After the Prince's departure from Shikárpur Yár Muhammad returned to his territories, and finding it impossible to establish a separate kingdom in the face of the combined powers of the Delhi emperor and the Abbási Dáúdpotrás he sent valuable presents and large sums as tribute to Delhi and thus secured the title of Khudáyár Khán.[3] After his receipt of this title Yár

(1) According to the Tazkarat-ul-Malúk Bakhtiyár's death occurred in January 1118 H., or 1702 A.D.

(2) The succession of Shah Alam gave peace to the Empire for three or four years, but when Muizz-ud-dín deposed him and ascended the throne as Jahándár Sháh only to be in turn deposed a few months later by Farrukh Siyar, confusion again ensued. The Sayyid Abdulla Khán Bahra became Subahdár of Multán and Thatha, but exercised his authority by deputy and in 1714 Ajit Singh, the Rájpút, and the Emperor's son-in-law became Subahdár of Thatha but he never went there, and this enabled the Latis to acquire considerable power, p. 621.

(3) He was also appointed a *mansabdár* of the Empire, and in 1736-7 received charge of the Province of Thatha with the southern part of Bhakkar.

Raverty calls Khudáyár Khán the head of the Latis called by some the Dudaian Latian or Dudai Latis, a Jat sept, whose ancestors were Darweshes and disciples of the Seyyid Muhammad, a noted Muhammadan teacher of Jaunpur in (Khánpur

CHAP. I. B
History.

Muhammad became still more aggressive and began to encroach on his neighbour's territories. He also fought a pitched battle with the Amír Muhammad Mubárak Khán at Shikárpur, but subsequently peace was concluded between them.

In 1718 A. D. Yár Muhammad Kalhorá died, and in 1719 his son, Núr Muhammad Kalhorá ascended the throne. He employed every device to wrest Shikárpur from Muhammad Mubárak but without success. In 1723 A. D., however, the latter abdicated in favour of his son Sádiq Muhammad Khán and celebrated the occasion by a feast to which he invited all the Abbásis.

Núr Muhammad Kalhorá sought to take advantage of this opportunity and collecting about 60,000 men horse and foot, he advanced to Larkáná with the intention of attacking Shikárpur, but on being informed of the preparations which the Abbásis were making to meet him he abandoned his design. Nevertheless he soon after advanced suddenly on Shikárpur and invested it for six months, but a treaty was eventually made by which the besieged agreed to transfer half the revenue of Shikárpur and Khánpur to Núr Muhammad and peace having thus been concluded the siege was raised.

1726 A. D.

Six months later Núr Muhammad Kalhorá again placed a large army under Fateh Khán Kalhorá who invested Shikárpur. Numbers were killed on both sides, but at last the besiegers were compelled to raise the siege. Yet only nine months later Núr Muhammad Kalhorá once more despatched a formidable army under his brother Muhammad Khán Kalhorá, but the Abbási Dáúdpotrás coming out of Shikárpur gave him battle and he was utterly defeated. The victors returned with all their booty. These defeats exasperated Núr Muhammad Kalhorá and he ordered all his troops to muster at Khudábád. For the fifth time, in 1139 H., at the head of a very large force, he marched on Shikárpur in person. But shortly before this Muhammad Mubárak Khán had died and Sádiq Muhammad Khán now on the throne, finding himself unable to withstand the overwhelming forces of the enemy, abandoned Shikárpur and repaired to the fort of Khánpur which he greatly strengthened. Núr Muhammad entered Shikárpur without opposition, and while he himself remained there, sent a force in pursuit of Amír Sadiq Muhammad Mubárak Khán who, thinking it inadvisable to meet so

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Kardari. He also derives Lati from the Hindui *lat* signifying tangle or clotted hair, but General Haig more plausibly derives it from *lat* a Sindhi word meaning 'club.' One of the Dudai ancestors, Harmus, took up his abode with the Abrahs, a tribe which had from ancient times been petty rulers of a tract in Sind, and having married a daughter of the tribe he was assigned a part of its territory and gradually became its chief. His descendant Shaikh Nasir acquired still greater authority over the Abrahs, and after his death Din Muhammad, his son, assumed authority over the parts of Upper Sind inhabited by the tribe towards the end of Alamgir's reign. Din Muhammad did not present himself before Prince Muizz-ud-dín until he had received a safe-conduct written in a Quran, under which he visited the Prince, but was detained, a force being sent to bring in the rest of the Latis. Yar Muhammad, his younger brother, however, took refuge in the hills and repulsed the force and the Prince returned, keeping Din Muhammad in captivity, to Multán.

large a force, vacated Khánpur and went with his tribe to Bet-Dablí, now in the Dera Gházi Khán District, which was a fertile island in the Indus. A detachment was sent in pursuit by the Kalhorá chief, but routed with great loss, many being drowned in the river, and only a few escaped to Khuda-ábád.

Amír Sádiq Muhammad Khán.

We have now reached that period in the history of the Abbásis when the modern history of the Baháwalpur State begins to emerge. As already described at the time of their advent it was split up into several petty States and it remains to describe how they subdued these States and welded them into a united kingdom.

Amír Sádiq Muhammad Khán I, on being invited by the Bukhári and Gilání Makhdúms of Uch, left Bet-Dablí, and came to Uch. Shortly after in 1141 H., he received the *iláqa* of Chaudhari in *jágír* from Nawáb Hayát-ullah Khán, Subadár of Multán. In this *iláqa* he effected many improvements and laid the foundations of Allahabad, now a wealthy and populous town, three miles from the town of Chaudhari. In 1145 H. at the instance of Hayátulla Khán he attacked Faríd Khán Lakhwerá who was plundering the surrounding country, and having defeated him received as his reward a *sanad* conferring on him the government of the Shahr Faríd *iláqa*. In 1146 H. he also wrested the fort of Deráwar from Ráwal Akhí Singh.

1732 A. D.

1733 A. D.

In 1152 Nádir Sháh invaded the Deráját by the Bangash route, and all the chiefs on his way tendered allegiance to him. The Amír went to meet him at Dera Gházi Khán and was granted by him the title of Nawáb. On the Sháh's invading Sindh, Khudáyár Khán Kalhorá fled to Guzerát, but was taken prisoner at Umarkot. Nádir however released him on the 20th Zilhijj 1152 H., and partitioned Sind among the following chiefs :—

1739 A. D.

To Khudáyár Khán Lati Abbási—Tattha and other *mahals* of Sind, with the title of Sháh Quli Khán.

To Amír Sádiq Muhammad Khán—Shikárpur, *pargana* Larkána, Siwistán, Chhatar, together with the *iláqás* of Chaudhari, Deráwar, etc., now in the Baháwalpur State.

To Muhabbat Khan—the western part of Sind adjoining *Balochistán*. No sooner however had Nádir Sháh left Sind than Khudáyár Khán Kalhorá thinking that he was engrossed in distant conquest resolved to attack Shikárpur, and on the 10th of Rabi-ul-Awwal 1159 H., he laid siege to it. After a stubborn contest Amír Sádiq Muhammad Khán was killed.

1746 A. D.

The possessions of Sádiq Muhammad Khán and the other Dáúdpotrá chiefs now were as follows :—Prior to Nádir's invasion they had held Chaudhari with Alláhábád and Fort Deráwar with their dependencies : and after it they had held the *iláqa* of Shikárpur granted them by Nádir in 1739 A. D., but seized by the Kalhorás on Sádiq Muhammad Khán's death : they also held Goth

CHAP. I, B. History.

Jhorá[1] now in Sádiqábád Kárdári, Khairpur[2] Tanwínwálá, and Shahr Faríd with its dependencies. Thus under Sádiq Muhammad Khán the Dáúdpotrás held the country between Goth Jhorá and Shahr Faríd, a tract about 200 miles in length.

Sádiq Muhammad Khán I left three sons Muhammad Baháwal Khán, Mubárak Khán, and Fateh Khán, of whom the first named was elected by the tribe and placed on the throne. He was the second Nawáb, and under the title of Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán I ascended the throne on the 1st of Rabi-us-Sani 1159 H. He was successful to a great extent in organizing and re-populating both his old and new possessions, but his enemies Waderá Muhammad Khán Kehrání, Bahádur Khán Haláni and others were jealous of his prosperity and induced Sáhibzáda Mubárak Khán to revolt, but before the opposing forces, which lay in the vicinity of Lál Soháira, had actually come to blows the Sáhibzáda tendered his submission. Upon this the Dáudpotrá rebels fled to the west of the State, where Alí Murád Khán Pirjáni became almost independent and a considerable number of Dáúdpotrás joined him.

1747 A. D.

In 1160 H., Ráwal Rái Singh, with the help of Nawáb Hayát-ulláh Khán, Subadár of Multán, Makhdúm Shaikh Ráju Ráis of Sítpur, and Khudáyár Khán Kalhorá (Shah Qulí Khán) retook Deráwar.

1748-49 A. D.

In 1162 H., on the appointment of Diwán Kaura Mal as Subadár of Multán Janesar Khán, the ruler of Dera Ghází Khán, revolted and Mu'in-ud-din, Subadár of Lahore, ordered the Diwán to suppress the outbreak, but he was powerless to effect anything single-handed and accordingly solicited help from Muhammad Baháwal Khán. This the Nawáb afforded and the combined forces attacked Dera Ghází Khán and expelled Janesar Khán. As a reward for this assistance the Nawáb obtained from Diwán Kaurá Mal a perpetual lease of *taluqa* Adam Wáhan and in that tract he made the Baháwal-wáh canal.

During this reign in 1748 A. D. Baháwalpur was founded and several other towns built including Qáimpur, Hásilpur, Toranda Ali Murád Khán, Sháhbázpur and Muhammadpur Lamma. The Nawáb also cut a canal, from the Ghárá to Paharhala, now called the Khán wáh or Nangni. The Qutbwáh was also dug by one son of the founder of Ahmadpur East and the Wáh Qádir Dinna Khán by another. Muhammad Baháwal Khán I died on the 7th of Rajb 1163 H.

1749 A. D.

NAWAB MUHAMMAD MUBARAK KHAN, THE THIRD NAWAB.

Date of accession,—7th Rajb 1163 *H.* (1749 *A. D.*).

As Nawáb Baháwal Khán had left no issue he was succeeded by his brother Mubárak Khán with the unanimous assent of the

(1) Founded by Jhorá in 1157 H or 1744 A D.

(2) Founded by Wadera Muhammad Ma[illegible] Khán Kehrani in 1154 H.

1749 A.D.

Dáúdpotras. Soon after his accession (1164 H.) the Nawáb with the aid of Muhammad Marúf Khán Wadera of Khairpur, Qáim Khán Arbáni of Qáimpur and Hásil Khán of Hásilpur wrested Marot from Jaisalmír. He also effected conquests north and west of the Sutlej and Panjnad. Madwálá and its dependencies and Shíhní Bakri, now in the Muzaffargarh District, were wrested from the Náhrs and the Bet Doma *iláqa* from Makhdúm Shaikh Rájú of Sítpur in 1164 H. The Nawáb also subdued the country opposite the present Kárdári of Minchinábád as far as Pákpattan which included the Kachhi *iláqa* with the villages of Pír Gheni, &c., now in the Montgomery District,[1] and the *iláqas* of Lodhrán and Mailsi, including the important towns of Dunyápur and Kahror, now in the Multán District.

1751-2 A.D.

In 1751 Sardár Jahán Khán, a general of Ahmad Shah Abdáli, attacked Uch, whereupon Nawáb Muhammad Mubárak Khán garrisoned Maujgarh, Marot and Phúlra with Dáúdpotras and ordered all his troops to muster in Khairpur. From Uch, Jahán Khán advanced on Baháwalpur and despatched 8,000 men to Khairpur, but in the battle which ensued this force was defeated and the victors pursued it to Lál Sohánra. Jahán Khán then consented to make peace and returned to Multán by the Fatehpur ferry.[2]

1752 A.D. 1753 A.D. 1755 A.D. 1756 A.D.

The Dáúdpotra chiefs, who were in ill-defined subjection to the Nawáb, were also actively engaged in conquest and colonization during this reign. Phúlra was re-built by Karm Khán, son of Qáim Khán Arbáni. Ikhtiyár Khán Mundháni seized Garhi Shádi Khán from the Kalhorás and re-named it after himself. Baháwal Khán Pirjáni founded Khairpur-Nauranga and cleared the Dajla-nála, a canal dug by Aurangzeb and after him called the Auranga or Nauranga-wáh. Díngarh fort was founded by Ibrahím, son of Ma'rúf Khán Kehráni, and completed by Khudá Bakhsh Khán his nephew.[3]

1759. 1760 A.D.

In 1164 H. Muhammadpur Lamma was built by Muhammad Khán, grandson of Mundhú Khán Kehráni who also dug the Muhammadwáh canal.

1757 A.D.

On the Shikárpur boundary Sabzal Khán Kehráni founded Sabzal Kot and also dug the Sabzal-wáh canal.

1757 A.D.

Meanwhile the Nawáb had erected the fort of Mubárakpur[4] near Shahr Faríd to overawe the Joiyas, and six years later he

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(1) Cf. Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, pp. 120-21; also Montgomery Gazetteer, p. 39; Sádiq-ut-Tawáríkh, p. 170; and Mirat-i-Daulat-i-Abbásiya, Vol. I.

(2) The exact date of the inroad of Jahán Khán is not known: Shahámat Ali says that when Ali (Wali) Muhammad Khán, Khákwani was appointed Governor of Dera (and Multán) he induced his master Ahmad Sháh Abdáli to despatch Jahán Khán against the Dáúdpotra territory. Now Ali Muhammad Khán was appointed Governor in 1165 H. (1751 A.D.) so Jahán Khán's invasion must have taken place about this date, say, in 1751 or 1751-2, *vide* Shahamat Ali, page 38.

(3) The Mirat-i-Daulat-i-Abbásiya however says that *Dingadh* was founded by Fazl Ali Khán and Bahádar Khán Halánis.

(4) Mubárakpur, between Sammasatta and Ahmadpur East, was also founded by the Nawáb in this year.

CHAP. I. B.
History.

attempted to fortify Tada-Wallhar, which had been leased to him by Bikáner, but the Rájá objected to the proposed fortifications and a war ensued in which the Nawáb was victorious. He then built the fort of Sardárgarh on the ruins of Wallhar to commemorate his victory. The Nawáb himself also constructed the Mubárak-wáh, Sardár-wáh, Khán-wáh and some smaller canals, which are still flowing, in the Lodhrán and Mailsi *iláqas*. Derawar was also restored to him on payment of half its revenue by Rawal Rai Singh in 1173 H. and in the same year he took Anúpgarh by stratagem from Rájá Gaj Singh of Bikáner who however re-took it in the following year. Winjhrot also fell into his hands in 1174. It had been repaired in 1757 by Warya Khán Jamráni who began levying tolls on caravans, but in 1759 Ali Murád Khán Pirjáni wrested it from him and revolted in the following year. The Nawáb accordingly seized the fort and annexed its territory.

1758 A. D.

1759 A.D.

1760 A.D.

1763 A.D.

Mad-Manthár was founded in 1763 by Manthár Núháni in Sádiqábád Kárdári and Bhímwar was taken by Ikhtiyár Khán Mundháni, who had corrupted the garrison of Ráwal Múlráj of Jaisalmír, and renamed Islámgarh. In 1761 Ghulám Sháh Kalhorá invaded the State in resentment at its having afforded an asylum to his brother Atar Khán whom he had ousted from Sind. Ghulám Sháh advanced as far as Garhi Ikhtiyár Khán, but returned to his own country on its being agreed that Atar Khán should be made over to him.

1761 A.D.

Meanwhile the Bhangi Sikhs were becoming alarmed at the rising power of the Dáúdpotras, and in 1766. Jhanda Singh, Ganda Singh and Hari Singh invaded the Nawáb's trans-Sutlej territories, but after an indecisive action Pákpattan was fixed as the boundary between the two States.[1] Five years later the Sikhs under Ganda Singh and Majja Singh invaded the Multán territory and extended their raids into the Dáúdpotra country on the right bank of the Ghara. The Dáúdpotras, under Sáhibzáda Jafar Khán (subsequently Nawáb Baháwal Khan II), met the enemy near Kahror; when Majja Singh was killed and the Sikhs abandoned the field.

1766 A.D.

1771 A.D.

In the time of Muhammad Mubárak Khán the State prospered considerably but it must be remembered that though he was the titular Nawáb of the whole State yet he was not its absolute ruler, for the tracts held by the Pirjáni, Kehráni, Arbáni, Haláni, Mundháni, Marúfáni and other Kháns were ruled by them independently. The State was in fact a confederation of several petty principalities, each of whose rulers enjoyed administrative as well as proprietary rights, under the nominal headship of the Nawáb.

1772 A. D.

Muhammad Mubárak Khán after ruling successfully for 24 years, died childless on the 3rd of Rabi-ul-Awwal 1186 H.

(1) Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, pp. 100-01; Shahámat Ali, p. 53.

NAWAB MOHAMMAD BAHAWAL KHAN II, THE FOURTH NAWAB.

CHAP. I. B.

History.

Date of accession ;—*4th Rabi-us-Sání*, 1186 *Hijri* (1772 *A. D.*)

Nawáb Mubárak Khán was succeeded by J'afar Khán, son of his brother Fateh Khán, who had been born on the very day that news of the death of Núr Muhammad Kalhorá, the Nawáb's most formidable enemy, reached the State. This coincidence was deemed to render his birth so auspicious that he was adopted by the Nawáb and although Fateh Khán had survived his brother, the Dáúdpotra brotherhood elected J'afar Khán to the throne instead of his father. He was then aged 20 and assumed the title of Muhammad Baháwal Khán II.

In 1771 A. D. Jhanda Singh attempted the conquest of Multán, and when Háji Sharíf Beg Tuglú, the Súbadár, asked for aid from Baháwalpur, the Dáúdpotra forces advanced to Multán and repulsed the Sikhs. In the following year, however, Ganda Singh Bhangi wrested Multán from Háji Sharíf and five years later Shujá Khán, the governor of Shujábád, sought the Nawáb's aid in its recovery. The Nawáb accordingly led a force to Shujábád, whence he advancing with Shujá Khán invested Multán. After a siege of 23 days the allies entered the place on the 8th of Zilhijj, put all the Bhangis to the sword and plundered the town. The Dáúdpotra forces then returned to Baháwalpur, but as the Bhangis shortly after received reinforcements from Lahore, the Nawáb was unable to retain Multán.

1772 A. D.

1777 A. D.

In 1195 H. Sháh Alam II, King of Delhi, sent Sayyid Kázim Ali Khán Bára to the Nawáb with a *firmán*, authorizing him to administer the Kachhi, and valuable *khillats* ; conferring on him the title of 'Rukn-ud-Daula, Nusrat-i-Jang, Háfiz-ul-Mulk.'[1]

1780 A. D.

The Nawáb was able to enlarge his territories by judicious matrimonial alliances. He received Khairpur-Nauranga (with the Nauranga-wáh) with the daughter of Khair Muhammad Khán Pirjáni and Ahmadpur East (with the Qutb-wáh) as the dower of the daughter of Muhabbat Khán, son of Ahmad Khán Pirjáni. He also seized *pargana* Jatoi[2] (now in the Muzaffargarh District) appointing Suhráb Khán Mahr as its Kárdár, and in 1781 the Indus, which had till that year met the Chenáb at Uch, changed its course to the west and began to flow in its present bed. By this change the southern part of the present Muzaffargarh District was exposed to the aggressions of the Nawáb and he was enabled to wrest the villages of Alipur, Shahr Sultán, Sítpur and Khairpur from the Makhdúms of Sítpur. *Talúqas* Arain, Kinjhir, Khoran,

1780 A. D.
1782 A. D.
The trans-Sutlej and Punjnad conquests.
1781 A. D.

(1) Lit 'pillar of the empire, victorious in battle ; protector of the country.'

(2) The author of the *Tarikh-i-Murád*, Vol. III, p. 469, says that the *pargana* in question was leased from the governor of *Dera Ghází Khán*, but this does not seem to be correct. The tradition is that it was conquered from the Makhdúms of Sítpur, a fact corroborated by the Muzaffargarh Gazetteer, p. 86.

CHAP. I. B.
History.

Mahra, Seri and Tarand, which form the south-western part of the present Muzaffargarh Tahsíl, were also conquered by the Nawáb from the governor of Dera Ghází Khán, between 1790 and 1800 A. D. With the *ilíqa* of Tahsíl Alipur they were known as the Kachhi-Janúbi (or Southern Kachhi), the northern portion, called the Shimáli Kachhi, being in the possession of the Nawábs of the Thal.

1783 A. D.

In 1198 H the Nawáb repaired and enlarged the fort of Winjhrot and in the same year erected a fort 24 *kos* south of Deráwar which he called Khángarh, ordering that merchandise, which used to be exported from the State *viâ* Maujgarh, should thenceforward be sent *viâ* Khángarh.

1784 A. D.

In 1784 he conquored the village of Shidáni (now in the Khán Bela *peshkári*) from Hájí Ikhtiyár Khán.

As to conquests and colonization made by the other scions of the Dáúdpotra family during this reign see Chap. IV, and the *Dáúdpotras* in Sec. C. of this Chapter.

1785 A. D

In 1200 H. Tímúr Sháh sent Sardár Madad Khán Durráni to subdue Sind, but Abd-un-Nabi Kalhorá, Núr Muhammad Khán M'arufáni, Khuda Bakhsh Khán and other Raises of Khairpur persuaded him to lead his force against Baháwalpur. The Nawáb accordingly garrisoned Deráwar and with the aid of the Arbánis, Ghumránis and other Dáudpotras strengthened the Cholistán forts. On arriving at Baháwalpur Madad Khán plundered the town and levelled its buildings with the ground He then sent a force against Deráwar, but the Nawáb despatched troops under Fazl Ali Khán Halání to meet it and he completely defeated it. Incensed by this defeat Madad Khán advanced on Deráwar in person, but returned discomfited and went on to Sind.

Invasion of Tímúr Sháh, King of Kábul
1788 A. D

Three years later Tímúr Sháh in person visited Khángarh intending to regulate affairs in Sind The Mundháni and M'arufáni Dáúdpotras seized this opportunity to incite him against the Nawáb and induced him to occupy Baháwalpur. The Nawáb, unable to encounter the powerful Durráni monarch, again abandoned Baháwalpur and took refuge in Deráwar, whence he repaired to Sardárgarh and Winjhrot. Tímúr Sháh took possession of Deráwar and garrisoned it with a regiment under Sháh Muhammad Khán Bádozai, but the Túránis having raised disturbances in Kabul he was compelled to hasten thither, and he had not gone far beyond Dera Ghází Khán when he learnt that the Nawáb had overwhelmed the Deráwar garrison and retaken Baháwalpur. The garrison consisted of Afgháns of the Práng tribe, which was settled in the Sítpur *iláqa* and the Nawáb, having sent 300 boats, captured all their women and children, and then advancing on Derawar showed them their wives and children, all of whom he threatened to kill if they did not surrender. The garrison in despair made over the fort to the Nawáb on condition that their families should be restored to them,

CHAP. I. B.
History.

and in fulfilment of this condition the Nawáb allowed them to evacuate the fort and pass through his territory unmolested.

Invasion of Tímúr Sháh, King of Kábul. 1788 A. D.

On returning to Kábul Tímúr Sháh had taken with him as a hostage the Sáhibzáda Mubárak Khán, and on hearing of the fall of Deráwar he not only refrained from injuring him but conferred on him the title of Sarbuland Khán and loaded him with favours, granting him the State of Baháwalpur by a *firmán*. By this policy Tímúr hoped to set the prince against his father and thus weaken the Abbási power, but the Nawáb took the precaution of making the prince a prisoner on his return, then crossing the Panjnad, promptly attacked Dera Ghází Khán and seized a large part of the territory under the Súbadár of Multán. He also besieged Dera Ghází Khán fort, rescued the Dáúdpotras whom Tímúr Sháh had imprisoned there, and recovered the cannon which had been taken by him at Baháwalpur.

Raids of Makhdúm Hámid Ganj Bakhsh.

Makhdúm Hámid Ganj Bakhsh of Uch Giláni, who had intrigued with the Kalhoras against the Nawáb, now allied himself with the turbulent chiefs of the Mundháni and M'arúfáni tribes, made determined efforts to disturb the peace of the Nawáb's territories and caused the *iláqa* of Ahmadpur East to be plundered by dacoits. His subsequent acts indeed showed him to be insane, and in 1797 with the assent of his relations the Nawáb resolved to make him a prisoner. On hearing of this intention the Makhdúm fled to Garhi Ikhtiyár Khán whence he implored the aid of Rájá Súrat Singh of Bikaner, Nawáb Muzaffar Khán, Súbadár of Multán and Zamán Sháh, King of Kábul In the following year, however, the Nawáb seized and confined him in his own *diwán-khána*, but he soon effected his escape and took refuge in the fort of Rám Kali, midway between Uch and Goth Channu, whence he began to carry his depredations into the neighbourhood of Ahmadpur East.

Revolts of Khudá Bakhsh Ma'rúfáni and Prince Mubárak Khán.

While Makhdúm Hámid Ganj Bakhsh was thus in arms against the Nawáb, Khudá Bakhsh Khán raised a revolt. He intrigued with the Kehráni, Jamáni, Tayyibáni, Hasnáni, Arbáni and Ma'rúfáni Dáúdpotras and also prevailed upon Súrat Singh of Bikaner to invade the State. In 1799 he succeeded in rescuing Prince Mubárak Khán from Deráwar, induced him to join in the revolt and on the 20th of Jamádi-us-Sáni proclaimed him ruler of Baháwalpur and performed his coronation ceremony. He then made overtures to Karm Khán Arbáni and Háji Khán Mundháni and they promised to aid him in an attack on the Nawáb. Khudá Bakhsh Khán, and the prince, with the Dáúdpotra and Bikaner forces, were soon encamped in force in the Masitán Garden two miles from Baháwalpur, when Makhdúm Ganj Bakhsh also joined them. The Nawáb despatched Sáhibzáda Abdulla Khán (afterwards Nawáb Sádiq Muhammad Khán II) against the rebels and on the 19th of Ramazán he defeated them. Khudá Bakhsh Khán and Prince Mubárak Khán escaped to Bikaner, and the Makhdúm and the

CHAP. I, B. History.

Further invasions of Khudá Bakhsh Khán and Súrat Singh. 1800 A. D.

Dáúdpotra Kháns also fled. Next year however Khudá Bakhsh Khán and Rája Súrat Singh again invaded Baháwalpur. They took the fort of Wallhar in 1801 A.D.; and Phulra, Mirgarh, Maujgarh and Marot soon fell in succession to the Rája. He and Khudá Bakhsh then advanced on Khairpur and the Nawáb sent Abdulla Khán to oppose them, but well-wishers of both sides intervened and Súrat Singh returned after receiving an indemnity for his expenses in the war.

Coinage. 1802 A. D.

In 1217 H the Nawáb with the permission of Sháh Mahmúd of Kábul, who sent him valuable *khillats* and the title of Mukhlis-ud-Daula opened a mint at Baháwalpur and struck gold, silver and copper coins, inscribed on the obverse—*Humayún Sháh Mahmúd*, and on the reverse—*Dár-us-Surúr Baháwalpúr.*[1] Prior to this the State had no coinage of its own.

Háji Khán Mundháni's revolt. 1802 A. D.

In 1217 H. Háji Khán Mundháni, Raís of Garhi Ikhtiyár Khán, raised disturbances and the Nawáb sent Nasír Khán Gorgej to chastise him. Nasír Khán crossed the Indus and took the forts of Sáhnowála and Naushahra, and though Háji Khán tendered his submission the Nawáb annexed his dependencies leaving him only in possession of the unconquered part of his territory.

1804 A. D.

In 1804 Sháh Shuja-ul-Mulk, the fifth son of Tímúr Sháh, marched to the Indus to regulate the affairs of the Deraját and Mukhdúm Hámid Ganj Bakhsh, Fazl Ali Khán Haláni, Islám Khán Kehráni and Háji Khán Mundháni waited on him at Rájanpur with complaints against the Nawáb, urging that he should be made to restore the territories conquered from them. Shujá-ul-Mulk deputed Ahmad Khán Núrzai to compel their restoration and the Dháka *iláqá* was surrendered to Háji Khán, but Ahmad Khán shortly after returned to Kábul and Háji Khán had then to atone for his disloyalty, for the Nawáb retook Dháka and sent a force to lay siege to Garhi Ihktiyár Khán. Harassed by the siege Háji Khán Mundháni agreed that all his territory east of Ikhtiyár-wáh should be annexed to the Nawab's dominions, only that to the west being retained by him. Nevertheless in 1806

1806 A. D.

Háji Khán, with Fazl Ali Khán Haláni and Qádir Bakhsh Khán Kehráni, again revolted and on the 14th of Muharram took Sardárgarh, whereupon the Nawáb despatched a force under Nasír Khán Gorgej and Fateh Muhammad Khán Ghori to attack Garhi Ikhtiyár Khán. On the 21st Muharram a battle ensued and the rebels shut themselves up in the fort. After a lengthy siege the Nawáb's commanders built a fort, to which they gave the name of Fatehgarh, opposite Garhi Ikhtiyár Khán, and by the 20th of Rabi-us-Sáni the cannonade from this fort told so heavily on Garhi Ikhtiyár Khán that the besieged were compelled to agree to a parley and the Nawáb imposed the following terms:—

(1) That Háji Khán Mundháni, his sons and brothers should come and pay their respects to him:

(1) *Vide* Muráá, Vol. III, p. 811; and Shahámat Ali, p. 103.

CHAP. I. B.
History.
1806 A. D.

(2) That one of the walls of the fort of Garhi Ikhtiyár Khán should be totally demolished:

(3) That Háji Khán should pay Rs. 2,00,000 as a war indemnity:

(4) That one of his sons should remain as a hostage at the court of the Nawáb: and

(5) That the power of appointing the Kárdár of Garhi Ikhtiyár Khán should rest with the Nawáb and that its revenues should be equally divided.

Háji Khán at first rejected these terms but eventually Nasír Khán captured and imprisoned him in the fort of Fatehgarh. Fazl Alí Khán Haláni and other chiefs abandoned the field and on the 29th of Ramazán Nasír Khán levelled the fort of Garhi Ikhtiyár Khán to the ground, after which he returned to Ahmadpur East. The Garhi Ihktiyár *iláqá* was thus annexed to the Nawáb's dominions.

Mr. Elphinstone and the early relations of Baháwalpur with the British.
1808 A. D.

In 1808 Mr. Elphinstone passed through the State on his way to Kábul and the Nawáb seized this opportunity to make the first treaty between Baháwalpur and the British Government. An interesting account of the visit will be found in Elphinstone's Caubul, Vol. I, pp. 23—27.

Immigration of noble families into Baháwalpur.

At this period many noble families from Lahore, Delhi, Dera Ghází Khán, Multán and other places came to Baháwalpur. Leading members of these families were given high offices by the Nawáb and settled in the State. About the same time several trans-Indus tribes crossed over into the State and settled there. Later on during the reign of Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán III, some Khákwáni, Saddozai, Ghori, Babar, Mallezai, and other Afghán families also migrated into Baháwalpur and settled permanently in the State.

Death of Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán II.
1809 A.D.

Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán II died on the 1st of Rajab 1224 H. at the age of 57 after a prosperous reign of 37 years. He left seven sons; Prince Wáhid Bakhsh Khán (Mubárak Khán), Abdulla Khán (Nawáb Sádiq Muhammad Khán II), Khudayár Khán, Nasír Khán, Faiz Muhammad Khán, Qádir Bakhsh Khán and Háji Khán. Of these the second succeeded to the throne.

NAWAB SADIQ MUHAMMAD KHAN II, THE 5TH NAWAB.

Date of accession:—1st Rajab, 1224 Hijri (1809 A. D.).

1809—1825 A. D.

No sooner was Muhammad Baháwál Khán II dead than Ghulám Husain Kashmíri, one of his attendants, having secured the keys of Deráwar fort, summoned the people and under the apprehension that Prince Wáhid Bakhsh, the eldest son of the late Nawáb, or some other prince might cause disturbances, in consultation with the State officials proclaimed Prince Abdulla Khán, Nawáb, under the title of Sádiq Muhammad Khán II.

CHAP. I. B. History.

The new Nawáb's first act was the appointment of a fresh ministry. Nasír Khán Gorgej became *madár'-ul-mahám* (chief minister); Fateh Muhammad Khán Ghorí, *sipáh sálár* (general); Maulavi Ghous Bakhsh and Gosáín Bihárji, *mushírs* (counsellers); Maulavi Sher Ali, *atáliq* (tutor); Diwán Sultán Ahmad, Nawáb Fakhr-ud-dín Gujjar, Bahár Khán Kahiri and Ghulám Qádir Khán Dáhr, *musáhibs* (aids-de-camp); Muhammad Yaqúb Khán Khás Khelí, *bakhshí fauj* (pay-master); Salámat Rai, *sarparast toshákhána*; Múl Rám, *mír munshi*; Shaikh Núr Muhammad and Maqbúl Muhammad, *názims* (collectors); Maulavi Mui'n-ud-dín, *qázi-ul-quzát* (chief qázi); and Maulavi Muhammad Azam, *tawárikh nawís* (chronicler).

In accordance with the Oriental custom the Nawáb had his unsuccessful rival the Prince Wáhid Bakhsh put to death.

Mahmúd Sháh of Kábul acquiesced in his accession and his neighbours, including Mahárája Ranjít Singh, Muzaffar Khán of Multán, the Nawáb of Mankera and the Tálpur Mírs sent the customary congratulations. Mahmúd Sháh indeed sent three officials with presents and a complimentary letter, and 1810 thus marks the final severance of the ties which bound the State to Kábul. Under the late Nawáb the Dáúdpotras' territory had for the most part been annexed to the State, and their power much weakened, but they had still influence enough to hamper the Nawáb by intrigues with foreign rulers or disloyal officials of the State, while the prevailing anarchy encouraged every petty Sirdár or *Tumandár* in the country to aim at supremacy.

Mazári and Bozdár outbreak, 1809 A.D.

In Sh'abán 1224 H. the Mazári and Bozdár Baluch seized Máchká, Bangála and other tracts, now in the Dera Ghází Khán District on the west bank of the Indus, but a force with artillery under Gul Muhammad and Mihráb Khán Gorgej captured their leaders, and, though, the Jatois had joined them, this compelled the rebels to depute their Sayyids with the Qurán to sue for pardon. This was granted and they were allowed to return to their own territory.

Inroad of Mír Sohráb Tálpur.

In the same year the Dáúdpotras, Fazl Ali Haláni and Islám Khán Kehráni induced Mír Sohráb of Khairpur to demand that their territories should be restored to them, and with Mír Ghulám Ali of Haidarábád, he gave them a body of troops to attack the Nawáb. Nasír Khán and Fateh Muhammad were sent to protect the frontier from invasion but early in Shawwál the invaders penetrated to Muhammadpur Lamma and met the Nawáb's troop at Bahádurpur. A fight ensued on the 11th of that month, but after many had fallen on both sides the Dáúdpotras, fearing the advent of reinforcements from Deráwar and Ahmadpur sued for peace. A treaty was accordingly drawn up by Nasír Khán and Walí Muhammad Khán Laghári, on the Amír's side, whereby the latter agreed to recall their troops and afford no further assistance to the Dáúdpotras, and preserve friendly relations with Baháwalpur. On

the other hand Sáhibzáda Rahímyár Khán was to be handed over to them as a hostage.

CHAP. I, B. History.

To these terms the Nawáb assented and the prince was sent, in charge of some trustworthy officers to the Tálpuri camp at Basti Warind in the Ahmadpur Lamma *peshkári*. The invaders then retired to Sind and the prince, after a detention of 14 months at Haidarábád, was released in Muharram 1225 H.

In this same year Mír Sohráb attacked the Baháwalpur frontier. He had corrupted the frontier guards and they were ready to betray their trust when the plot was discovered and the conspirators received well merited punishment. This compelled Mír Sohráb to return.

Plots in the State and invasion of the Amírs 1810 A. D.

In 1225 H. Nasír Khán Gorgej invited Mír Ghulám Ali, Raís of Haidarábád, and Mír Sohráb of Khairpur to attack the frontier posts of Baháwalpur. He won over many of the Ahlkárs of the State by promising to instal the Sáhibzáda Khudáyár Khán on the throne in the confusion resulting from this insurrection. In 1226 H. the forces of the Mírs besieged Kot Butta near Basti Sádiq Warind[1] and under the orders of Nasír Khán the besieged surrendered it without a struggle.

1811 A. D.

Nawáb Sádiq Muhammad Khán now commissioned Fateh Muhammad Ghori, Ahmad Khán Tarín and Muhammad Yaqúb, the Bakhshís of his army, to oppose the enemy. At the instance of Nasír Khán, however, he advanced to Uch by the river, and the Nawáb's army, retreated to Ahmadpur. Meanwhile Nasír Khán sent advising them to leave Uch and move towards Razá Muhammad Músáni, to intrench themselves there and prepare for battle. This was accordingly done. The Nawáb's army also made entrenchments and the fight commenced, but the Gorgej, untrue to his salt, and several other accomplices fought half-heartedly and allowed the enemy to plunder all the country from the frontier to Qáimpur. A detachment of Mír Sohráb's army[2] lay concealed in the Qutbwáh intending to plunder Ahmadpur East when suddenly the canal filled with water and their plan failed. When matters assumed this serious aspect, Nasír Khán sent his family and property from Taranda Gorgeján to Khairpur in Sind.

1811 A. D.

In 1226 H. Nasír Khán informed the Nawáb, who was then living in Deráwar, that the Amírs of Sind would only evacuate the country in the event of his sending his son and heir-apparent, Sáhibzáda Rahímyár Khán, to them. In the troubled condition of the country the Nawáb saw no other way of averting the danger than "to accept what was beyond all questions impolitic." Accordingly on the 27th Muharram, 1226 H., the Sáhibzáda followed by Mír

(1) Kot Butta is in ruins. Basti Sádiq Warind is now a railway station and is called Sádiqabád.

(2) This part of the army was commanded by Mír Mubárak, Murád III, p. 886.

CHAP. I. B. History.

Mubárak and Hálá Khán, Commandants of the Army, arrived in the Haidarábád camp at Razá Muhammad Músáni. The Amírs thus gained their end and the heir-apparent was detained for a year and four months, but with the permission of Mír Ghulám Ali of Haidarábád returned to the State on the 24th Jamádi-us-Sáni, 1227 H.[1]

Fateh Muhammad Ghori's rebellion.

The State had barely enjoyed a respite from this invasion when Fateh Muhammad Khán Ghori and other malcontent officers invited the Nawáb from Deráwar to Ahmadpur, and one Sanjár Khán Pirjáni receiving a hint from the rebels, attacked him on the way but was unsuccessful. The Nawáb reached Ahmadpur safely, but, seeing that Fateh Muhammad and his party had turned against him, returned to Deráwar. When Fateh Muhammad saw that his plans had been divulged he assumed an attitude of open hostility, and with the force under his control moved towards Baháwalpur to plunder and harass it, but Usmán Khán, Baloch, Kárdár of Baháwalpur, strengthened the fortifications of the town and thus checked his progress.

Fateh Muhammad now abandoned the town and proceeded towards Khairpur East, but seeing that Ghani Muhammad Khán Jamáni and Mír Muhammad Jamáni were ready to oppose his march, he crossed the river on the 5th Safr 1226 H. and went to Dúnyápur. Thence Ahmad Khán proceeded to Khánpur for rapine and plunder, while Fateh Muhammad went to Shujábád and incited Nawáb Sarfaráz Khán to take possession of the *iláqás* across the Sutlej. When the Nawáb learnt of his plan he ordered his Ahlkárs to devastate Jalálpur, in the territory of the Nawáb of Multán, in the event of Sarfaráz Khán's army molesting Thattha Ghalluán in Baháwalpur. Upon this Nawáb Sarfaráz Khán lost heart and all the enemies' plans were frustrated.

Sáhibzáda Ahmad Bakhsh's coronation 1811 A. D.

On 26th Safr 1226 H. the Nawáb went out hunting from Deráwar. During his absence, Mulla Hásham, Yákub Solgi, Ghází Khán Kahíri, Ramzán gunner, and other officers of the fort, at the instance of Fateh Muhammad installed the Sáhibzáda Ahmad Bakhsh, son of the Sáhibzáda Mubárak Khán, who had been murdered, on the throne, and appointed a council for the administration of the State. Sáhibzáda Khudayár Khán became Wazír and Sáhibzáda Háji Khán Commander-in-Chief, and a salute was fired from the ramparts in honour of the new Nawáb. Seeing this, some of the people who were inside the fort and were still loyal made a pretence of submission. When the sound of the firing reached the ears of the Nawáb he was taken by surprise, and returned at once, learning what had happened on the way. He endeavoured to persuade the rebels to submit, but without success, and eventually the fort was bombarded and the Nawáb entered it in triumph. Sáhibzáda Ahmad Bakhsh, his brother Sáhibzáda Muhammad Bakhsh, Sáhibzáda Háji Khán, son of Nawáb Baháwal Khán II, and Sáhibzáda Khudayár Khán were executed for this insurrection. Many rebels fled and

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[1] Murát III, p. 943.

CHAP. I, B.
History.

Fateh Muhammad Ghori, who, seeing an opportunity, was advancing towards Deráwar, turned back on hearing of the discomfiture of the rebels.

The insurrection of the Kehráni 'Arbani and Ghumráni Dáúdpotras.

In 1226 H. the Kehráni Dáúdpotras of Khairpur, the 'Arbani Dáúdpotras of Qaimpur, and the Ghumráni Dáúdpotras of Hásilpur raised the standard of rebellion at the instigation of Nawáb Sarfaráz Khán, Subadár of Multán, but Ghani Muhammad Khán Jamáni and Mír Muhammad Khán Jamáni[1] took no part in the insurrection. The Nawáb despatched a force of infantry, cavalry and artillery under Bakhshi Muhammad Yaqúb and Mir 'Ashúr Ali to suppress the rebellion. The insurgents being unable to oppose them fled from Khairpur East and crossing the Ghárá began to plunder the country beyond that river. Muhammad Yaqúb and Mír 'Ashúr then took possession of Khairpur East and hotly pursued the insurgents on the other side of the river and laying siege to Khánpur fired on the rebels with such deadly effect that the latter submitted and sued for peace. After this success, Muhammad Yaqúb proceeded with his troops to punish the allies of the Dáúdpotra rebels, and, on reaching the Shujabad frontier, sent agents on behalf of the Nawáb to persuade Sarfaráz Khán to expel Fateh Muhammad Ghori, Wali Muhammad Khán, Jamadár Ahmad Khán Tarín and the other rebels, but he refused. This led to a battle in which many were killed on both sides. Ahmad Khán was killed by a bullet and the rebel forces fled from the field. The defeat of the Dáúdpotras and their allies was received with great joy in the capital, and completely frustrated the aims of the eastern Dáúdpotras who were now finally awed into subjection.

Asad Khán, Governor of Dera Ghási Khán.

Sarfaráz Khán had incited the eastern Dáúdpotras, on the one hand, to rebel and, on the other, Asad Khán, governor of Dera Ghási Khán, to cross the Indus and invade those portions of Baháwalpur which now lie in the Muzaffargarh District. As friendly remonstrances to Asad Khán proved of no avail, Bakhshi Muhammad Yaqúb was ordered to invade the Dera Ghási Khán frontier, but he had hardly reached Kínjhir (now a part of Tahsil Muzaffargarh) when Asad Khán re-crossed the river, retired to his own boundary, and craved forgiveness[2] on payment of a war indemnity of Rs. 50,000 to the Nawáb.

Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk's visit.

Not long after Mr. Elphinstone's mission to Kábul, Shah Shuja was driven out of Kábul by his brother who usurped his throne. After passing through Wallhar or Sardárgarh, Phulra, Marot and Baháwalpur, Shah Shuja reached Pabbarhálí on the 10th Muharram 1234 H. and interviewed the Nawáb by whom he was courteously received. He requested the Nawáb to assist him in the subjugation of Dera Ghási Khán and the Nawáb gave him an army under Bakhshi Muhammad Yaqúb, with which he took

1818 A. D.

(1) Murád, Vol. III, p. 935, and Shahámat Ali, pp. 167-168.
(2) Vide note regarding Jamánis in Chapter I, Sec. C, below.

CHAP. I, B.

History.

possession of Dera Gházi Khán[1] and shortly afterwards appointed Zamán Khán his deputy there and returned to Kábul.

Sádiq Muhammad Khán's treatment of Nawáb Muzaffar Khán's family.

Nawáb Muzaffar Khán's son Nawáb Mír Báz Khán takes refuge with the Nawáb.

21st June, 1818 A.D.

On the 24th Rajab 1233 H., Kanwar Khark Singh, son of Mahárája Ranjít Singh, took the fort of Multán, and in the contest Nawáb Muzaffar Khán and five of his sons were killed. The Nawáb's sixth son submitted and his seventh son was captured. The eighth son, Mír Báz Khán, aged 14, fled with an attendant who brought him to a small *masjid* at Baháwalpur outside the Multáni Gate on the 27th Rajab 1233 H. When the Nawáb heard of this at Ahmadpur East, he returned to Baháwalpur and received Mír Báz Khán with affection conferring on him a monthly pension of 313 Ahmadpuri rupees (196 English rupees), and 9 wells as an *inám*. Rab Nawáz Khán,[2] Mír Báz Khán's nephew, also received a monthly pension of 160 Ahmadpuri rupees (100 English rupees), and 3 wells in *inám*.

Ranjít Singh and the lease of Dera Ghází Khán.

1819 A.D.

Management of Dera Ghází Khán.

1819 A.D.

In 1235 H. Ranjít Singh paid a visit to Multán and having plundered the territories of the Amírs of Sind close to Bakri, arrived at Dera Ghází Khán, which he took from Zamán Khán and made over to the Nawáb in consideration of an annual payment of 2,50,000 rupees.[3] The Nawáb appointed Ghulám Qádir Khán Dáhr to the administration of the Dera Ghází Khán District and visited it in the course of a tour in Sha'ban 1235 H., when Rahim Khán, Ráis of the Laghárís, Ghulám Haidar Khán, Ráis of the Khosas, and Asad Khán, Ráis of the Nutkannis, paid their respects to him.

Subjugation of towns.

1820 A.D.

1821 A.D.

At this period the towns of Sanghar (or Taunsa), Kila Gujri, Tibbí, and Killa Daláná, in or near the Dera Ghází Khán *iláqa* belonging to the Khosa tribe, were subjugated, and in this campaign Ghulám Haidar Khán, Tumandár of the Khosa tribe, fell fighting in 1236 H. His younger brothers, Kaura Khán and Asad Khán Nutkani submitted and gave their daughters in marriage to the Nawáb who treated them generously and in 1237 H.[4] restored Kila Gujri to Kaura Khán.

1824 A.D.

In 1824 Prince Ahsán Bakht, a son of the emperor Sháh Alam II, who had left Delhi owing to family dissensions and was living at Multán was re-called by his brother, the emperor Akbar Sháh, and on his way to Delhi halted at Baháwalpur where he was entertained by Sáhibzáda Rahímyár Khán, the heir-apparent.

Nawáb Sádiq Muhammad Khán II's death.

1825 A.D.

Nawáb Sádiq Muhammad Khán II died of consumption on Monday, the 9th Ramazán 1241 H. The greater part of his reign was passed in repelling the attacks of the Amirs of Sind, in suppressing the rebellions of his own Umras and protecting his conquered territories from aggression. The expansion of the Abbási

(1) Murad, Vol. III, pp. 961-962, and compare Muhammad Latif's History of the Punjab, p. 417, and Shahamat Ali's History, p. 175.

(2) Son of Haqq Nawáz Khán who died in the Multán War.

(3) Murád, Vol. III, p. 964, and Shahámat Ali, p. 176.

(4) Vide Murád, Vol. III, pp. 1075 and 1080; Shahamat Ali, p. 177; and compare Dera Ghází Khán Gazetteer by Mr. A. H. Diack, p. 26.

power was, moreover, checked by the rebellions of its disloyal subjects. Had there been no dissensions among the counsellors of the Abbási family and had the old counsellors loyally co-operated in pursuing the policy of Muhammad Baháwal Khán II, the State would have occupied a greater space on the map. But, notwithstanding these civil wars, the success of the Baháwalpur arms in the wars with the Biloches of Dera Gházi Khán and Sarfaráz Khán was not without credit. The Nawáb left three sons, *viz.*, Sáhibzáda Rahímyár Khán, who succeeded him, Azímyár Khán, and Muhammad Ja'far Khan.

NAWAB MUHAMMAD BAHAWAL KHAN III, THE SIXTH NAWAB, THE GENEROUS.

Date of Accession :—9th Ramzán 1241 *Hijri* (1825 *A D.*)

1825 to 1852 A.D.

On the death of Sádiq Muhammad Khán II, his son, Rahímyár Khán, succeeded him, with the title of Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán III, and ascended the throne at Deráwar. The following ministry was formed on his accession :—

1.	Wazír	Muhammad Yaqúb, the late Bakhshi.
2.	Bakhshi of the army	Moti Rám.
3.	Mír Munshi	Múl Rám.
4.	Principal officers	1. Shaikh Maqból Muhammad. 2. Shaikh Núr Muhammad.
5.	Governor of Dera Ghazi Khán	Muhammad Qáim.
6.	Ambassadors in Foreign Courts	Sayad Ghulám Mustafa Sháh, Gudhári Lál, Chaman Lál, Izzat Rai and Ghulám Hasan.
7.	Officer in charge of the Toshakhána	Salámat Rai.
8.	Musáhibs	Diwán Sultán Ahmad and Khwája Zain-ul-A'bidín.

Exchange of presents.

On his accession to the throne the Nawáb sent presents to Mahárája Ranjít Singh on 18th Zilhuj, 1241 H., and the Mahárája also sent his congratulations and presents.(1)

Mutiny of the Rohilla troops.

Immediately after his accession the Nawáb had appointed Muhammad Yaqúb Wazír in recognition of his services. He was an excellent soldier, but entirely wanting in the qualities necessary in a Wazír, and his administration resulted in grave discontent. The Rohilla troops mutinied and clamoured for pay. Simultaneously Ranjít Singh began to press for payment of the *nazarána* due for the District of Dera Gházi Khán. The Wazír was reprimanded by the Nawáb, but his only reply was to betake himself to prayer and meditation. Meanwhile the Rohilla revolt had become serious and troops had to be sent to Uch to suppress it, but the mutineers, throwing themselves into the Khángah of Sher Sháh Sayyid Jalál, fired on the Nawáb's troops who, in replying, half

(1) *Vide* Murád's *History*, Vol. IV, para 5 Mahárája Ranjít Singh sent the following presents :—

1. *Chogha* studded with jewels ; 2. *Tika* studded with jewels ; 3. Pearl-necklaces ; 4 *Kangan* or bangles studded with jewels ; 5. *Páisúband* or bracelet studded with jewels ; 6. Forty *Kimkhábs, lungis, &c.* ; 7. Two [illegible] with strappings.

CHAP. I. B. History. destroyed the shrine. Eventually, however, they sued for mercy and having been paid their dues were disbanded.

General Ventura's invasion. Treaty with the East India Company. As the sum due for the lease of Dera Ghâzi Khán had not been paid for several years, Ranjít Singh sent a force under General Ventura to expel the Nawáb's officials from that District without giving him any opportunity for parley. General Ventura occupied the tracts now in the Dera Ghâzi Khán, Muzaffargarh and Multán Districts, and they thus passed from the rule of the State.[1] The Nawáb was deeply chagrined at this loss. Alliances with the neighbouring States, Sind, Bikaner or Jaisalmír, were out of the question, for they were already bitterly hostile to Baháwalpur and their power was not great. He was therefore already anxious for an alliance with the British, when Ranjít Singh sent a large force under Shám Singh, Atáriwálá, to Kahror, with instructions to invade the State on any pretext. Thereupon the Nawáb sent an envoy to the Governor-General at Simla to invoke his intervention and prevent Ranjít Singh's crossing the Sutlej. He also solicited the appointment of a British Agent at Baháwalpur. To these requests Lord William Bentinck acceded and Ranjít Singh was warned not to cross the Sutlej.

The treaty of 1833. Captain Wade, Political Agent at Ludhiána, was then deputed to Baháwalpur to negotiate a treaty, and Lieutenant Mackeson accompanied him. Captain Wade laid stress on the desirability of developing the commerce of the State and also advised the Nawáb to reclaim the Baháwalgarh *iláqa*, in the dense jungles of which criminals who had escaped from Ranjít Singh's dominions found a refuge, thus giving the Mahárája just cause of complaint against the State. On the other hand, as the Nawáb represented, discontented persons

(1) The following statement shows the income of the territory thus lost to the State :—

District.	Number of Talaqás	Number of villages.	Income according to different currencies. Shajáwal currency one rupee = 13 annas and 9 pies.	The Sikka of 1224 H., one rupee = 13 annas.	Total of Shajáwáli and San 1224 Sikkas.	Equivalent to English (Indian) currency after deduction discount on account of Shajáwáli and San '24 Sikkas.	Income in kind calculated at the rate of English (Indian money). Weight. Máni.	Maunds.	Value in English (Indian) money.	Total in English (Indian) money of the Income shown in columns 7 and 10.
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.			Rs.	Rs.
Montgomery	4	41	-	3,675	3,675	2,980	1,050	109	6,302	9,288
Multán ...	41	331	...	1,16,826	1,16,826	94,021	8,876	860	1,53,751	2,48,678
Muzaffargarh	19	19		3,48,176	3,48,176	2,82,893			...	2,82,893
D. G. Khán ..	36	30	2,94,627	43,891	3,38,617	2,88,942	..	...	...	2,88,942
Total Districts	100	435	2,94,627	5,12,568	8,07,295	6,69,742	9,926	969	1,60,053	8,29,696

CHAP. I, B.

History.

of the Shahr Faríd tract often committed offences in Baháwalpur and then sought an asylum in the Sikh dominions. The result of these negotiations was the treaty of February 22nd, 1833, and under clause 4 of that treaty Lieutenant Mackeson became Political Agent at Baháwalpur. A Supplementary Treaty was ratified on March 5th, 1835 and in 1838, in 1840 and 1843 other treaties followed, by which the tolls on merchandise transported by the Indus were greatly reduced and a scale of duties fixed on merchandise transported by land. Finally in 1847 the Nawáb agreed to abolish all duties without compensation. In 1838 Sháh Shujá having been deposed at Kábul and Mahmúd Shah placed on the throne the original treaty of 1833 was renewed and the Nawáb facilitated the passage of troops owing to the Afghán war, constructing a military road through the State. Lieutenant Mackeson was then succeeded by Dr. Gordon.

Aitchison's Treaties, No. LXXXVII, Volume IX, page 191.

Aitchison's Treaties, No. LXXXVIII, Volume IX, page 193, Nos. LXXXIX, XC and XCI, *Ibidem.*

Sháh Shujá, 1838.

Sháh Shuja-ul-Mulk, accompanied by Sir W. Macnaughten and the forces under General Nott, reached Baháwalpur on December 22nd, 1838, and valuable presents were exchanged. The march was resumed on December 26th, the Nawáb despatching 100 *sowárs* under Jamadár Ghulám Hasan Khán Bábí and Jahán Khán Gandapur with the British Army. On November 17th, 1839, the news of the occupation of Kábul was received and Baháwalpur and Ahmadpur were illuminated in honour of the event.

Aitchison's Treaties, No. XCII, Volume IX, page 198.

Captain Thomas succeeded Dr. Gordon as Political Agent in July 1840. In 1839 the Nawáb built the extensive buildings at Dahri between Ahmadpur East and Deráwar, and also re-excavated the Auranga or Nauranga Nálá at a cost of over Rs. 50,000.

In 1842 the *parganas* of Kot Sabzal and Bhúng Bhárá, lost to the State in 1807, were conquered by the British from the Mírs of Sind and restored to the State by Sir Charles Napier as a special mark of the favour of the British Government. They form one of the most fertile territories of the State, and were thus worth Rs. 82,500 in Haidarabad currency, Kot Sabzal paying Rs. 36,500, Bhúng Bhárá Rs. 22,300, *táluqa* Pakka Bhutta Rs. 16,200 and *táluqa* Chak and Kammún Shahíd Rs. 8,000.

The Amír Ali Akbar Khán's letter.

On the 25th July 1842 the following letter was received by the Nawáb from Amír Ali Khán, son of the Amir Dost Muhammad of Kábul:—

"We have murdered Sir Alexander Burnes and all the baggage belonging to British Government has come into our possession. The beggars of this country have been enriched at the expense of the British treasury. This is the present condition of this country and you should now be ready to advance the cause of friendship between the two Muhammadan States."

The Nawáb forwarded this letter to the Native Political Agent with a *parwána* in which it was stated that one Ramzán Khán, Afghán, had brought it with 100 pistols, a telescope, a gun and a compass, and that it had been ordered that he should be driven

CHAP. I. B.

History.

across the river with contumely, and the presents he had brought returned to him. The Nawáb was thanked by the Governor-General for his loyalty. In May 1843 the Nawáb received a second letter from Amír Ali Akbar, which was also handed over to the British Government.

Captain Charles Graham succeeded Captain Thomas as Political Agent on the 23rd of September 1843, but was compelled to take leave to England on the 3rd of December in that year.

The Sanjrána *tháná* established.

In November 1843, Mr. Robinson, the Magistrate of Sirsa, represented to the Nawáb who was on tour at Baháwalgarh that it was essential for the prevention of crime in 'Aasfwála, Mamdot and Abohar that the Sanjrána tract should be brought under cultivation and a Police post established there at the joint cost of the State and the British Government. The Nawáb acceded to this suggestion but preferred to construct the post solely at his own cost, placing in it a strong body of State *sowárs*. This post was named Saádatgarh, after the Nawáb's son who afterwards succeeded him for a time.

Cession of the 'Aasfwála *táluqa*.
Aitchison's Treaties, No. XCI, Volume IX, page 197.

In order to give affect to the treaty of September 11th, 1843, the Agent to the Governor-General (Colonel Hamilton), Major Mackeson and Captain Morrison arrived at Baháwalpur in January 1844 and obtained the Nawáb's consent to the cession of the 'Asafwála *táluqa* which comprised the major portion of the Wattu territory, thus extending the boundaries of the British *iláqa* of Abohar to the bank of the Ghárá or Sutlej. The details of the villages ceded in the boundary fixed were embodied in a *kharita*, dated February 7th, 1844. Their revenue amounted to Rs. 25,000 and they included the Saádatgarh post.

Demarcation of the Bikaner boundary.

In 1845 Lieutenant Cunningham, Assistant Agent to the Governor-General, laid over the boundary between the States of Baháwalpur and Bikaner.

The Multán campaign.

When the rebellion of Múl Ráj at Multán broke out Mr. Vans Agnew despatched a letter which reached the Political Agent Pír Ibráhím Khán on the 21st April 1848, informing him of that event and of Captain Anderson's wound, and requesting that a force with artillery and stores should be despatched to Multán by the State. A force was about to start when on the 22nd April Vans Agnew's servant arrived with the news that his master and Captain Anderson had been murdered, and in consequence of this the order to march was countermanded.(1) On April 27th the Nawáb received a communication from the Resident at Lahore asking him to despatch a strong force under a capable Commander to Multán, and on the 29th a second communication asked him to attach all the property of Múlráj in the State and expel his *vakil* from Baháwalpur. Meanwhile Múlráj had sent two men into Baháwalpur to enlist recruits with the offer of high pay. These men were expelled from the State. On the 17th May the Nawáb received word from his

(1) Edwardes, Vol. II, p. 198; Murad, Vol. IV, para. 119.

The Multán campaign.

vakils at Lahore that the Resident desired that the Baháwalpur forces should cross the Sutlej and reinforce Shaikh Imám-ud-dín and Rája Sher Singh. Replying that he would do so, the Nawáb received a further communication from the Resident, desiring him to hold as much of the country as possible and warning him that his force was responsible for the protection of the people, the collection of the Rabi revenue and the general peace of the country until the British army should arrive. The Nawáb was also requested to occupy the Sutlej ferries.

On May 25th Lieutenant Edwardes requested that a body of troops might be sent to Kot Kamman to support Ghulám Mustafá Khán Khákwáni, who had risen against Diwán Múlráj. He wrote that the rebels were in force and intended to attack Leiah, then cross the Indus and attack Dera Ismail Khán. To prevent this he asked the Nawáb to send his force across the river on to Multán, by which movement he would compel the Diwán to abandon his designs on Leiah. A few days later Edwardes advised the Nawáb, who had been told by the Resident at Lahore that he was responsible for the whole country from the ferries on the Sutlej to the gates of Multán, that it would be advisable for him to cross the Jalálpur ferry and advance on Multán *viá* Shujabad if he considered that by this movement he would compel the Diwán to re-call Harbhagwán who was threatening Dera Ghází Khán, otherwise that it would be better for the Nawáb to cross by the Damarwála ferry at Khángarh and join him.[1] The Nawáb judged it best to advance on Shujabad. He also prevented arms, horses, etc., from being sent to Multán by the ferries in the State, and garrisoned Kotli Adil with 500 horse and 100 foot to protect it from the exactions of the Diwán's officials.

On May 27th Pir Ibráhím Khán, the Native Agent, under orders from the Resident, requested the Nawáb to despatch a force for the subjugation of the Multán territory and on the 28th two regiments, 200 cavalry and 5,000 *jágírdárs* levies with 9 guns and 100 ammunition waggons under Fateh Muhammad Khán Ghori marched from Ahmadpur. Passing Jalálpur on May the 31st this force reached Bilochán on June the 2nd and Jalálpur Sádátwála on the 3rd of June. News of its despatch was sent to Lieutenant Edwardes, with the intimation that 1,500 men under Muiz-ud-dín had been sent to Sítpur and 400 under Charkanda Mal towards the Sadárwáh Náli to ensure the peace of those parts. Pir Ibráhím Khán accompanied the main force. On May 31st received a letter from the Resident asking him to invest Múlráj in Multán. When the force under Muiz-ud-dín and Dín Muhammad Sháh reached Alipur they surprised Múlráj's deputy, Jawáhir Mal, who was engaged there in collecting the revenue with a force of 100 horse and 100 foot. An engagement ensued in which Jawáhir Mal lost 109 men killed, and fled with the remainder.[2]

(1) Murád, Vol. IV, para. 127.
(2) Edwardes, Vol. II, p. 345; Murad, Vol. IV, para. 185.

CHAP. I. B.
History.
The Multán campaign.

It was now resolved, under instructions from Lahore, that the Baháwalpur forces should join Edwardes' levies in an advance on Shujabad, and on the 12th of June the troops accordingly marched under Fateh Muhammad Khán to Ganban. Edwardes also reached that place, where, at his request, the Nawáb had provided boats for the transport of his levies across the Chenáb, and thence marched to Khángarh. Here he wrote on June 14th that he was advancing to join the Bahawalpur forces, and that he had received news that Múlráj intended to attack the State forces before the junction could be effected. He advised that the Baháwalpur troops should entrench till his arrival and only give battle if attacked. Accordingly the State troops entrenched at Basúri on June 17th, Edwardes meanwhile awaiting General Van Cortlandt's arrival at Khángarh. On the 18th the troops advanced to the Gagiánwála ferry near Kanbiri to keep the enemy, who was close at hand, in check. Edwardes' levies numbered 2,000 horse and foot, and the total strength of the Baháwalpur force sent to co-operate with him was 7,129 infantry, 2,449 cavalry, 14 horse artillery guns, and 18 camel-swivels.[1] The State forces next marched on Rawána near Basúri, whereupon Múlráj's troops advanced from Kanbiri to Núnár and attacked them; but they fought with courage and steadiness until Edwardes arrived and, after viewing their dispositions, obtained from Van Cortlandt a reinforcement of 6 guns and two regiments of regular infantry, which joined in the fight. After an attack which lasted from 8 A.M. to 5 in the evening the enemy retreated, the State levies capturing 6 guns, while Edwardes took two and a quantity of stores.[2] The State troops lost 81 horses and 14 foot killed.

On June 19th Van Cortlandt effected a junction with the allied troops and on the same day, under Edwardes' orders, the Baháwalpur force advanced from Núnár to within three miles of Shujabad. Edwardes reached their camp on June 20th and directed Pír Ibráhím Khán and Fateh Muhammad Khan to attack the fort, but the Hindu *mukhis* and *chaudhris* brought in petitions, addressed to Edwardes and Pír Ibráhím Khán, from the *qiladár*, Qádir Bakhsh Khán, offering its unconditional surrender. It was accordingly occupied and garrisoned, and on June 22nd Edwardes and Van Cortlandt entered it with the rest of the State troops. On June 26th the allied forces marched to Sikandarabad, where a small force of the enemy was stationed, but it sued for terms and the place was occupied without opposition. Next day the troops reached Adhiwála and on the 27th Súrajkund. Here, on the 28th, Lieut. Lake joined the State force as Political Agent, after visiting the Nawáb at Ahmadpur on the 26th.[3] On June 29th the allies reached Káyánpur and on July 1st Arbi. At noon Múlráj marched out of Multán on the Faiz Bágh to attack them, but after an obstinate contest he was driven back and compelled to retreat

(1) *Vide* Murad, Vol. IV, 135; also Edwardes, Vol. II, 466.
(2) Murád, Vol. IV, para. 146; Edwardes, Vol. II, p. 339.
(3) Edwardes, Vol. II, p. 366; Murad, Vol. IV, para. 153.

into the fort, with a few troops who had entrenched themselves behind some trees at Saddo Hisám. The allies in this affair captured 2 guns and 30 prisoners, and the State troops lost Captain Macpherson, 14 men killed and 4 men wounded.[1] The allies then marched into the Hámid Sháh Bágh on July 2nd. On the 26th the rebels closed the Wali Muhammad canal in order to cut off their supply of water, but the Baháwalpur troops and a part of Edwardes' forces dug *mohánas* or outlets and let in water from the Chenáb into a *nullah* which passed near their camp. On September 1st Lake and Edwardes moved from Surajkund to Bágh Katta Bairági and, on the enemy's opening fire from Jog Máyá, that place was attacked by the Baháwalpur troops under Lake and the enemy driven back on to the Shidi Lál mound, the State troops losing 11 killed and 25 wounded and earning Lake's unqualified praise for their conduct.[2] On September 12th Lake, with the allied forces, attacked Okhára Gopál Dás and defeated the Sikhs who lost 800 men, he himself being wounded in this affair. Desultory fighting then ensued until October 3rd, when Lake gave every Baháwalpur gunner a reward of Rs. 100 for their services in the siege. On October 7th Múlráj and Sher Singh posted 18 guns near Jog Máyá and the allies entrenched in the Wali Muhammad canal and repulsed the sortie. Another attempted attack on Katta Bairági was defeated on the 31st and from November 1st to 5th daily sorties at various points were driven back. On the 6th, a courageous onslaught was made on the State troops under Lake with no better success, and their losses from the 1st to the 6th were only 2 killed and 15 wounded. On the 7th General Whish selected 2,000 men, half from the Baháwalpur troops and half from Edwardes' levies, for an attack on the enemy's entrenchment, but 4 companies of sepoys under Van Cortlandt mutinied and attacked Shaikh Imám ud-Dín and a Baháwalpur regiment, and though the mutineers were soon dispersed great confusion was caused. Nevertheless Lake succeeded in destroying the enemy's entrenchment with the aid of the State troops, who lost 5 killed and 88 wounded on that date. Fighting continued round the Fort of Multán till January 20th when Múlráj, despairing of further resistance, surrendered to General Whish. From November 8th to the close of the campaign the State troops had lost 24 killed and 2 wounded. On January 29th Lake presented the Baháwalpur commandant with a gold bracelet, a pearl necklace and a costly sword. Rewards were subsequently presented in January 1851 to 49 officers of the force by Mr. Chamberlain on behalf of the Board of Administration. In recognition of the Nawáb's services Lord Dalhousie bestowed upon him a pension of Rs. 1,00,000 a year for life, in addition to a lump sum of Rs. 8,00,000 for the services of his troops.[3]

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(1) Punjab Blue Book 1847-49, p. 242; Edwardes, Vol II, p 377.
(2) Murad, Vol. IV, para 178.
(3) At the rate of Rs. 1,00,000 a month for the eight months from June 1st, 1848 to January 29th, 1849. Edwardes, Vol. II, 606.

CHAP. I, B.

History.

Delimitation of Bikanir and Jaisalmir borders.

In November 1849 Captain Beecher, who had been appointed to decide the boundary disputes between Baháwalpur and the States of Bikanir and Jaisalmír, reached Baháwalpur and proceeded to demarcate the boundaries on the north-west of Bikanir and the north of Jaisalmír, placing pillars at Ruknpur, Islámgarh, Barsalpur and other places, and masonry pillars were then erected by the *kárdárs*.[1]

Interview with Lord Dalhousie.

At the invitation of Messrs. Hansel and John Lawrence, Members of the Board of Control, the Nawáb, accompanied by Sáhibzadás Sa'ádatyár Khán, Mubárak Khan and Muhammad Khan and other nobles of the State, with an escort of 1,000 foot, 400 *sowárs* and 2 guns, visited Multán and had an interview with Lord Dalhousie on the 31st of December 1849, at which he was thanked for his services in the Multán campaign. The Nawáb at this interview presented a *kharita* containing four requests: (1 that Sa'ádatyár Khán should be recognised as his heir instead of Háji Khán, Sáhibzáda; (2) that he should receive a grant of land in *jágír* in lieu of the pension of one *lakh* a year; (3) that the territories formerly held in *ijára* from Ranjit Singh beyond the rivers should be granted to him on lease; and (4) that the Kot Sabzal *iláqa* granted to him should be extended to Rohri as promised by General Napier. On the 18th January the Government of India replied, acknowledging Sa'ádatyár Khán as heir-apparent, and presented him with 21 *khillats*.

1850.

Visit to Delhi.

The Nawáb was greatly affected by the death of his spiritual guide Khwája Sulaimán of Taunsa Sharíf, who died on the 7th of Safr 1266 H. and from that date applied no dye to his beard. He also resolved on a pilgrimage to the shrines of the Chishti Khwájas at Delhi and Ajmer. He was hospitably received at Mamdot, where the Faqírs, Siráj-ud-Dín and Shah Nawáz-ud-Dín of Lahore, met him and the influence of that family in the State dates from this visit.

Pír Ahmad Khán, Political Agent.

During Pír Ibrahím Khan's absence in England from November 1850 to May 1852 Pír Ahmad Khan acted as Native Political Agent in the State.

The Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán III had been ill for some time when he succumbed to an attack of fever on the 5th Muharram 1269 H. (19th October 1852) at Deráwar. He left six sons, of whom the eldest but one, Sa'adatyár Khán, succeeded him under the title of Nawáb Sadíq Muhammad Khán III.

NAWAB SADIQ MUHAMMAD KHAN III, THE SEVENTH NAWAB.

Date of Accession—5th Muharram, 1269 *Hijri* (19*th October* 1852 *A.D*).

1852 A. D.

As the succession to the throne had been conferred by the late Nawáb on Sa'ádatyár Khan and the Government of India had recognized his nomination, he ascended the throne without contention

[1] The forts at Ruknpur, Islamgarh, &c., were then in charge of *kárdárs*.

CHAP. I, B. History.

on his father's death, and on the 28th of Muharram (November 11th, 1852) the second turban was placed on his head by the Giláni Makhdúm (Ganj Bakhsh) of Uch, the Bukhári Makhdúm (Naubahár,) and Khuda Bakhsh of Chácharan Sharíf, at Deráwar. The Nawáb made the following appointments:—

Prime Minister, Munshi Chaukas Rai; Superintendent of the Toshakhána, Lálá Salámat Rai; Mír Munshi, Lála Khán Chand; Chief of the Diwáni, Mulla Jiwan; Názim of the Khanpur *iláqa*, Muizz-ud-Dín, Khákwáni.

The Nawáb's conduct, however, soon led to his downfall. He had, in the lifetime of the late Nawáb, procured the Sahibzada Háji Khan's confinement in the fortress of Dingarh, and on the day after his accession he had him removed to Fatehgarh, 18 miles south of Deráwar, where he was treated with great harshness, only one Baháwalpuri rupee with 12 *chhitaks* of flour being daily allowed for his subsistence and a single servant appointed to attend him. A soldier with a drawn dagger remained constantly on guard over the prisoner. This treatment excited the indignation of the Dáúdpotras. The Nawab's other brothers were also kept in confinement and closely guarded. On the 11th of Muharram the Nawab dismissed several officials, including Captain John Hole who had done the State good service at Multán, and Jamadár Ahmad Khán Mallezai (subsequently Wazír of Muhammad Baháwal Khán IV). The latter was banished with his family and one of his secretaries maltreated. The Nawáb also suspected Faqír Siráj-ud-Dín of intriguing with Háji Khán, and the Faqír to escape arrest left the State on the 1st of Rábi-us-Sáni.

Retrenchments of the Nawáb.

Sir Henry Lawrence had advised the Nawáb to curtail his expenditure and retrenchments were carried out, many horsemen being dismissed and only a few attendants retained in the Nawáb's service. The usual perquisites of the Dáúdpotras and others at an accession were diminished and their rights or claims overlooked.

These acts resulted in much popular discontent. Captain Hole, Siráj-ud-Din and other refugees made Adam Wahan a centre of intrigue with the chiefs of the Lamma and the Dáúdpotras, their object being to place Háji Khán on the throne with the assistance of Aqil Khán, Sardár Khán and Asad Khán, Achranis, his maternal uncles. They also won over Bangal Khán, Bahram Khán Chándia, Ali Bakhsh, and Ahmad Khán Dashtis, Khuda Bakhsh Khán Haláni, Allah Bacháya Khán, Muhammad Yár Khán, and Khán Muhammad Khán, Achrani, and the conspirators bound themselves by an oath on the Qurán to rescue the prince Háji Khán.

Accordingly on the 29th of Rabi-us-Sáni, 1269 H., they set out for Fatehgarh at the head of 100 Dáúdpotras and began to break in the gateway of the fort by night. The garrison in terror threw open the gates. On their entrance a Hindu attempted to kill Háji Khán, but was prevented by Ali Bakhsh Dashti, who would have

CHAP. I. B. History. Retrenchments of the Nawáb.

killed the man with his own sword, which he had snatched from him, but for the prince's intervention. The conspirators carried the prince for three miles on their shoulders and then placing him on a camel carried him to Khánpur where Siráj-ud-Dín, Captain Hole, and Ghulám Muhammad Khán Mallezai, brother of Jamadár Ahmad Khán, joined them. Other Dáúdpotras and minor chiefs of the Lamma also came in.

News of this event reached the Nawáb on the 9th of February and he was advised to set out at once in pursuit of Háji Khán, but disregarding all counsel he contented himself with issuing orders to the officers at Khánpur to capture the prince. But Háji Khán had already appointed a new commander at that place and had already gathered a force of 5,000 men with ample supplies, artillery and ammunition. The Nawáb then placed Fateh Muhammed Khán Ghori in command of his troops, giving Rs. 30,000 to Jamadár 'Muizz-ud-Dín Khán Khákwáni to raise troops and a similar sum to Sarfaráz Khán to win over Háji Khán's adherents. Yet three days later the command of the whole army was given to Muizz-ud-Dín and Fateh Muhammad posted with some troops at Ahmadpur East. Háji Khán now proceeded to send letters to the officers of Sa'ádatyár Khán and won most of them over to his side, only the Thánadar of Ahmadpur East and Munshi Salámat Rai sending the letters addressed to them to the Nawáb and imprisoning the bearers. These letters made the Nawáb suspect that all his officers had been tampered with and he despatched Salámat Rai on a mission to strengthen the Dáúdpotras of the Ubha in their allegiance, but it was too late. Jamadár 'Muizz-ud-Dín, Sher Ali Sháh, Yusaf Ali Sháh, of the army, and the courtiers, Rájan Bakhsh, Sayyid Khuda Bakhsh, Ali Gauhar Khán and Muhammad Razá Khán had sent secret assurances to Háji Khán that if he entered Ahmadpur East he would meet with no opposition.

On the 12th February 1853 the forces of the Nawáb arrived at Goth Channi, where they found a large force under Ahmad Khán Dashti and Bahrám Khan Chándia ready to oppose them. The Nawáb's commanders sent to him soliciting instructions whether they should hazard an action or overawe the enemy by a waiting policy. In reply the Nawáb sent order to Muizz-ud-Dín and Sardár Khan Lakkozai to give every soldier a gratuity and thus encourage them to overcome the enemy, but his orders were not faithfully obeyed, for though Sarfaráz Khan paid the cavalry their gratuities, the infantry received nothing and took an oath to oppose the Nawáb. On the 15th February Faqír Siráj-ud-Dín, Ali Gauhar Khán and Ahmad Khan Chándia with 4,000 men advanced on Goth Channi and began to seduce the Nawáb's forces from their allegiance by promises, with the result that on the 17th of February the disaffected infantry with six guns went over in a body to Háji Khán, while their officers, some of whom were already inclined towards him, dispersed to their homes.

On the 18th of February Háji Khán having settled the affairs of Khánpur arrived at Chaudhri, the people on his road submitting to him. At sunset on the evening of the 19th he entered Ahmadpur East. The town was illuminated and salutes fired, and here Háji Khan assumed the title of Nawáb Fateh Khan.

CHAP. I, B. History. Retrenchments of the Nawáb.

On the 20th of February the garrison of Deráwar sent a message to the new Nawáb tendering their submission, and he appointed Faqír Siráj-ud-Din to the command of his forces with orders to occupy Deráwar, the garrison of which joined him on his arrival there. Munshi Chaukas Rai with his family was captured in attempting to leave the fort and on him were found 10,000 *mohars* in gold and jewels and the draft of a treaty which showed that he had intended to go to Lahore and solicit the aid of the British. After the fall of Deráwar Sa'ádatyár Khán was imprisoned at a grain store-house, and his supporters placed in chains. The new Nawáb entered Deráwar on the 22nd of February in triumph and gave Sa'ádatyár Khán his life.

NAWAB FATEH MUHAMMAD KHAN OR FATEH KHAN, THE EIGHTH NAWAB.

Date of Accession—11th Jamadi-ul-awwal, 1269 Hijri (23rd February 1853).

1853-58 A. D.

Although the Sáhibzádá Háji Khán had adopted the title of Nawáb Fateh or Fateh Muhammad Khan at Ahmadpur yet the ceremonies of accession were not formally celebrated till the 23rd February 1853 in Deráwar Fort. The deposed Nawáb was removed from the *bhándá* (grain store-house) and kept in confinement in a comfortable residence. Nawáb Sa'adatyár Khan sent the crown and jewels which he had in his possession to Nawáb Fateh Khán, but the latter with great generosity not only returned them but also sent him many valuable presents, and deputed a large number of servants to attend him assuring him that no change would be made in his treatment, except that he would remain in custody.

The Nawáb also released his other brothers and treated them with kindness. He issued orders recalling the servants dismissed or deported by Nawáb Sa'adatyár Khán and appointed the following persons to high offices :—

Faqír Siráj-ud-Dín	Wazír of the State.
Faqír Sháh Nawáz-ud-Dín ...	General of the Army.
Aqa Iqbál	Colonel in the Army.
Áqil Muhammad Khán Achráni	Commander of the Army.
Muhammad Yár Khán Achráni ..	Bakhshi of the Army.
Fazl Muhammad Kahiri ...	Manager of the Tosha Khana.
Qabil Muhammad	Officer in charge of the Abdár Khána (Kitchens and Drinks).
Maulavi Muzaffar-ud-Dín ...	Parwáná Nawís.
Qázi-ul-Quzát	Maulavi Jamíl-ud-Dín.
Qázi of Ahmadpur and Baháwalpur	Qázi Muhmúd-ud-Dín.

CHAP. I. B.

History.

Jamadars	... ...	Sardár Khán Achráni, Muhammad Arif.
		Asad Khán, and Alla Bachaya Khán.
Manager of private affairs	...	Nihálú Rám.
Adálatis (Judges)	... ...	(1) Maulavi Faiz Muhammad. (2) Qázi Ahsánullah. (3) Maulavi Wali Muhammad.

Gifts.

On the 14th of Jamádi-ul-awwal the Nawáb distributed rewards among the officers and nobles by whose aid he had acceded to the throne. Some two *lakhs* of rupees were thus spent. He ordered the continuance of the allowance of some of the Dáúdpotras and nobles which had been resumed by Nawáb Sa'ádatyár Khan and thereby conciliated his servants and chiefs. Thinking, however, that if Munshi Chaukas Rai remained alive it would be politically dangerous, Faqír Siráj-ud-Dín sent him to the Fort of Islámgrah and secretly instructed his escort to murder him on the way at a suitable opportunity. This order was carried out and the Munshi's body buried under a heap of sand.

Murder of Munshi Chaukas Rai, Wazir.

The arrangements of the British Government as to the deposed Nawáb.

On the 5th of March 1853 Pír Ibrahim Khan, the Native Political Agent, presented the Nawáb with a letter from Sir John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, requesting that the deposed Nawáb should be sent with his family to Multán. The Nawáb in reply wrote that he had no hesitation in obeying the orders of the British Government, but, as a matter of fact, he had only made good his right to the throne which he had obtained and that he was not the mortal enemy of Sa'ádatyár Khán, and that he did not think it proper to keep the Nawáb in Multán, and that he would not object if the British Government sent the deposed Nawáb to Lahore or Jullundur. On the 15th March 1853 a letter from the Chief Commissioner requested the Nawáb to send his deposed brother with his family to Lahore, adding that the British Government recognised him as the ruler of Baháwalpur, and on the 30th March, Mr. P. M. Edgeworth, Commissioner of Multán, arrived at Baháwalpur. The Nawab then requested that Sa'ádatyár Khán should be handed over to the British Government provided he relinquished his claims and drew up a formal deed of abdication. Accordingly, Sa'ádatyár Khán was brought to Baháwalpur on the 1st April, and Mr. Edgeworth went with Pír Ibrahím Khán to his camp as desired by the Nawáb, and told him that he could be released according to the recommendation of the British Government on the following conditions:—

(1) That he should receive a pension of Rs 1,600 from the State treasury, and

(2) that he should live at Lahore or Jullundur, whichever place he might select.

The deposed Nawáb accepted these conditions, but requested that his brother and mother should also be allowed to accompany

CHAP. I. B.

History.

him. At first Nawáb Fateh Khán objected to this request, but ultimately, on the recommendation of Mr. Edgeworth, assented to it.

The arrangements of the British Government as to the deposed Nawáb.

A public Darbár was again held on the 2nd of April. The Commissioner of Multán repeated the conditions of release to the deposed Nawáb, made over his deed of abdication to Nawáb Fateh Khán after securing thereon the signature of the deposed Nawáb, and took a duplicate with him.(1) On the evening of the same day Sa'adatyár Khán and his family were sent to Multán under an escort of 100 *sowars*. The town of Baháwalpur was illuminated that night and a salute fired. The British Government also sent the new Nawáb a robe of honour.

Murder of Siráj-ud-Dín.

The chief actor in the events which had placed Nawáb Fateh Khan on the throne had been Faqír Siráj-ud-Din who had persuaded the Achráni Dáúdpotras and the chiefs of the Lamma that the British Government would not interfere in internal matters regarding the succession to the throne, and he had carried out his plans with such dexterity that not a single life had been lost though the armies of the rival claimants had stood face to face. But his very sagacity made him many enemies, and Aqil Khán, Sardár Khán, Asad Khán and other Achránis and courtiers were jealous of his prosperity and defied his authority. Moreover, though the Faqír had effected the revolution with the aid of the Dáúdpotras, he profoundly mistrusted their fickle and obstinate character, and most of the officers appointed to the army were men on whom he could rely, those stationed in the Fort of Deráwar being relatives of his own. This gave Aqil Khan Achrani his opportunity, and on the evening of May the 10th, 1853, he informed the Nawáb that all the troops in the fort were dependants of Siráj-ud-Dín, that they could not be trusted and should be replaced by Dáúdpotras. With some hesitation the Nawáb ordered 200 Dáúdpotras into the fort. Upon this Siráj-ud-Dín went to the palace and sent the Nawáb a message, saying that if his proceedings were mistrusted he should be permitted to resign. The Nawáb sent him an order to wait till the morning, but the Faqír promptly caused Asad Khán and Alla Bachúya, Achránís, to be arrested that very night at Ahmadpur. He also had their retainers disarmed and summoned the troops at Ahmadpur to Deráwar, where they arrived at sunrise. Upon this the Achránís persuaded the Nawáb that the Faqír was planning his deposition in order to place his brother Abdullah Khán on the throne. Finding the Nawáb ill-disposed to him the Faqír again offered to resign, but was ordered not to depart until the Nawáb had received his installation *khillat* from the British Government. Soon after Sayyid Sarwar Sháh openly insulted him, upon which the Faqír drew his sword and attacked the Sayyid, but the combatants were separated and the matter hushed up. On May 11th the Dáúdpotras placed a guard over the Faqír and his brother, Sháh Nawáz-ud-Dín, and three or four days later he was forbidden to pay

(1) The deed of abdication is fully reproduced in Aitchison's Treaties; *vide* Vol. IX.

CHAP. I, B. History.

Murder of Siráj-ud-Dín.

his respects to the Nawáb. The State property in his possession was taken from him and his nominees dismissed from their offices. On June 15th it was alleged by his opponents that he owed Rs. 2,00,000 to the State, and on this sum being demanded of him, he replied that he would answer to the claim on the arrival of Sarwar Sháh or Jamadár Ahmad Khán Mallezai. The former then went to the Faqír, accompanied by a number of men and used words which so enraged him that he struck Sarwar Sháh with his sword. Sarwar Shah was not injured, but his companions attacked the Faqír and killed him.

1853

At this time the military force of the State amounted to 3,743 men[1] with 28 guns. This force was paid by the Nawáb, and in addition the Dáúdpotras held *jágís* in lieu of military service in time of need. Their forces were estimated at 20,000 men.

1853.

Jamadár Ahmad Khán Mallezai succeeded the murdered Faqír as Wazír. He was however obnoxious to the Daúdpotras, and they intrigued against him.

In this year a road was constructed from Baháwalpur to Kot Sabzal. A survey was also made for the road from Karáchi in 1853-54. Friendly relations were also established with Patiála in the latter year.

Sa'ádatyar Khán at Lahore now repented of his abdication, with the result that he was confined in the Fort of Lahore and half his allowance placed under suspension. From his prison he sent a letter to the Daúdpotras which was handed over to the Nawáb.

1854

Rules for the extradition of offenders were prepared in 1854[2] in communication with the Deputy Commissioner of Multán.

1855.

In 1855 the Nawáb's salute was fixed at 17 guns and in 1856 transit dues amounting to Rs. 18-15-9 per cent. had been levied on goods imported into or exported from the State. These dues were now reduced to 2 and 1 per cent. according to destination. The ferry dues were also regulated.

In 1272 H. Pír Abbas Khan succeeded Pír Ibrahím Khan as Native Political Agent on the death of the latter.

1857.

On the 20th May 1857 the Nawáb received a letter from Mr. Oliver, Superintendent of Sirsa, requesting that the troops stationed at Baháwalgarh should be sent to Fázilka, and 200 *sowárs* were accordingly sent. Later on, at the request of the Chief Commissioner, 500 *sowárs* and 500 infantry were sent towards Sirsa, and eventually about 3,000 in all were sent to that centre by the State. Traffic across the Sutlej was also suspended.

Dáúdpotras disloyalty.

The intrigues of the Dáúdpotras continued, but they were unable to embarrass the administration of the State, and some of the malcontents quitted its territory.

(1) Spearmen and *jemadars* 492, cavalry 569, infantry 2,083, other troops 639.
(2) *Punjab Government Gazette*, Vol. XV, No. 12, dated 21st March 1854.

CHAP. I. B. History.

Death of Nawáb Fateh Khán, 1858.

The Nawáb's health was affected by the death of a waterman who had been punished for an unintentional intrusion in his privacy and he died on the 22nd of Safr, 1275 H [1] (3rd October 1858), leaving two sons, Sáhibzádás Rahímyár Khán and Muhabbat Khán, of whom the latter is still alive.

NAWAB MUHAMMAD BAHAWAL KHAN IV, THE NINTH NAWAB.

Date of accession :—22nd Safr, 1275 (*3rd October* 1858).

1858 1866 A. D.

Sáhibzáda Rahímyár Khán succeeded his father as Muhammad Bahawál Khan IV. He appointed the following officers of State :—

Wazír of the State	Jamadár Ahmad Khán, who had previously held this post.
Mustaufi-e-Daftar, or Mír Munshi	Abdul Karím Khán.
Bakhshi of the Army	Maulavi Muzaffar-ud-Din.
Manager of the Toshakhána ...	Ján Muhammad.
Musáhibs, or privy counsellors ..	Sayyid Sher Sháh and Bandal Sháh.
Courtiers (Darbár Musáhibs) .	Ali Gauhar Khán, Muhammad Razá Khán, Makhdúm Rajan Bakhsh, Gola Shah, Makhdúm Haidar Bakhsh and Gul Muhammad Khán Bosdar.

In the month of the Nawáb's accession Sardár Khán, Asad Khán and Aqil Khán, who had been banished from the State and taken refuge in British territory, commenced to plan disturbances in Baháwalpur at Puggal in Bikaner, but at the instance of the British Government they were expelled from the State.

Dáúdpotra disaffection.

Shortly after the Nawáb's accession the Sáhibzáda, Gul Muhammad, instigated Nazar Muhammad Khán, Punnún Khán and Yúsuf Khán to rebel in order that he might be placed on the throne, but the plot became known, and Gul Muhammad was placed in confinement. Arjmand Khán, a relative of the Wazír, was also found to be concerned in this plot, and this brought suspicion on the Wazír, who was dismissed on May 25th. His relatives at Ahmadpur, however, took up arms at his behest, and a regular engagement ensued in which the ex-Wazír and 18 of his followers were killed, the State troops losing no less than 67 killed and 171 wounded. Many of the Wazír's relations were also imprisoned, but were released and banished from the State at the instance of the British Government on the petition of Nawáb Sarfaráz Khán Saddozai in December, 1861.

1861 1863

Sa'ádatyár Khán died in 1861 in the Lahore Fort. His death led to a partial cessation of the Dáúdpotra plots, but in 1863 Punnún Khán Pirjáni, Nazar Muhammad Khán Asbáni, Yúsuf Khán Haláni, Mundhu Khán, Bahrám Khán Chándia, and Ali Gauhar Khán Máchhi determined to depose the Nawáb and place one of his uncles, Gul Muhammad or Abdulla Khán, on the throne, but they were

(1) The verse of Mihr Shah, the historian, contains the date of his death :—" *Az takht fitáda naujawane.*"

CHAP. I, B.
History.

defeated by the State troops at Abrah and Punnún Khán, Nazar Muhammad and others escaped by the river and left the State. Their *jágirs* were confiscated. The Sáhibzádás, Gul Muhammad, Mubárak Khán and Abdulla Khán, were executed.

The refugees, however, did not abandon the struggle and conspired with some disloyal officials to attack Allahabad, but they had hardly crossed the river when they were encountered by the State troops. In the action which ensued Ali Gauhar Khán was killed and Nazar Muhammad taken prisoner, whereupon the rebel forces retreated. But in April 1864 Punnún Khán with other rebels of the Dashti and Shar tribes at the head of 600 men attacked Kot Sabzal from Obáura, and, though repulsed on the 10th of that month by the garrison, returned next day to the attack and were only driven off when reinforcements came up from Ahmadpur. The State troops lost 5 killed and 6 wounded in this affair. The Nawáb then offered Rs. 1,000 reward for the apprehension of Punnún Khán, and he was arrested by the Commissioner of Sind in the territory of Mír Ali Murád Khán and handed over to the State in July 1864. He was sent with Lál Bakhsh to Lahore and there detained, a monthly allowance of Rs. 25 being paid to each of them. Lál Bakhsh died soon afterwards, but Punnún Khán was permitted to return to the State in 1866. In November 1864 Nazar Muhammad, Aqil Muhammad and Ali Khán Ronjha tendered their submission and asked to be reinstated in their *jágirs*, but not being satisfied with the Nawáb's order that they must return separately to their homes as a preliminary to any consideration of their case, they formed two strong bands and made night attacks on Allahabad and Khán Bela, released the prisoners from the jails and incorporated them in their force, and levied blackmail from the Kirárs. The State troops met them on the 10th December and killed Ali Khán Ronjha; Nazar Muhammad and Ahmad Khán were taken prisoners and compelled to pass through the town of Ahmadpur East begging alms from every shop, after which they were imprisoned in the fort there. Aqil Khán escaped to the Muzaffargarh District, where he was arrested by order of Mr. Ford, Commissioner of Multán, and placed in security, but the Commissioner also obtained a monthly allowance of Rs. 20 for him from the Nawáb and this he enjoyed till his death.

The revolt of Mundhu Khan, Bahram Khan and others.

In August 1865 Bahram Khán and Mundhú Khán with many Dáúdpotras, Khosas, and Mazáris, created a great disturbance at Allahabad, plundering the villages in its vicinity and prepared to attack Ahmadpur East. The rebels reached Chauhdari on the 8th of August, and the Nawáb sent troops under Sayyid Chirágh Sháh with instructions to pacify them and dissuade them from doing mischief, but they were not inclined to peace. A force was accordingly sent to reinforce the Sayyid, and the State troops met the rebels at Abrah. After a fight, which lasted eight hours, the Sayyid was captured with two guns and the rebels were victorious. When the Nawáb heard this he sent Ghulám Muhammad Cháki and Ali Gauhar

Khán with 6 guns and 400 men, cavalry and infantry, to suppress the rebels. These officers encountered the rebels on 13th August at Goth Channi, and, although the enemy was superior in numbers, he was repulsed by the State forces.

The State troops then advanced from Goth Channi on the morning of the 14th August, but the enemy, who were in ambush in a *nullah*, opened fire on them. The fighting lasted till midday, but the rebels were eventually dispersed. Fourteen of the ring-leaders were beheaded and six sent to the Nawáb with irons on their feet.

Two bands of rebels—one under Bahrám Khán Chándia and the other under Mundhú Khán and Alam Khán Gorgej again opposed the State troops on the evening of the 15th August. The two guns taken from Sayyid Chirágh Sháh were used by the rebels in this affair, but they were speedily repulsed. Bahrám Khán and others concealed themselves for the night in the Tarukri depression, and, though the troops kept watch all night on it, the rebels effected their escape to Allahabad in the latter part of the night. The two guns were found on the battlefield and taken possession of by the State forces.

During these events the Nawáb had imprisoned Mahta Phullu Mal, Kárdár of Allahabad, through whose mismanagement the revolt had broken out.

On the 18th August Ghulám Muhammad Cháki received orders from the Nawáb to proceed to Allahabad to pacify the people and confiscate the property of the rebels.

On the 19th the rebels, who were about 600 in number, crossed the Chenáb by the Bazárán ferry in the Allahabad *iláqa* into British territory; but the officials of the British Government had them disarmed and then only allowed them to enter their territory. They also took Sayyid Chirágh Sháh still their prisoner with them. A few rebels, Bhalle Khán, Kehar Khán and others still remained in the Cholistán, but they were captured by Ghulám Muhammad on the 28th August and sent to the Court of the Nawáb.

Ghulám Muhammad Cháki appointed Wazír.

On Ghulám Muhammad Cháki's return with the army the Nawáb granted him a valuable *khillat* and rewards to his officers and men according to rank.

In recognition of his services he was also appointed Wazír on the 27th September.

The British Government declined to surrender the rebels who had taken refuge in its territory after this rebellion.

Sayyid Murád Sháh appointed Agent.

Pír Abbás Khán, Native Political Agent, retired in 1282 Hijri, and Sayyid Murád Sháh, the author of the Táríkh-i-Murád, Extra Assistant Commissioner of Multán, was appointed to succeed him on the 10th October 1865.

CHAP. I. B.
History.
The death of the Nawáb, 1866

On the night of Monday, the 7th of Zíq'ad 1282 Hijri (the 25th March 1866), the Nawáb was well and continued talking on political affairs with his grandfather till midnight, when he received news from the Wazír that some of his courtiers intended to join the rebels.

Excited at this news the Nawáb uttered a few words, declaring that in the morning arrangements regarding these men would be made, and shortly after going into the palace asked for food which was brought him by one Sultáni, a maid servant. On eating this he lost all self-control and soon expired.

Early next morning the State officials, acting on the advice of Sayyid Muríd Sháh, arranged for the accession of the Sáhibzáda Sádiq Muhammad Khán, then aged only four-and-a-half years, under the title of Nawáb Sádiq Muhammad Khán IV, on March 17th, 1866 (8th Zíq'ad 1282 H.).

Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan, IV, G.C.S.I., the Tenth Nawab.

Nawáb Sir Sádiq Muhammad Khán IV was not installed until 1879, when he attained his majority. In the interim, from 1866 to 1879, the State was superintended by British Officers owing to the events now to be described. The period of British superintendence is known as the Agency.

No sooner, however, had the late Nawáb's bier reached the burial ground at Deráwar than Hakím Sa'adulla and others released Muhammad Jáfar Khán, a brother of Baháwal Khán III, installed him on the throne, and imprisoned all the notables who had accompanied the bier. They also made Muhammad Razá Khán Wazír, Hakím Sa'adulla Khán Mír Munshi, and Sayyid Muhammad Sháh Ghori Commandant of the State forces, with other appointments. In this crisis the Darbárís of Sádiq Muhammad Khán IV appealed to the British Government and despatched troops to seize the usurper. This force found the rebels posted with some guns in the mosque at Deráwar, but soon drove them to retire into the fort and posted its own guns in the mosque. The rebels surrendered after a siege of nine days, and the usurper was taken prisoner. Meanwhile Ghulám Muhammad Cháki, who had been employed under the late Nawáb's orders in chastising the Dáúdpotras of the Lamma, returned to Ahmadpur. There he fell under suspicion and was arrested with the Native Political Agent's assent. The Nawáb's Wazír, Muhammad Nizám Khán, kept him prisoner in the fort at Baháwalgarh and eventually put him to death there. Shortly after this the rebel Dáúdpotras were amnestied and returned to their homes.

After the receipt of the *kharíta* congratulating the Nawáb on his accession, Sayyid Muhammad Sháh and Imám Sháh went to Lahore to solicit the intervention of Government, and Mr. W. Ford, Commissioner of Multán, was deputed to enquire into the position of

CHAP. I. B.
History.
The death of the Nawáb, 1866.

affairs in the State. He arrived at Ahmadpur East on 1st June (1866), and while he was still there the troops planned an *émeute* in favour of the Sáhibzáda. The Darbár promptly deported the latter, and when the troops rose, imprisoned Muhammad Nizám Khán, Jamadár Háji Khan and others and sought to place the Sáhibzáda at their head, they found they had been forestalled, whereupon they released some of their prisoners. Their leader, Imám Bakhsh Khán Márúfáni, was arrested and sent a prisoner into British territory.

THE AGENCY, 1866-1879.

The Dowager Begam now sent Muhammad Nizám Khán and others to Mr. Ford at Baháwalpur with a second request for intervention. This was acceded to and Mr. Ford was appointed Political Agent of the State on 4th August 1866. The Sáhibzáda, who had been detained in the Lahore Fort as a State prisoner, was, at the close of 1867, allowed to reside in the city on condition that he abstained from intrigue with disaffected persons in the State. All intrigue was not put a stop to, however, for some time, as an attempt was soon made to incite the troops at Ahmadpur East to revolt. Prompt measures on the part of Mr. Ford rendered this abortive and the ringleaders were suitably dealt with. Mr. Ford at once set about introducing needful reforms into the State.(1) After inquiry he ascertained the total revenue to be 22,70,767 Ahmadpuri rupees, equivalent to 14,55,210 Company's rupees. He only remained at Baháwalpur, however, until November 1866, when Captain C. C. Minchin was appointed Political Superintendent of the State, Mr. Ford returning to the Commissionership of Multán, but continuing to be Chief Political Officer and Agent to the Lieutenant-Governor for the affairs of Baháwalpur. Captain Minchin's orders on all judicial, revenue and administrative matters were final, excepting sentences of death and transportation for life, which required Mr. Ford's confirmation. Captain Minchin continued the work of reform. The *báráni* waste lands in Kádári Baháwalgarh (now Tahsil Minchinábád) were leased for cultivation to people from Bikaner, Sirsa, Ludhiána and Ferozepore, the total area thus leased amounting to 166,000 *bighás* divided into 40 villages. Assessed at one anna per *bigha* it yielded a revenue of 16,888 Ahmadpuri rupees or 10,375 Company's rupees. On the amnesty being proclaimed, the rebels of the late reign returned to their homes and this greatly accelerated the agricultural development of the State. A new head was made to the Khánwáh in the Allahábád *iláqa* and this canal, which had been closed for years, irrigated an extensive area in the Allahábád tahsil. A new channel was also cut from the river in Baháwalgarh (now Minchinábád) *iláqa* into the Hariári depression

(1) Mr. Ford made many reforms, an account of which will be found in Chapter III under the Department concerned.

CHAP. I. B. History.

efficiently irrigating a length of 15 miles. In July 1868 Mr. J. W. Barns, F.R.G.S., was appointed Superintendent of Irrigation and he excavated many new canals. Between 1866 and 1876 the State expended Rs. 17,29,976 on canal excavations and clearances.

Captain Minchin worked untiringly for the State and introduced many reforms, some account of which will be found in Chapter III under various headings. On his proceeding on leave in March 1871, Captain (now Colonel) L. J. H. Grey, C.S.I., began his long connection with the State by officiating for him as Political Agent. The work of reform was continued and the State advanced in prosperity, its income rising to 20 lacs. In 1877 salt and custom duties were abolished: Government paying the State Rs. 80,000 a year as compensation.(1) In 1879 the young Nawáb attained his majority and he was installed on 28th November of that year by Sir Robert Egerton, taking the name of Sadiq Muhammad Khán, IV.

The Kábul campaign.

The State had taken an active share in the first Kábul campaign, especially in assisting the Quetta column. More than 20,000 camels were procured and offered to the Commissariat Department for which also large stocks of provisions were purchased. Bullocks and ponies were forwarded in considerable numbers to Rájanpur, and 2,800 swords were furnished at the request of the Commissioner of Multán to the camp followers in the army. His Highness personally superintended all arrangements in the most energetic manner. The services of 500 foot and 100 horse were offered to the Government of India and accepted by His Excellency the Viceroy. These did not form part of the general brigade under General Watson, but were stationed at Dera Gházi Khán, where they did excellent service in strengthening frontier posts, which had been necessarily diminished owing to the withdrawal of Punjab Frontier Force for the Kábul columns, and their admirable conduct and discipline were highly praised by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. In recognition of these services the Nawáb received the G. C. S. I. on the occasion of Lord Ripon's visit to Baháwalpur in November 1880.

The rule of the late Nawáb.

The Nawáb ruled his State with the assistance of Council for over nineteen years from the date of his installation. Various Wazirs held office during that time. Shaikh Firoz-ud-dín, Wazír, having died in June 1880, the Nawáb himself carried on his duties until March 1881 when Muhammad Nawáz Sháh was appointed, but he only held office till January 1882, when Muhammad Mahdi Khán, E. A. C., was lent to the State for employment in that post. In January 1888 however he resigned, and the office remained vacant until Mirza Agha Muhammad Khán became Wazír in August 1883. He held the post till December 1888. For six

(1) Aitchison's Treaties, IX.

The rule of the late Nawáb.

months the Council carried on the duties of the *wazárat* until in July 1889 Mír Ibráhím Ali, E. A. C., Mushír-i-Mál, became Wazír only to resign in March 1890. In June Shaikh Muhammad Nasír-ud-dín, E. A. C., another official lent by Government, became Wazír, but he was recalled in 1891 and Mír Ibráhím Ali again deputed for the office in February 1892. His second term of office lasted till February 1898 when Mirza Jindwáde Khán succeeded him and retained office till the end of March 1903.

Death of the late Nawáb.

The Nawáb became very ill on the 7th February 1899, and although every thing possible was done for him, he expired on the 14th February. He was buried in the family cemetery of the Abbási chiefs at Derawar. On 19th February Colonel Hutchinson, Commissioner of Lahore Division, arrived at Baháwalpur, by order of the Punjab Government, to supervise affairs on the death of the Nawáb. He inspected and overhauled the treasuries and toshakhánas of Baháwalpur, Ahmadpur and Derawar, and having completed other arrangements, he returned to Lahore on the 11th March.

NAWAB MUHAMMAD BAHAWAL KHAN, V.

The heir to the throne was the present Nawáb, who was a little over 15 years of age at the time of his father's death. His Highness is highly educated, having been a pupil at the Aitchison College, Lahore, from March 1897 until May 1901. His studies were also privately directed by Mr. Arthur Evill, who was appointed his English tutor in May 1897. The Nawáb finished a very successful career at the College by passing the Entrance Examination of the Punjab University. After his father's death, on the 10th March, 1899, he was called to Baháwalpur for the *dastárbandi* (succession) ceremony, on which occasion he took his grandfather's name according to the well-known family custom and began to rule as Muhammad Baháwal Khán, V. He then returned to the Aitchison College, and the old State Council was made responsible for the administration, Colonel Grey again returning to the State as Superintendent on behalf of the Punjab Government. In May 1901, His Highness left the Aitchison College to learn the work of administration under the guidance of Colonel Grey. He went through a course of Settlement and Revenue training and made many tours in the State, finally taking over the full charge of the office of Superintendent under the supervision of Colonel Grey. His Highness was married on the 11th July 1901, and an heir was born on the 29th September 1904 and named Sadiq Muhammad Khán.

In April 1903 Colonel Grey retired, and the State was at the same time placed under the supervision of the Political Agent of the Phulkián States, His Highness taking over the full administrative duties of the State with the Council as a legislative and

CHAP. I, B. History.

advising body. On 12th November 1903 His Highness was invested with the powers of a ruling chief by His Excellency Lord Curzon at a Durbár held at Baháwalpur, this being the first occasion on which a chief of the State had been so honoured by the reigning Viceroy.

The State during the minority.

The State had increased in prosperity during the minority under Colonel Grey's able supervision and its revenue rose to over 24 lacs of rupees. An extended scheme was drawn up for facilitating and extending the advance of *takávi* to cultivators (see Chapter III). Colonisation was further encouraged by improvements in the rules for granting of leases of lands. The irrigation system of the State was placed on a sounder bases and many *pakka* works were undertaken on the inundation canals. Much of the irregular force of cavalry and infantry in the State was disbanded and an Imperial Service Camel Corps was introduced in its stead (see Chapter III, Military). A permanent boundary between the State and Dera Gházi Khán District was demarcated and similar operations on the Montgomery, Multán and Muzaffargarh borders were begun. A general census of the State was carried out in 1901. The British Government was approached with a view to the introduction of a perennial canal system into the State by the construction of a weir across the Sutlej. The decision of Government on this project is expected very shortly, and there are great hopes that it will be favourable to the State.

Present condition of the State.

His Highness is continuing the work of reform. He is about to construct a large hospital in Baháwalpur as a memorial of Queen Victoria. He has had a scheme drawn up for improving the education of the State and the budget allotment under this head has been largely increased. He is improving the State Civil Service by sending promising young men to British districts to be trained in the various forms of administrative work, and he has lately reorganised his Council and executive and judicial service with a view to the better division of State work. The present constitution of the Council is as follows :—

1.	Sheikh Muhammad Nasír-ud-dín ...	Mushír Ala.
2.	Maulvi Rahím Bakhsh	Foreign Minister.
3.	Sardár Mahmúd Khán	Mushír Mál.
4.	Shaikh Allah Dád	Chief Judge.
5.	Diwán Asa Nand	Mushír Mustaufi.
6.	Sardár Abdul Rahmán Khán	Mushír Fauj.
7.	Maulavi Muhammad Dín, B.A.	Mushír Támirát.
8.	Shaikh Muhammad Dín	Mushír Taaríffát.
9.	Chaudhri Bahádur Ali	Private Secretary.
10.	Sayyid Muhammad Siráj-ud-dín ...	General Secretary.
11.	Maulavi Abdul Malik	Mushír Anhár.

In precedence His Highness ranks second among the Native Chiefs of the Punjab. He is entitled to a salute of seventeen guns, and he receives a return visit from the Viceroy.

NOTE A.

ANCESTRY OF THE NAWABS OF BAHAWALPUR FROM FATHER TO SON.

(1) Abbás, (2) Abdulláh, (3) Alí, (4) Muhammad, (5) Abú J'afar Abdulláh Mansúr, second Caliph of Baghdád, (136—158 H.), (6) Abú Abdulláh Muhammad-al-Mahdí, 3rd Caliph (158—169 H.), (7) Abú Muhammad Músa Alhádí, 4th Caliph (169—170 H.), (8) Al-Hárún-ur-Rashíd, 5th Caliph, (170—193 H.), (9) Abú Is-háq Muhammad M'utasim, 8th Caliph, (218—227 H.), (10) Abul Fazl J'afar Almutawakkil-ala-Alláh, 10th Caliph, (232—247 H.), (11) Talha Muwaffaq, (12) Abul Abbás Ahmad Alm'utazid-billáh, 16th Caliph (279—289 H.), (13) Abul Fazl J'afar Almuqtadá-billáh, 18th Caliph (295—320 H.), (14) Abú Isháq Ibráhím Almuttaqí-billáh, 21st Caliph (329—333 H.), (15) Abul Abbás Ahmad Qádir-billáh, 25th Caliph (381—422 H.), (16) Abú J'afar Abdulláh, Qáim-bi-Amrilláh, 26th Caliph (422—467 H.), (17) Khair-ud-Dín Muhammad, (18) Abul Qásim Abdulláh Almuqtadí-bi-Amrilláh, 27th Caliph (467—487 H.), (19) Abul Abbás Ahmad, Almustazhir-billáh, 28th Caliph (487—512 H.), (20) Abú Abdulláh Muhammad Almuttaqí, 31st Caliph (530—555 H.), (21) Abul Muzaffar Yúsuf Almustanjid-billáh, 32nd Caliph (555—566H.), (22) Abú Muhammad Alhasan, Almustafí-bi-Amrilláh, 33rd Caliph (566—575 H.), (23) Al-Abbás Ahmad Annásiri-li-dínilláh, 34th Caliph (575—622 H.), (24) Abun-nasar Muhammad-ut-Táhir, 35th Caliph (622—623), (25) Abul Qásim Ahmad Almustansir, the first Egyptian Caliph (659—660 H.), (26) Sultán Yásín, (27) Sháh Sultán Suhail, (28) Sháh Aqíl, (29) Sháh Muzammil, (30) Sultán Ahmad Sání, (31) Amír Ibban Khán, (32) Abdul Qáhir, or Káhír Khán, (33) Sikandar Khán, *alias* Sangrási Khán, (34) Amír Fateh-ulláh Khán, *alias* Thull Khán, (35) Bahá-ullah Khán, *alias* Bhallá Khán, (36) Amír Channí Khán,(1) (37) Dáúd Khán I, (38) Mahmúd Khán, (39) Muhammad Khán I, (40) Dáúd Khán II, (41) Amír Chandar Khán, (42) Amír Sálih Khán, (43) Haibut Khán, (44) Bhakhkhar Khán I, (45) Bahádur Khán I, (46) Bhakhkhar Khán II, (47) Amír Muhammad Khán II, (48) Fíroz (or Piruj) Khán, (49) Bahádur Khán II, (50) Amír Mubárak Khán I, (51) Amír Sádiq Muhammad Khán I, (52) Nawáb Fateh Khán I, (53) Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán II, (54) Nawáb Sádiq Muhammad Khán II, (55) Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán III, (56) Nawáb Fateh Khán II, (57) Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán IV, (58) Nawáb Sádiq Muhammad Khán IV, (59) Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán V, (present ruler).

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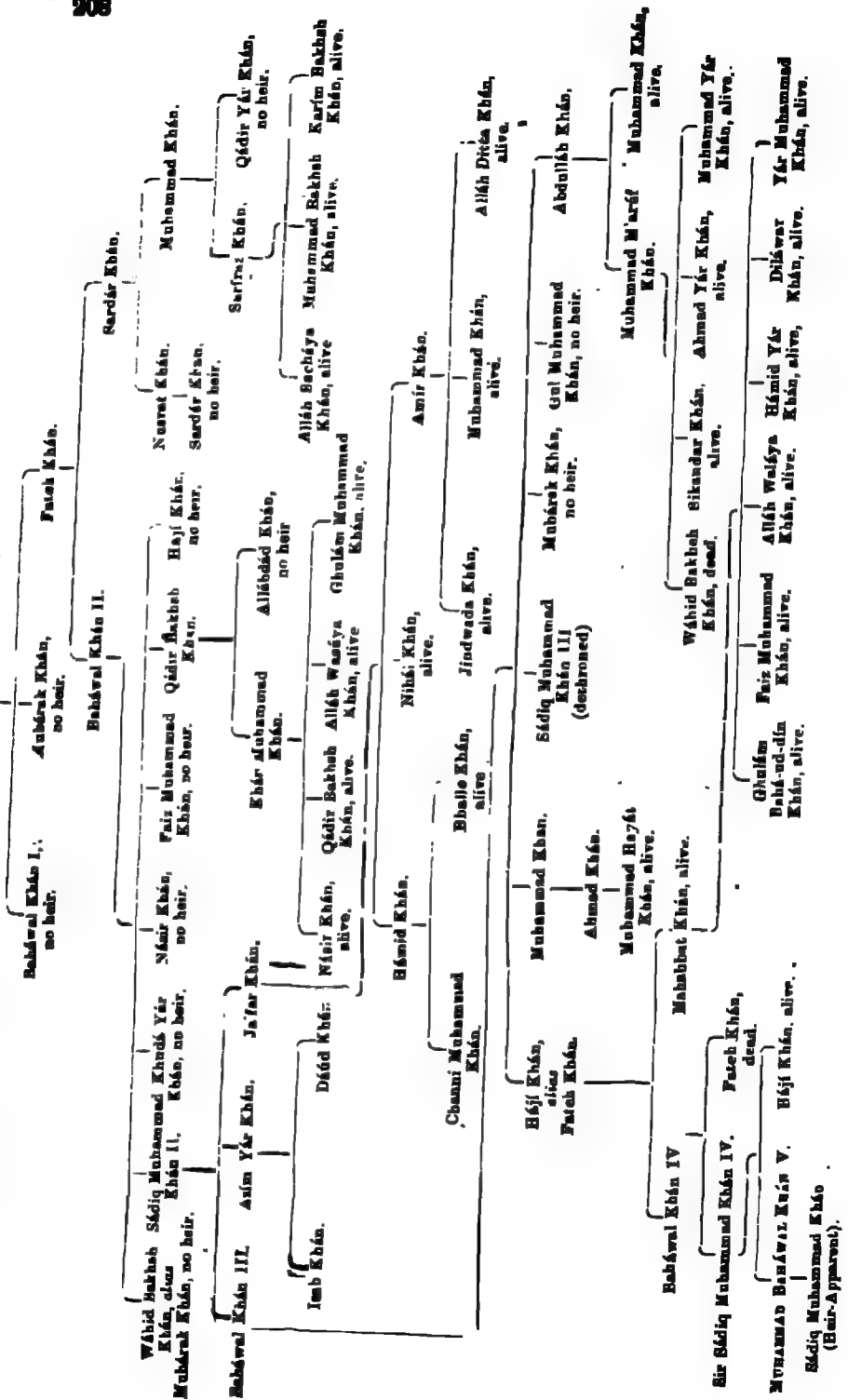
(1) Channi Khán had another son, named Mahdi Khán, whose son was Kalhora, the founder of the *Kalhora* dynasty of Sindhian kings.

NOTE B.—GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF ABBÁSI SÁHIBZÁDAS OF BAHÁWALPUR.

Section E.—Arts and Manufactures.

CHAP. II. E.
Arts and Manufactures.
Cotton-weaving.

Cotton is woven by *páolis* or weavers, who are found almost everywhere in the State. Other classes, such as the *Bákhrís* (Muhammadans), *Thorís*, *Meghwáls*, and *Náiks* also weave. The coarse cotton cloth they make is of the following kinds:—*Khaddar tirsí* (with 300 threads in the warp), *chausí* (with 400), *painsí* (with 500) and *chhísi* (600 threads)[1]; white and chequered coarse *lungís* of pure cotton, or cotton and silk mixed are also made. *Tirsí* usually sells at 22 *haths*, *chausí* and *painsí* can be bought at 20 or 18 *haths* per rupee. *Khaddar* is used by the villagers generally. Besides this coarse cloth bedclothes, such as *dotahí*, *chautahí* and *khes* prettily chequered, are woven in Baháwalpur, Ahmadpur and Shahr Faríd, where *súfís* of coloured cotton, called *tausíla*, and *salárí* and *já-nimáz* of various colours are also manufactured. Baháwalpur Jail is famous for its *darrís* which can be made of any length.

Silk-weaving.

In Baháwalpur, Ahmadpur and Shahr Faríd silk weaving is carried on extensively, the cloth being largely used in those towns by both sexes. The best known silk garment made in the State is the *lungí*, of which the *básúband*, *dolahrí*, *nokdár*, *lahrdár*, *patrán-wáli*, *khanjrí lahr*, *chandanhár*, *badrumí*, *poplánwálí* and *doshála* are the superior qualities. *Lungís* are also made of cotton and silk thread of various colours, and include *topíwálí*, *salárí*, *bache-dár* and *mothraddr*. The price ranges from Rs. 5 to Rs. 50 a piece, but they can be made to order up to Rs. 1,000 per piece. *Súfí* is also woven of silk or cotton, or with a cotton warp and a silk woof in lengths of about 9 yards, varying in value from Rs. 3-8 to Rs. 40. It is used for men's *shalwár* or *suththan* and women's *ghagrás* or *suththan*. Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán II engaged an artisan of Benares to teach this art to the local weavers. He brought with him 70 artisans, half of whom were women, and is said to have been himself so skilful that he could work the whole Qurán into a sheet.

Cotton-printing.

Both the well-to-do and the poorer classes are fond of coloured clothes, which are largely made in the State both from English and Native fabric and are even exported to Bengal and the United Provinces. *Rumáls* (handkerchiefs) are printed by the *thappa* or mould with tin or silver leaves. Turbans, printed with tin, gold, or silver leaves are made for the use of Muhammadans. *Dopattas*, *bochhans*, *cholas* and *topis* (caps) are also printed with gold, silver, tin or brass leaves with *dhúp* (a gummy preparation). Kirár women have a great liking for *cholas* and *bochhans* painted with *warq* (leaves). The wages paid for this work are four times the price of the *warq* and *dhúp*. The painted *já-nimázes* of Khairpur are largely exported, as are its *palang poshes*, usually 10 × 4½ feet in size. Baháwalpur and Ahmadpur are famous for their

[1] The breadth of the weft being uniform in each case, *i. e.*, 12 *girahs*.

CHAP. II, E. — Arts and Manufactures.

síp, *i.e.*, silk flowers worked on cloth handkerchiefs, caps and scarves, and sheets of *síp* work are largely used by people of the higher classes. Sometimes fine coloured woollen European thread is employed.

Carpets and rugs.

Woollen and cloth carpets and rugs are manufactured in the Baháwalpur Jail of a strong fabric with a variety of colours. The patterns resemble those of Turkistán and Persia in appearance, but the taste of the rulers of Baháwalpur and European visitors has prompted the Jail to turn out new and ingenious patterns. Recently the manufacture of carpets from the floss of seed-vessels of the *ak* (*Calotropis procera*) has been started in the Jail. The plant abounds in the State and the floss is brought in large quantities and spun by the female prisoners. Carpets and rugs of good patterns are turned out, and it is difficult to distinguish the fabric from silk.

Jewelry.

Throughout the State people are fond of converting their savings into ornaments to be worn now and then and at wedding festivals and kept as a resource in times of scarcity. The chief ornaments made by the *sunárs* (goldsmiths) in all the towns and important villages are the *popa* (lit : nosegay), *katmála*, (necklace), *nath*, *búla*, *kangan*, *patriyán*, *pánzeb*, *chandanhár*, *chelkí* and *ansvatyán*. Gold and silver bangles are also made in two forms, one solid, the other hollow.

Enamel.

The enamel work on silver and gold of Baháwalpur and Ahmadpur is second to none in the south-west Punjab. Buttons of all sorts, ear-rings, bangles, *kanphúls* (earrings), *búlas*, or *naths* (nose-ring), etc., are enamelled, as are rings (*mundrís* and *chhallás*). The latter are universally worn, hardly a man or woman being seen without one. Enamelled toe and foot-rings for women are also extensively made. The work is also done on silver boxes for keeping collyrium, on silver stick handles, cups, glasses, plates and dishes. The local name for enamel work is *níma* or *míná-kári*. Pen and ink boxes of enamel work are also made and monograms in English or Vernacular are engraved.

Iron-work.

The State has hardly any iron industries worth mentioning, except the manufacture of guns in Garhí Ikhtiyár Khán, where the ironsmiths cast very good match-locks, and till recently made excellent guns and swords. But the Arms Act has imposed restrictions on their trade and, though they are still good gunsmiths, the manufacture is practically moribund. The iron works at Baháwalpur make corrugated iron and castings for the Nawáb's *baghí kháná* and *daulat-khána*. The *mistrí* in charge is a qualified mechanic.

Brass and copper work.

Surmeddnís (collyrium boxes), *surmchús*, *gadwís*, *katoras*, *dhákwáns*, *thális* (dishes), *rakabís*, *tukkus*, sets of *degs* (cauldrons) made of brass and copper, have some artistic merit and are largely exported. *Ardháti* (a mixture of all metals) *katorás*, *surahís*

and *piyálas* are very heavy and durable, and are made at Baháwalpur, both Ahmadpurs, Khánpur, and Muhammadpur Lamma. Ahmadpur Lamma exports *suráhís* and boxes of pewter with fine enamel work to Sindh on a large scale.

Bronze or kut utensils.

Bronze or *kut* utensils are manufactured at Baháwalpur and Khánpur. They comprise *dhákwdns*, *katoras*, *mungírs* and *thális* (plates) engraved with flowers, and a light *katora*, a *tola* in weight, can also be made and is considered a fine specimen of this workmanship. Light *katoras* are sometimes called *kághazí* (*i.e.*, as light as paper).

Pottery.

The best pottery is made at Ahmadpur East, Khánpur, and Garhí Ikhtiyár Khán. Pretty, light *suráhís*, *piyálas* and glasses are the chief articles. This pottery is widely known for its lightness, and also because the most suitable earth is used for it. A *piyála* is sometimes barely a *tola* in weight. The Ahmadpur potters make first rate pottery, but now those of Khairpur are beating them. The work is generally plain, no glaze being employed. The *suráhís* are of three descriptions, *sádí* (simple), double walled (in which the inner shell is enclosed in an outer one ornamented with symmetrical holes), and *phúldár*, on which raised flowers and geometrical designs are made with a wooden die or *thappa*. The earthenware of Ahmadpur and Khairpur is largely exported to Sindh and the south-east Punjab. Good examples of Baháwalpur pottery are to be seen in the Lahore Museum.

Lac turnery or wood painting.

At the villages of Láleka, Rahmúnka and Hásilsáhrú prettily painted *chárpái* legs are made of *shísham*. The *chárpáís* of the Ubha are exported to many districts as are its *píhras*, or *píhrís* (wooden stools) and spinning wheels of excellent make for household use or dowries. Painted wooden dishes, *piyalas*, beds, *dandás*, *tipáís*, etc., are also made. *Chhekwin khat* (or double beds) of the same workmanship in Ahmadpur Lamma are also made. Besides lac turnery the beams and rafters for roofs, painted at Baháwalpur, Khairpur and Ahmadpur, with geometrical designs and flowers in seven different colours, are used for the houses of the higher classes.

Ivory.

Well-to-do women are fond of the ivory *chúrís* (bangles) made by *chúrígars* at Baháwalpur. Among the rich a bride wears them at her wedding, as, according to the local adage, *chúrá kowár dá singár*, 'ivory bangles are the beauty of the bride.' The *chúrá* usually costs Rs. 20 and when worn at the elbow is called *chhari báhín*, but when *chúrís* are piled some six inches above it they are said to be *dedhí báhín*, *i. e.*, up to the shoulder.(1) Pieces of ivory half a foot long are sold in the market and are called *khandhís*.

(1) It is considered a bad omen if a *chúri* breaks. On the death of her husband a wife breaks her *chúris* in pieces, but on the death of any other relative she only takes them off for a few days.

CHAP. II E.
Arts and Manufactures.
Leather work.

The following kinds of shoes called *ghetli* are made in Baháwalpur and Ahmadpur :—*sádi* including (*kannedár, lenbwin, magzidár* and *bemagzí*) : *gulwálí* (*gul-báhádrewálí, gul-sarúwálí, árígulwálí, yakgullí*) : *Reshmí* (*bútewálí, chauhás̱hí,* and *dedhbelí*) : *Chauhás̱hí*; (*sádí, chauhás̱hí* and *kalábattuwálí*) : and *Satgullí* (*fúlsewali*). The price varies from Rs. 1 to 10 but, if required, shoes can be made up to a value of Rs. 25. Shoes are exported to Dera Ismail Khán, Dera Ghází Khán, Multán and Sukkur. The following varieties of the *kannewálí* shoe are made in the Ubha:—*sádí* or *bemagzí, magziwálí, reshamwálí* and *gulwálí,* which have the 6 varieties called :—*yakgullí, chárgullí, panjgullí, satgullí, ukehri* and *dohrí*. Saddles of the following kinds are made :—*zardozí*, costing up to Rs. 200, *sádí*, or plain, from Rs. 8 to 20 : *kalábattúwálí*, up to Rs. 50: and *háshiyawálí*, up to Rs. 12 : also *khurgír*, or saddle cloths : *sádí* Rs. 4 : of hide up to Rs. 3, *wattíwála* Rs. 4 and *háshiyawála* Rs 5. Bridles of the following kinds are made :—*zardozí* Rs. 5, *kalábattúwálí* Rs. 4, *sáde kalábattúwálí* Rs. 2, *sádí* annas 8. *Farágís* of the following kinds are made :—*kursiánwálí, butewálí,* and *kontal kash*. Besides these, saddle cloths and housings of the richest patterns are manufactured.

Sajji

Sajjí (carbonate of soda) is derived from two wild plants, *kangan khár* and *gora lána* which grows in brackish soil. The former yields the best *sajjí* called *kangan khár*. For the revenue derived by the State under this head, see Chapter III.

The following articles manufactured in the State were exhibited on November 12, 1903, at the investiture of the present Nawáb, and elicited favourable remarks from His Excellency Lord Curzon :—

A.—Cotton Articles.

1. *Lungís* of various designs and colours, with silk border.
2. Scarves of various designs and colours, with silk border.
3. Bed cloths (*dohars*), white and coloured, with silk border.
4. *Darrís* of various sizes and colours.
5. Carpets and rugs.
6. *Dastarkháns* of painted cloth.
7. Sofa cloth of various colours.
8. Quilts, sheets of ditto.
9. Prayer cloth (*jánimás*) of carpets and painted cloth.
10. *Niwár*.

B.—Silk Articles.

1. Silk *Lungis*.
2. Ditto with gold borders.
3. Ditto gold thread (*tár tilái*).
4. Sofa cloth silk.
5. ditto (*tár tilái*).
6. Silk *susi* (*gulbadan*) of various colours.

C.—Kánsí Articles.

1. *Kánsí* cups, very light and of fine work.
2. *Tukkus* (set of cups).
3. Covered dishes (*Dhákwán*).

D.—Pewter Articles.

1. Pewter *suráhí*.
2. Pewter and brass *dabbás*.

CHAP. II, E.

Arts and Manufactures.

E.—Leather Articles.

1. *Huqqas* with silver work.
2. Native shoes plain and with gold work.

F.—Wooden Articles.

1. Spinning wheel.
2. Wooden seat large (*pihrá*).
3. Ditto small (*pihri*).
4. Stick.
5. *Surâhis.*
6. *Guldastahs.*
7. *Sarv.*
8. Flower vase.
9. Ornament case.
10. Snuff boxes.
11. Chess (English and native pattern).
12. Wooden plate.
13. Ditto toys.

G.—Articles prepared from ak *fibre.*

1. Carpets and *Ásan* of fine *ak* fibres.

H.—Mínákárí *jewels and articles* (*gold and silver enamelled*).

1. Silver tumbler enamelled.
2. Cigarette cases ditto.
3. Sauce cups ditto.
4. Buttons of various sizes, shapes and colours.
5. Ornaments.
6. Covered dishes (gold enamelled)
7. *Suráhis* ditto.

I.—Clay Articles.

1. *Suráhis.*
2. Pitchers.
3. Tumblers.
4. Cups.
5. *Abkhoras.*
6. *Aftábas* (*lotás*).

J.—Miscellaneous.

1. Fans, coloured (Uch manufacture).
2. *Múráhs.*
3. Jail papers.
4. *Wán* (*munjh* thread).
5. Nitre.

Factories.

Flour mills were opened by Seth Chiman Singh and Guláb Singh of Shikárpur at Baháwalpur in 1895, on a plot of land given them by the State. The charge for grinding corn used to be high, about 9 annas per maund, now it is only 4 annas. Only three mills are attached to the factory but flour is not only ground for the capital, but is exported in large quantities to other towns in the State, and to adjacent districts. The factory also contains two ginning machines. There are 8 rice husking factories, three at Khánpur, two at Allahábád, and one each at Sádiqábád, Kot Samába and Naushahra. The quantity of rice annually turned out by the two factories at Khánpur and Allahábád belonging to Seth Parsotam Dás exceeds 36,000 maunds, and the annual expenditure is about Rs. 8,500. One rice husking factory at Khánpur, started in 1897, turns out more than 45,000 maunds annually. Another factory started at Khánpur in 1902 belongs to Misr Rám Naráin of Jaisalmer and other Hindu shareholders of the State. It turns out more than 70,000 maunds annually. It also has a cotton gin attached to it. The Sádiqábád factory started in 1903 is merely a rice husking one and turns out nearly 24,000 maunds annually. The Kot Samába factory started in 1902, turns out both husked rice and ginned cotton. Its outturn of rice is above 32,000 maunds.

CHAP. II, E. Arts and Manufactures.

The Naushahra factory started in 1901, turns out nearly 25,000 maunds annually. Most of the unhusked rice (*sháli*) required by these factories is obtained from villages in Khánpur, Ahmadpur and Naushahra Tahsíls, but a fair amount is also bought from Rájanpur Tahsíl and the Mazárí *iláqa* of Rujhán. The factories generally export rice to Delhi, Rohtak, and Hissár Districts and the Phúlkián States.

Minchinábád Saltpetre and Nitre Factory.

A saltpetre factory at Minchinábád, with its feeder factories (the number of which varies), first started in 1880, was closed at the end of 1893, but re-opened in 1895. The average annual expenditure of the factories is Rs. 36,000 (main factory Rs. 6,000; feeder factories Rs. 30,000). The annual sale of saltpetre averages 6,000 maunds and during the five years 1899—1903 the quantity of nitre exported is estimated to exceed 30,000 maunds. It is exported to Calcutta. The proprietors from whose lands the raw material is collected are paid for it at different rates, the aggregate being nearly Rs. 1,000 a year for each feeder factory. The proprietors pay the State a fee of Rs. 800 per annum besides Rs. 360, which is paid as royalty for fuel, *viz.*:—

	Rs.
For every large pan	50
Ditto small „	20

The Baháwal Nitre Factory.

The Baháwal saltpetre factory was founded in November 1902 close to Baháwalnagar Railway Station. In the first year the founders took out licenses for 60 small *karáhs* and two large *karáhs* (pans). In each of the smaller pans 500 maunds of raw nitre and in the large ones 2,000 maunds were prepared. The winter is the best time for the formation of nitre and the work is practically stopped in the rains or when the heat is excessive. The proprietors spent Rs. 25,000 up to 1905 on the buildings and laying down pans, etc., and have earned Rs. 30,000 in less than three years. They have now 70 small pans and 2 large ones. The nitre is sold to Karáchí and Calcutta merchants for export to Europe. The Baháwal factory has now 30 feeder factories. The net cost of a maund of raw nitre averages Rs. 2. The wholesale price realised by the proprietors for crystallised nitre varies from Rs. 7 to 8 per maund. The fuel used at the factory used to be procured from *zamíndárs'* lands at Rs. 38-6 per 1,000 cubic feet, of which Rs. 5-6 were paid to the landowner, the balance going to the State as royalty. But the fuel contract has lately been sold to the proprietors for a lump sum of Rs. 360 per annum, exclusive of the landholders' share. The establishment comprises a Manager, 31 peons, a *jamadár*, a weighman and other servants. The peons are employed at the feeder factories to look after the destruction of the earth salt that is produced in the nitre-refining process. Besides the royalty paid for fuel, the proprietors pay the State Rs. 600 per annum as fees for the pans, large and small.

CHAP. II.F.

Commerce and Trade.

Sugar making from date tree sap.

In 1899, Colonel Grey started a scheme for the manufacture of sugar from the sap of the date palm. Success at once attended the effort and *gur* and sugar of fine quality were made at factories in Allahábád and Khán Bela, the former selling at Rs. 5 and the latter at Rs. 9 a maund. The owners of the date palm groves were, however, opposed to the scheme as it destroyed their date crops and it was abandoned in 1900, but the manufacture still lingers in some villages round Allahábád and Khán Bela.

[For details of immigrant labourers from foreign districts and the wages received by them see pages 261, 262].

CHAPTER III.—ADMINISTRATIVE.

Section A.—Administrative System and Divisions.

CHAP. III. A.

Administrative System and Divisions.

Relations with the British Government.

The Baháwalpur State is an independent feudatory Native State which first entered into an alliance with the British Government of India early in the 19th century, its relation with the paramount British Power being governed by the Treaties of 21st of February 1833 and of October 5th, 1838, reproduced in *extenso* in Volume 9 of Aitchison's Treaties. The State pays no tribute or *nazrána* to the British Government. It is under the political control of the Punjab Government through the Political Agent for the Phúlkián States and Baháwalpur. Under Articles 3 of the Treaty of 1833 and 7 of that of 1838 the Nawáb of Baháwalpur exercises the full powers of a ruling chief over his subjects.

The Public Service.

The upper division of the State Service consists of two grades of the Council, *viz.*, the Cabinet Council and the General Council, by both of which the Nawáb is assisted in the administration of the State. The members of these councils are appointed by the Nawáb. The Cabinet Council consists of (*a*) the Mushír-i-Ala, (*b*) the Foreign Minister, (*c*) the Mushír-i-Mál, and (*d*) the Adálatí. Matters of exceptional importance are laid before this Council for deliberation. All the ordinary administrative affairs are decided by the General Council, which consists of (*a*) the four Councillors forming the Cabinet Council, and (*b*) the Mushír-i-Fauj (Commander-in-Chief of State forces), (*c*) Mushír-i-Mustaufi (Accountant-General), (*d*) Mushír-i-Támírát, or Public Works Minister, (*e*) Mushír-i-Tasrífát, (*f*) Private Secretary to the Nawáb, (*g*) General Secretary to the Council, and (*h*) Mushír-i-Anhár (Irrigation Minister). The precedence of the Mushírs not included in the Cabinet Council is according to the date of appointment. The decisions of the General Council are in all cases determined by a majority of votes, except measures entailing increase of taxation or of permanent expenditure which cannot be adopted unless supported by a majority of ⅔rds in a full Council. Ordinary meetings of the General Council are held at least once a week, four members forming a quorum. Financial measures, such as those above referred to, or those affecting the budget, can only be dealt with in a full Council. All orders passed in His Highness' name by a minister whether on appeal to the Nawáb, or in the ordinary course of business, are subject to revision by His Highness in Council. Measures involving alterations in law, procedure, taxation, or departmental organization, outlay beyond the sanctioning power

CHAP. III. A.

Administrative System and Divisions.

of an individual minister, increase in permanent expenditure or other matters of importance, economic or political, after being considered and decided in the General Council, are submitted to His Highness for sanction.

Councillors and their departments.

The following is a list of the head and sub-departments of the State with the names of the Councillors in charge :—

Department and Councillor in charge.	Sub-departments under the control of the Head Officer.
Darbár (Mushír-i-Ala) ...	(1) Police. (2) Jails. (3) Medical. (4) Municipalities. (5) Forests.
Foreign Office (Foreign Minister).	(1) Foreign correspondence with Government, British Districts, and Native States. (2) Education Department. (3) Vakils' establishment. (4) State Press.
Mushírat Mál (Mushír-i-Mál).	(1) Revenue Department. (2) Settlement. (3) Domain Lands. (4) Horse Farm.
Sadar Adálat (Aáláti or Chief Judge).	(1) Judicial Department. (2) Registration.
Fauj (Mushír-i-Fauj) ...	(1) Imperial Service Camel Corps. (2) Mounted Rifle Company. (3) Nizám Regiment. (4) Orderly Troops. (5) Band.
Sadar-i-Hisáb or Accounts (Mushír-i-Mustaufí).	(1) Accounts Department. (2) Head Treasury, Baháwalpur. (3) Tahsil sub-treasuries.
Támírát—Public Works—(Mushír-i-Támírát).	(1) Public Works. (2) Workshops. (3) Steamers. (4) Education (as Director).
Tasrífát—Nawáb's household—(Mushír-i-Tasrífát).	(1) Expenditure on palaces, guest-houses, toshakhána, &c. (2) Medical (The Mushír-i-Tasrífát is also the State Medical Officer and as such is under the Mushír-i-Ala).
Private Secretary to the Nawáb.	(1) Private correspondence of the Nawáb. (2) Tasrífát papers are laid before the Nawáb by him.
General Secretary ...	(1) Supervision of Darbár Office Establishment. (2) Secretary to the State Council.
Irrigation (Mushír-i-Anhár)	(1) Canal construction and repairs. (2) Irrigation.

CHAP. III, A

Administrative System and Divisions.

All members of the State Council below the Mushír-i-Ala, except the General Secretary, have powers of appointing and dismissing public servants in the various departments under them whose salaries do not exceed Rs. 50 per mensem.

Mushír-Ala or Chief Minister).

In addition to his own special departments as given above the Mushír-i-Ala (1) presides at the Council meetings; (2) is the presiding Judge of the Supreme Court; (3) hears appeals from orders of subordinate Criminal Courts sentencing to terms of imprisonment extending to 3 years or less, and also from the orders of Revenue and Civil Courts in suits not exceeding Rs. 1,000 in value; (4) is the chief supervising officer over all departments in the State except the Foreign Department, but in all important executive matters his orders are subject to the approval of the Nawáb; (5) can appoint and dismiss all public servants drawing over Rs. 50 and up to Rs. 100 per month in the State.

Administrative Divisions.

The State is now divided into three Nizámats or districts, and these Nizámats are each sub-divided into three Tahsíls. Each Nizámat is under a Názim (or Collector) subordinate to whom are the Tahsíldárs, assisted by Náib-Tahsíldárs, in charge of each Tahsíl and the Zilladárs, Darogas and Náib-Darogas of the Irrigation Department. The Nizámats and Tahsíls are:—

1.—*Minchinábád.*

(1). Minchinábád.

(2). Nahr Sádiqiyah (or Cholistán). The head-quarters of the Tahsíl are at present Baháwalnagar, but are to be shortly transferred to Sádikganj.

(3). Khairpur Sharqiyah or Khairpur Tánwewála.

2.—*Baháwalpur.*

(1). Baháwalpur.

(2). Ahmadpur Sharqiyah (or Ahmadpur).

(3). Allahábád.

3.—*Khánpur.*

(1) Khánpur.

(2). Naushahra (formerly called Sádiqábád[1] or Rahímyár Khán).

(3). Ahmadpur Lamma.

(1) Sádiqábád is a railway station, 11 miles south-west of Naushahra or Rahímyár Khan. The Tahsíl was named after the late Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan IV; but the head-quarters of the Tahsíl are at Naushahra, also called Rahímyár Khán. The head-quarters of Nizámats and Tahsíls are all situated on the S. P. and N.-W. Railway lines, except Allahábád and Ahmadpur Lamma, which are about 4 miles away from railway stations Chaudharí and Sádiqábád respectively.

CHAP. III, B.

Section B.—Civil and Criminal Justice.

Civil and Criminal Justice.

Former system.

Prior to the Agency period, *i.e.*, before 1866, the laws in force in the State were partly religious and partly secular. Muhammadan civil suits were referred to the *qázis* as were disputes regarding marriages, divorce, dower (*mahr*), inheritance, &c., but criminal offenders, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, were punished by the Kárdárs and Náibs, or, if their offence was treason against the State, by the Nawáb himself. Hindu suits relating to Dharm Shástra (or Hindu Law) and questions of inheritance, partition, adoption, legacy, *stridhana* (widow's share), &c., were referred to the Brahmans or to the *mukhis* (leading men) of the towns who were always nominated by the Nawáb. The criminal law was not codified and no hard and fast rules existed regulating the punishment for any particular crime except theft or burglary for which the convict (whether Hindu or Muslim) had his hand amputated under the Muhammadan Law, or was required to pay a heavy fine (*chatti*). In the towns most of the magisterial powers were invested in the *kotwáls*. In the mufassil the Kárdárs were given extensive magisterial powers which enabled them to impose unlimited fines with imprisonment in default and even capital punishment. The administration of justice in the State before the establishment of the Agency is thus described by Colonel Minchin :—

"Under the late Nawáb's rule, all *kárdárs* and their *náibs*, the *kotwáls*, and even *piádás* on Rs. 2 a month, had power to investigate any offences, and inflict fines to any amount, and in default of payment to imprison for an unlimited period. No allowance was made to prisoners, who had to maintain themselves by begging; murder cases were tried by *qázis* and *maulvis*, who only passed a sentence of *qisás* or death on the application of the heirs of the deceased, but generally the murderers managed to escape through the connivance of the guard. When any person of position was tried, the *qázis* dared not inflict punishment; and any *fatwa* could be obtained by payment of a sufficient *nazrána*. On first taking charge of the State I endeavoured to introduce the system formerly in force in Bengal, as laid down in Beaufort's Digest, for deciding cases with the aid of a *qázi*, or law officer, who would give a *fatwa*, or finding, and state the Muhammadan Law on the subject. Almost the first trial that I held under this procedure, a Hindu was charged with blasphemy, for having made use of certain improper expressions regarding the Muhammadan faith, in a dispute with a Muhammadan; and on calling on the *qázi* for his *fatwa*, he said the only punishment for such an offence was *death*. Great discretionary powers were obliged to be granted in petty offences, which resulted in each Magistrate's doing what was right in his own eyes, with the most astounding differences of opinion on every subject. One officer made it a point of convicting the complainant; and the appeals were so numerous, and complaints everywhere so rife, that I felt that the only thing left was to introduce a separate department, whose whole time should be devoted to judicial matters. Here, as in the Punjab, the Revenue officers had been entrusted with judicial powers, but the Revenue duties were so important that they were obliged to neglect judicial work, with the above result."

CHAP. III, B.

Civil and Criminal Justice.

Reforms.

" In introducing a new department I considered that it would be impossible for me to prepare a code of regulations for their guidance, that could possibly be so satisfactory as the codes laid down by Government for the whole of India, which were all ready to our hand, and which were in force in the adjoining districts, where the people of the State had relations and friends, and large business connections; and as the newly appointed officers had ample leisure at their disposal, it could not be better occupied than in studying the codes, in which everything had been laid down in the clearest manner. The result has been most satisfactory, and I feel assured that the Nawáb when he comes of age will be only too glad to carry on this same system, which is precisely similar to the system pursued in the Native States of Patiála and Kapurthala .. .. ."[1]

The old system led to such glaring abuses and confusion that on the establishment of the agency the civil and criminal laws in force in British territory were introduced by Colonel Minchin. This and other changes in the administration elicited the following remarks from the Secretary of State for India in February 1872:—

" The affairs of the Baháwalpur State should be so conducted as to involve no needless break in the continuity of the administration when handed over to its future native rulers, and (he) fears that there is a strong tendency to conform not the substance only, but forms of administration too closely to those which prevail in districts which have all along been under our direct Government and in which there is of course no probability of any change occurring."[2]

To this Major Minchin, Political Agent, replied in the following words:—

" We have divided the administration into two distinct branches, the judicial and executive, which is nowhere enforced in British India. The Indian Penal, Procedure and Civil Codes have been introduced because of the convenience and advantage gained to the Administration by having written Laws and Regulations which can be applied to all classes and where the duties of each officer are clearly defined. The judicial system has been entirely carried out through Native Agency and is partly modelled on the Travancore State in the Madras Presidency.[3]"

Legislation.

A list given below shows the Acts and Regulations enforced in the State. Any new legislative measure or bill proposed to be introduced into the State is recommended by the Adálatí, Revenue Minister or a Member of the Council representing the particular department concerned and laid before the Council, and, if approved it is submitted to the Nawáb for his final assent.

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(1) Baháwalpur Administration Report for 1873-74 (para. 4) and 1872-73 (para. 106).
(2) Vide Baháwalpur Administration Report for 1872-73, para. 105.
(3) Ibid, para. 106

CHAP. III. B.

Civil and Criminal Justice.

Criminal Legislation of the Government of India adopted by the State.

The following Acts of the Government of India have been adopted by the State:—

Act.	Subject.	Date of enforcement.
No. XLV of 1860	Indian Penal Code (1) .. .	22nd May 1870.
No. I of 1871	Cattle Trespass Act	25th July 1871.
No. XXXVI of 1858 .. .	Lunatic Asylum Act	16th November 1871.
No. XI of 1878	Arms Act . ..	1st January 1879.
No. I of 1872	Evidence Act . ..	11th January 1881.
No. X of 1873	Oaths Act...	11th January 1881.
No. V of 1861	Police Act	8th October 1881.
No. VI of 1864	Whipping Act	5th June 1889.
No. XII of 1882	Salt Act (3)	9th July 1890.
No. XII of 1880	Vaccination . ..	10th April 1891.
No. XXI of 1879	Foreign Jurisdiction and Extradition Act (4).	16th March 1896
No. XIII of 1859	Artificers Act	13th October 1896.
No. V of 1898	Criminal Procedure Code (5) ...	29th June 1898.
No. IX of 1890 .. .	Railway Act (6)	10th November 1898.
No. VI of 1898	Post Office Act	17th April 1899.
No. XXVII of 1871	Criminal Tribes Act	29th October 1904, Sections 1 to 23.

Special Criminal Acts passed by the State.

The following are the Acts passed specially by the State:—

	Legislation.	*Date of enforcement.*
(1).	Qánún-i-Muskirát (Opium and Intoxicants).	26th March 1882.
(2).	Qánún-i-M'aábir (Ferries) ...	1st April 1882.
(3).	Qánún-i-Abkári (Excise) ...	3rd April 1882.
(4).	Qánún-i-Qimár-bázi (Gambling).	1st September 1882.
(5).	Qánún-i-Súd (Interest) ..	28th February 1896 [see Chapter II A.].
(6).	Qánún-i-Sankhiya (Arsenic)...	16th August 1898.
(7).	Qánún-i-Shikár (Game Laws)	13th June 1899.

(1) With these modifications:—(1) In the case of punishments of imprisonment of either description rigorous and not simple imprisonment is to be given (2). In crimes under Sections 497 and 498 women are also punished, but with imprisonment only and not with fine (3) In crimes under Section 223 instead of simple imprisonment, imprisonment of either description may be inflicted (4). Marriage with a woman within the iddat (i e., before the lapse of 4 lunar months and 10 days after the demise of the husband in the case of a widow or before a woman has menstruated 3 times after being divorced in the case of a divorced woman) makes the marrying couple liable to prosecution under Section 496, Indian Penal Code, and the mulla who performed the marriage ceremony liable to prosecution as an abettor in the offence

(2) In Section 2 of Act VI of 1864, the following amendments were adopted by order of His Highness in Council dated 8th January 1881: for a first offence whipping, or whipping and imprisonment; imprisonment and fine without whipping; or whipping, imprisonment and fine may be imposed.

(3) Only Section 9 of the Act providing punishment for offenders is in force.

(4) As far as it relates to extradition to, and from, British territory.

(5) But (1) Magistrates of the 2nd class are debarred from trying cases of theft of animals of more than Rs 20 in value and of theft of property of more than Rs 50 (2) First class Magistrate can accept or reject a compromise in cases under Sections 497 and 498 (3) In default of payment of fine the convict shall undergo imprisonment for the term imposed by the Magistrate in default, part payment of fine not entitling convicts to remission of any part of the term of imprisonment.

(6) In early days of the construction of the Southern Punjab Railway, when the Punjab Government had no jurisdiction in the land ceded to the Railway Department, the State exercised criminal jurisdiction over the Railway line within its borders, but in 1899 the jurisdiction was ceded to the Multán District.

CHAP. III, B.

Civil and Criminal Justice.

Civil and Revenue Acts of British India adopted in the State.

The following Civil and Revenue Acts of the Government of India have been adopted by the State :—

No of Act.	Subject.	Date of enforcement.	Remarks.
Act VII of 1870 ...	Court fees	30th April, 1870.	With the modification that in suits the Court-fee charges are fixed at 10 per cent. and in execution of decrees at 5 per cent., no process fee being separately charged.
Act XIV of 1882	Civil Procedure Code	30th April 1874.	With slight modifications embodied in the Law of Interest.
Act IV of 1872 ..	Punjab Laws Act ..	11th January 1881.	
Act IX of 1872 ...	Law of Contract ...	Do.	
Act I of 1877 ...	Specific Relief Act .	Do.	
Act XV of 1877 ...	Limitation Act ...	Do.	
Act II of 1879 .	Stamp Act	Do.	
Act L of 1858 ...	Concerning Minors ...	15th March 1885.	Superseded by Act VIII of 1890.
Act XXV of 1858 .	Guardians and Wards	Do.	Do.
Act IX of 1861 ...	Property of Minors ..	Do.	Do.
Act XXVII of 1860.	Certificate of Inheritance.	Do.	Superseded by Act VII of 1889.
Act X of 1865 ..	Inheritance	Do.	
Act XV of 1875 ..	Amendments of the Punjab Laws.	19th November 1885.	
Act VI of 1869 ...	Modifications in the Law of Interest (Act 10 of 1883).	29th September 1890.	With slight modifications embodied in the Law of Interest.
Act XXV of 1899 ..	Modifications in the Punjab Courts Act.	19th August 1900.	Section 6 only is enforced,
Act III of 1877 ...	Registration . .	Do.	
Act XXVIII of 1871	Revenue Act .. .	Do.	Acts XVI and XVII of 1887 not being in force excepting Section 14 of the latter (regulating limitation for appeals in Revenue Courts).

Special Civil and Revenue Acts and Rules in force in the State.

Besides the above other special rules and regulations having the force of law in the State are given below :—

(1). Baháwalpur Civil and Military Service Code; came into force on the 1st of July 1908.

(2). Revised Municipal Code (with new bye-laws and amendments).

(3). Jail Manual, in which the Punjab Jail Manual is mainly followed.

(4). Employment Rules came into force in January 1900 for competitive Examinations (Judicial and Executive).

(5). Chaukídárí rules (like those in the Punjab); were adopted on 1st April 1876.

(6). Taqávi Rules, framed on 19th May 1899.

(7). Code for the regulation of leases of land.

(1) Rules for the lease of *nahri* and *barani* lands were first issued in 1871 by Major Grey, Political Agent. New rules were compiled in 1889 which were revised in 1892 and again in 1895. In 1893 rules for the lease of *cháhí* lands were framed. All these rules were revised and finally collected in the form of a "Code" in 1900.

CHAP. III. B.

Civil and Criminal Justice.

Extradition.

Extradition of criminal deserters from Imperial Service Troops from British territory is regulated by Act XV of 1903 for Sections of the Indian Penal Code specified in the schedule of the said Act; but with the District of Dera Ghází Khán extradition is also allowed in cases under Section 498, Indian Penal Code; and with Bikáner under the following sections of the Indian Penal Code: Sections 230 to 263, Sections 299 to 304, Sections 307—310 and 311, Sections 312 to 317, Sections 323 to 333, Sections 347 and 348, Sections 360 to 373, Sections 375 to 377, Sections 378 to 414, Sections 435 to 440, Sections 443 to 446, Sections 464 to 468, Sections 471 to 477. Reciprocal arrangements exist for extradition of criminals from the State to British territory and Bikáner, and *vice versá*.

Extradition proposed with Jaisalmer.

Numerous raids have been committed by the Jaisalmer people in Baháwalpur territory during the past six years and to prevent these a detachment of the Imperial Service Camel Corps had to be sent every now and then to the Frontier posts. The Baháwalpur Darbár has, however, proposed the adoption of extradition rules between the two States.

Judicial and Revenue powers of Public Servants in the State.

Civil, Revenue and Criminal powers of the Public Servants in the State are as given below :—

Public Servant.	Powers
Mushír-i-Ala	Described above.
Mushír-i-Mál	Revenue powers similar to those of a Commissioner in the Punjab.
Adálati or Chief Judge ...	Sessions and Divisional Judge.
Názim	Collector, 1st grade (Revenue Department), Superintendent of Irrigation with powers of inflicting unlimited fines, also special Magistrate with powers to try criminal cases under Sections 176 and 188, Indian Penal Code, and Sections 109 and 110, Criminal Procedure Code. Criminal powers under these sections are not conferred on any other Magistrate in the Judicial Department.
District Judge	Powers of a District Judge and District Magistrate as defined in Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes with the exception of the above-mentioned Civil [illegible] given only to Názims.
Munsif	Munsif, 1st class, in Civil, and Magistrate, 1st class, in Criminal cases as defined in Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes with the exception mentioned above.
Tahsildár	Assistant Collectors, 2nd grade, with power to try revenue cases of a value not exceeding 500 rupees.

No other public servants have any powers in Civil, Revenue or Criminal matters except the Private Secretary to the Nawáb, who exercises the powers of a Magistrate, 2nd class, in His Highness' Camp.

(1) Circular No. 11 of Political Agent's office, dated 5th January 1872 which came into force on 14th April, 1873.

CHAP. III, B.

Civil and Criminal Justice.

Procedure of appeal, revision, &c.

Judicial appeals from the orders of the Chief Judge and revenue and miscellaneous appeals from the orders of the Mushír-í-Mál and other heads of Departments lie to the Supreme Court of appeal or Adálat-í-Ala constituted in January 1905, which consists of three members: *viz.*, the Mushír-í-Ala, the Foreign Minister, and the General Secretary. Appeals lie from the orders of the Mushír-í-Mál and the Chief Judge only in cases originally decided by them, or in those in which their orders reverse those of their subordinates; when their orders confirm the orders of the Subordinate Courts no appeal lies. His Highness the Nawáb may, however, be moved to call for files from any Court for revision, or he may do so of his own motion. Such appeals and applications for revision are laid before the Nawáb by the Mushír-í-Ala. All orders of the Supreme Court in civil, revenue and criminal cases are subject to the sanction of the Nawáb. Appeals from the orders of the Tahsíldárs lie to the Názims; and from the orders of the Názims in revenue matters to the Mushír-í-Mál; in criminal cases decided under the Criminal Procedure and Indian Penal Codes to the Chief Judge; and under the Irrigation Department to the Mushír-í-Anhár. Appeals from the orders of the Munsifs both in civil and criminal cases lie to the District Judges, except an order in a criminal case which inflicts a punishment of more than six months and an order in a civil suit the value of which exceeds Rs. 500, both of which are referred on appeal to the Chief Judge. Appeals from the orders of the District Judge lie to the Chief Judge, except orders in civil suits the value of which exceeds Rs. 5,000 and criminal judgments which inflict punishments of more than 4 years which are appealable to the Adálat-í-Ala.

District Judges and Munsifs.

The District Judges are three in number and one is stationed at the headquarters of each Nizámat. The eight Munsifs are stationed at Minchinábád, Khairpur, Baháwalpur, Ahmadpur East, Allahábád, Khánpur, Rahímyar Khán (Naushahra) and Ahmadpur Lamma.

Redemption money (Iwázána or Máwiza).

In lieu of imprisonment under the Indian Penal Code or any other local or special law, except under Sections 395 to 398, Indian Penal Code, offences against the ruler of the State and capital sentences under Section 302, convicts can be released from jail by the payment of a sum ranging from Rs. 20 to Rs. 300 per month, according to their means. Redemption money, however, cannot be accepted from habitual offenders or those whose release endangers the public safety. The Chief Judge alone has the power to accept redemption money in lieu of imprisonment, subject to the sanction of the Nawáb, obtained through the Mushír-í-Ala.

Common offences.

The most frequent offences in the State are those relating to the abduction of women and cattle theft.

CHAP. III. B.

Civil and Criminal Justice.

Pleaders not allowed.

Barristers and pleaders have never been admitted into the State Courts, the idea being that their admission would tend to increase litigation and impoverish the people. Principals are not allowed to appear in Courts by agents unless such agents are near relations, or are agents of not less than a year's standing, and even then they can only appear on the ground of their principal's infirmity or incapacity.

Petition writing.

The method of writing petitions differs from that of the Punjab. Each Court has attached to it a petition-writer, who is paid a fixed salary. The scale of fees charged for writing petitions, &c., is given below:—

		Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Appeal and rejoinder	1	0	0
2.	Revision, review and rejoinders	1	0	0
3.	Application against the proposals of arbitrators	0	8	0
4	Application recording the arbitrators' findings	0	4	0
5.	Civil suits to the value of Rs. 50	0	2	0
6.	Civil suits above Rs. 50	0	4	0
.	Miscellaneous applications in civil and judicial suits ...	0	2	0
8.	Commissioner's report	0	2	0
9.	Translations and copies	Annas 3 up to 200 words: and one anna for every additional 100 or fraction of 100 words.		
10.	Deeds (of all kinds)			
11.	Acknowledgments and receipts	0	1	0
12.	Recognizance	0	3	0

These fees are credited to the Department concerned.

Registration.

There is no separate Registration Department, nor are there any Honorary Sub-Registrars as in the Punjab. Registration is carried on by the Judicial Department without extra pay. The Chief Judge acts as Chief Registrar, the District Judges as Registrars, and the Munsifs as Sub-Registrars. For statistics, see Table No. 37, Part B.

Trial o bad characters (Dera Ghází Khán and Baháwalpur).

To prevent crime on the border of Dera Ghází Khán, the State has agreed with the Deputy Commissioner of that district that the Assistant Commissioner of Rájanpur and the Názim of Khánpur shall meet twice a year for the *garddwari* of bad characters. Trials of bad characters of either jurisdiction under Section 110 of Act V of 1898 are held by both these officers sitting together, the offenders of the State being tried by the Magistrate of the State when the evidence for the prosecution is produced by people of the British district, and the offenders of Dera Ghází Khán District tried by the Rájanpur Magistrate when the evidence is produced by the State *zamíndárs*, &c. A similar arrangement exists between the Minchinábád Nizámat and the Montgomery District and is being proposed with Bíkáner.

Foreign Department.

The Foreign Minister's functions are described in the table given above. He has the following officers under him:—

(1) The *Vakíl* in attendance upon the Political Agent, Phúlkián States and Baháwalpur; and

CHAP. III, B.

Civil and Criminal Justice.

(2) The *vakils* appointed to the districts of Ferozepore, Montgomery, Multán, Dera Ghází Khán and Sukkur (in Sind), the Rájanpur sub-division, and the capital city of Bíkáner.

Mushírat-í-Mál (Revenue Department).

The Mushírat-í-Mál was first established by Colonel Grey, Political Agent, in November 1879, after the abolition of the Nizámats referred to in Section B., Chapter I. The Mushír-í-Mál (Revenue Minister) exercises revenue and executive functions similar to those of a Commissioner in the Punjab, but he has no authority over the Police. He has under him a large office, the total annual expenditure on which amounts to Rs. 22,478, and the following departments :—

(*a*). *Land Revenue.*—This consists of 3 Názims, 9 Tahsíldárs, 9 Naib Tahsíldárs, 1 District *kánungo*, 9 Office *kánungos*, 34 Field *kánungos*, and 359 *patwárís* (see Table 38, Part B) as well as *saildárs* and *lambardárs*.

(*b*). *Settlement.*--In the Ubha Tahsíls (*viz.*, Minchinábád, Cholistán and Khairpur) Settlement operations began in 1904, and are now in progress. The Mushír-í-Mál is Settlement Officer, and under him is an Assistant Settlement Officer, a Superintendent, two Deputy Superintendents, 22 *gardáwars* and 100 *muharrirs*, besides the permanent establishment of *patwárís*.

(*c*). *Domain Lands.*—The domain lands (or the estates which are the personal property of His Highness the Nawáb) are managed by the Mushír-í-Mál with the aid of the Názims and Tahsíldárs.

(*d*). *Horse Farm or Stud.*—The working of the Horse Farm is described in Section A of Chapter II. The establishment consists of a *Sarparast* (Superintendent), 9 *Ahlkárs*, and 27 menial employès. The total annual expense of the Stud establishment for the year 1903-04 was 3,204. The large area of land attached to it affords grazing for the animals, but most of it is annually leased on *aml khám*, or contract, to cultivators, and is a source of income to the State. The area of the farm (*lohra*) is as follows :—

Area in bighas.	*Cultivated.*	*Uncultivated waste.*
24,785	5,816	19,469

The following table shows the income and expenditure of the Stud under the four different heads for 1903-04 :—

Sources.	Income.	Expenditure.	Gain.	Loss.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Stud income ...	7,317	3,397	4,220	...
Aml khám	20,033	4,065	15,968	...
Baris (pasture grounds).	584	447	137	...
Gardens	210	243	...	33
Total ...	28,144	8,150	20,325	33

Section G.—Army.

Old military organisation.

In former times the military strength of the State consisted of (*a*) a certain number of paid cavalry and infantry, which in times of peace were made to act as escort of the Nawáb and as guards of towns, forts, treasury and the palaces, but were led to the field when occasion arose; and (*b*) the militia officered by *Raíses* and *Tumandárs* of the State, for military service. The *Raíses* and *Tumandárs* held *jágírs*, known as *Iwaz-i-Lashkarí* granted to them in consideration of such military help. In times of need, therefore, the Nawábs could not only utilise the services of their paid forces, but could also muster a large number of fighting men from among the people. In the use of the sword and the gun the most skilful tribes were the Dáúdpotras, Chándia, Khosa, Dashtí, Sharr, and Jatoí. The

CHAP. III, G.

Army.

Old Military organisation.

carrying of arms by the people was not then prohibited. The forces numbering over 10,000, which Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán, III offered to the British Government and despatched to take part in the Multán campaign with the British troops, were raised in the manner indicated above. The valuable services rendered by this force were rewarded by the Government in the form of a life pension of one lakh of rupees to the Nawáb. In 1864 the paid forces consisted of 9 regiments with a strength of about 3,000.

Military organisation in the time of the British Agency.

In 1866, on the death of Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán IV, the British Agency, then established, began at once to place the military organisation on a definite footing. The total military strength in 1870 was as under :—

1.	Contingent	Cavalry	701
		Infantry	306
2.	State ...	Cavalry	349
		Infantry	1,144
		Artillery	167

Re-organisation under the British Agency.

The total annual cost of the above was Rs. 2,09,759. In 1879 the State Infantry was greatly reduced in number and converted into Military Police. The State Cavalry was disbanded, a number being incorporated with the Contingent Cavalry, and the rest discharged on pension or gratuity, according to the length of their services. As regards the Artillery, the old native-made brass guns, which were considered unsafe from age and use, were replaced by 6 pounder muzzle-loading brass guns obtained with the sanction of Government from the Arsenal at Ferozepur.

Military organisation during the rule of Nawáb Sir Sádiq Muhammad Khán IV.

In November 1879 His Highness Nawáb Sádiq Muhammad Khán IV was granted by the Government the full powers of a Ruling Chief. The military strength existing at the time was as stated below :—

1.	Contingent	Cavalry	106
		Infantry	356
2.	Artillery	.. ..	76
3.	Military Police	... ...	262

The annual cost was Rs. 1,46,777. In 1883-84 an addition to the force was made by the institution of a Military Band with a numerical strength of 44 officers and men.

Re-organisation in 1888.

In 1888 His Highness Sir Sádiq Muhammad Khán IV offered the resources of his State to the Government, for employment in the Imperial Service in the operations on the Frontier, and, with the approval of the Government, re-organized the troops as follows :—

1.	Imperial Service	Cavalry (2 Troops)	211
		Infantry	800
		Infantry for Depôt	157
2.	Artillery	... ...	76
3.	Band	... ...	44
4.	Military Police	... ...	260

The annual cost of this force was Rs. 1,76,992. The Imperial Service force was to be supervised by Inspecting Officers

deputed by the Government, and the management conducted in accordance with the Standing Orders of the Military Department. In 1890, on the recommendation of Major Drummond the Cavalry was divided into three Troops as under :—

CHAP. III, C.

Army.

Re-organisation in 1890.

Imperial Service	Troop No. 1	75
	" " 2	75
Orderly ...	" " 3	75

No alterations took place in the Infantry, the Artillery, and the Band. The Military Police was also divided into two *paltans* ; No. 1 (156 strong), and No. 2, (112 strong) ; the former being stationed at Baháwalpur and the latter at Ahmadpur East. This organization lasted till December 1900, the annual expenditure being Rs. 2,47,201.

Imperial Service Camel Transport Corps substituted for the Imperial Service Cavalry and Infantry.

On the commencement of the China War in 1900 the Baháwalpur State offered Government the services of its Imperial Service Infantry for active service or for garrison duty. The constitution of the State forces, however, being such that no units were sufficiently large for service, the offer could not be accepted. The Darbar thereupon proposed that, as the smallness of the strength of the Baháwalpur Imperial Service Troops came in the way of their being accepted for active service, the Cavalry should be reduced, and the Infantry raised to a full battalion and, to make it still more useful, organized and trained as a battalion of Pioneers. In the meanwhile the Inspector-General of Imperial Service Forces suggested that the organisation of a Camel Transport Corps would be more suited to the circumstances of the country and more sure of employment in time of war. The suggestion was agreed to by the Darbar, who framed their proposals regarding it. The proposals were accepted by the Government in detail, and the Camel Transport Corps organized on January 1st, 1901. The Imperial Service Cavalry and Infantry were disbanded, a number of the men taken into the Camel Corps and the rest discharged on gratuity or pension according to the length of their service. The Camel Corps consists of—

(A) Camel Transport or Baggage Corps—

Commissioned Officers	4
Non-Commissioned Officers	25
Silladárs and buglers	826
Followers...	14
Total	869
Camels	970

(B) Mounted Rifle Company or Mounted Escort—

Commissioned Officers	5
Non-Commissioned Officers	20
Sepoys	136
Followers	13
Total	174
Camels	158

CHAP. III. C.

Army.

Imperial Service Camel Transport Corps.

The annual budget provision for the maintenance of the Imperial Service Camel Corps is Rs. 2,00,000. The actual expenditure for the year 1904-5 was as noted below :—

	Rs.
Mounted Corps	45,360
Baggage	1,15,087
Pensions	2,893
Rewards	772
Allowances, &c., ...	2,081
Contingencies on account of buildings and ammunition	11,766
Hospital	11,529
Total	1,89,858

Reserve company medical arrangements and offers of service of the corps.

A reserved company consisting of 85 men and officers was formed in June 1904 to meet the contingency of loss among the sepoys of the Baggage corps in a war. In 1904-05 it cost the State Rs. 9,758 out of the annual provision of Rs. 10,677 sanctioned for its maintenance. For the use of the Imperial Service troops a Hospital is maintained in the Cantonment Lines. The total number of patients treated during the year 1904-05 was 5,760, of which only 558 were in-patients, the average daily attendance of patients being 15·78. Camels and horses of the Imperial Service Corps are under the charge of four Veterinary Assistants appointed for the purpose. There has been no contagious or epidemic disease among camels since the establishment of the Corps. In 1904 the Nawab offered his Camel Corps for service with the Tibet Mission. The Government of India could not see their way to grant the request but thanked His Highness for the offer. Early in 1905 the Baháwalpur Mounted Escort, with two selected troops of the Transport Corps, attended the Muzaffargarh Training camp and won the approbation of General Walter Kitchener, who in a letter to the Nawáb acknowledged their good work.

Military Public or Irregular Forces.

Besides the Imperial Service Camel Corps the following Military Police or Irregular Forces are maintained by the State :—

	Officers and men.
(a) The Nizám Regiment (organised in 1901) ...	492
(b) His Highness' Body-guard (Horsemen)	103
(c) The Band	42
(d) Regiment No. 3	167
(e) The Palace Guard	68
Total (103 mounted and 769 foot)	872

The Nizám Regiment, the Palace Guard and Regiment No. 3 guard the Treasuries, the Palaces and Offices. There are 25 serviceable guns in the State. Of these 17 are with the Nizám regiment, 3 with Regiment No. 3 (at Ahmadpur) and 5 at Deráwar. The total expenditure on all

CHAP. III. C.

Army.

Military Police or Irregular Force.

these forces for the year 1904-05 was:—Nizám Regiment, Rs. 52,015; Body Guard, Rs. 31,230; Band, Rs. 7,522; Regiment No. 3, Rs. 14,587; Palace Guard, Rs. 5,309. Total Rs. 1,10,615. There is a separate dispensary for the Irregular Forces. During 1904-05 the total number of patients treated in the dispensary was 11,121, of which 585 were inpatients.

Mushír-i-Fauj.

Both regular and irregular forces are under the Mushír-i-Fauj (Commander-in-chief). The total expenditure on the establishment of the Mushír-i-Fauj (including the Commander-in-Chief's emoluments) amounted in the year 1904-05 to Rs. 6,559. The total expenditure for the year 1904-05 on all the military forces (including the establishment of the Mushír-i-Fauj) was Rs. 3,13,78 -6-0.

The First Kábul War—A. D. 1837.

The British forces that accompanied Shah Shúja to reinstate him on the throne of Kábul, passed on their way through Baháwalpur territory. In connection with this march, Nawáb Baháwal Khán III rendered such valuable services in supplying provisions, boats and camels, and in preparing a military road, that he was rewarded by the grant of Bhung and Kot Sabal (which now form part of the Baháwalpur State) in 1842. In 1848, Nawab Muhammad Baháwal Khán III despatched a force of 10,000 men to fight in co-operation with the British forces under Sir Herbert Edwardes and General Cortland. The Baháwalpur troops successfully fought against the forces of *Diwán* Múl Ráj at Sadosam and Kanerí and took a brilliant part in the siege of Multán. After the conquest of Multán the Nawáb was granted a life pension of one lakh of rupees. The first news of the Mutiny reached Baháwalpur on the 31st of May 1857. Nawáb Fatteh Khán received a letter from Mr. Oliver, Superintendent of Sirsa, requiring him to despatch all the troops forming the garrison of Baháwalgarh to Bangla Fázilká so as to be available for service in case of need. This summons was complied with. Subsequent to this a letter was received from Sir John Lawrence intimating the requisition of 500 Cavalry and 500 Infantry. Besides these two detachments, an additional force of 3,000 men was also sent to Sirsa and remained posted there till the 16th of April 1858. One hundred Cavalry and 356 Infantry were sent on service in connection with the Kábul Campaign under the command of Major S. Beckett, Assistant Political Agent and Superintendent. In recognition of the aid rendered by the State, Nawáb Sádiq Muhammad Khán IV was created a G. C. S. I. on the 25th of January 1882. The soldiers also received the campaign medal. In January 1900 an offer made to Government by the Baháwalpur Darbár of a gift of 20 horses with equipment for use in the South African War was accepted.

The Multán Campaign—A. D. 1848.

The Indian Mutiny—A. D. 1857.

Second Kábul War—A. D. 1879.

Horses for the South African War.

CHAPTER IV.—PLACES OF INTEREST

Ahmadpur Lamma.

CHAP. IV.

Places of interest.

Ahmadpur Lamma (28° 18′ N., and 70° 7′ E.), lies 4 miles north-west of Sádiqábád Station on the North-Western Ràilway, and about 15 miles south of the Indus. It lies in the Khánpur Nizámat and is the head-quarters of Ahmadpur Lámma Tahsil. The town is important because of its trade. It was built by Ahmad Khán, 5th in descent from Kehr, and named after him. In 1806 A.D. his son, Qádir Bakhsh Khán, waged war against Nawáb Baháwal Khán II, who sent a large force under Fateh Muhammad Ghorí against him. After some bloodshed, Qádir Bakhsh was taken prisoner and Ahmadpur Lamma with about 60 villages annexed to Baháwalpur. The town is built of *pakká* brick houses. The main *bázár* is metalled and has a flat roof of *sarkaná* throughout. The town was once protected by walls which are now in ruins. The water-supply is obtained in winter from wells sunk within and without the town, and in summer from the Ahmadwáh Canal which was excavated by Ahmad Khán and runs just under the old wall. The chief buildings of interest are the Jama mosque, the Fort, Ramzán Khán's mosque and the Tarkhánánwálí mosque. The first named was built by Ahmad Khán and repaired by Bahár Khan Khás-Khelí in the time of Muhammad Baháwal Khán III, and again recently by the present Nawáb at his own expense. To it is attached a private Arabic theological school under a native Arabic scholar. Close to the town is a mud fort, which formerly had a *pakká* outer wall. The largest fort in the State, after Deráwar, it is now half-ruined. The Police Station is inside it. The outer walls were pulled down in 1868. The old bungalow over the main gateway serves as a rest-house. Ramzán Khán's and the Tarkánánwálí mosques are built of *pakká* brick. The *dharamsála* of Bába Nának, and the Marhí Kalán are well-known Hindu places of worship. The town also contains two shrines, that of Bisbárat Alí Sháh, a *pakká* building, and that of Khákí Sháh, which is a mere *takia*, where people gather to indulge in *bhang* drinking. The climate of Ahmadpur is on the whole healthy, in spite of the uncleanly appearance of some of its quarters. Two gardens exist near the town. That of Fateh Alí Khán, originally a State garden when Ahmadpur was a principality, was sold to the Bhatias. The other, that of Maulaví Ghiyás-ud-Dín, is in a flourishing condition. The principal institutions in the town are the primary school, *thána*, Munsiff's Court, Post Office, Sarái, Municipal Office, and a Dák Bungalow. The Municipality consists of 8 nominated members, 4 Hindus and 4 Muhammadans, with the Tahsildár as President. The native physician, employed by the Municipal Committee, and the school master are *ex-officio* members. The income for the last 10 years is

CHAP. IV. Places of interest.

...n in Table 46 of Part B. The income and expenditure for ...-04 were :—

Income.	Rs.	Expenditure.	Rs.
Octroi ...	3,500	Police ...	764
		Conservancy ...	432
Other Sources	827	Lighting ...	87
		Miscellaneous ...	545
Total ...	4,327	Total ...	1,798

Masson writes of Ahmadpur Lamma thus :—

Traveller Masson.

"Chuta Ahmadpur (another name of the town) is a fair sized town, with good *bázár*, and surrounded with mud walls. Within them are some more recently fortified erections, but they are detached, and have no connection with each other, so that they seem to have been raised in pursuance of a plan never completed, as is probably the case. Otherwise they are well built, of kiln burnt bricks. Being the frontier town towards Sind, a regiment of 350 men with 6 guns is stationed at Ahmadpur."

AHMADPUR OR AHMADPUR SHARQIYAH (EAST).

Ahmadpur, or Ahmadpur Sharqiyah (also called *Wadda*, or *Kálriánwálí* Ahmadpur) lies in 29° 10′ N., and 71° 9′ E., at 348 feet above sea level, and is 30 miles south-west of Baháwalpur with a station on the North-Western Railway. It is the head-quarters town of the Ahmadpur Sharqiyah Tahsíl and lies in the Baháwalpur Nizámat. It was built by Ahmad Khán, son of Qádir Dinne Khán, and grandson of Piruj Khán (the ancestor of the Pirjánís) in 1748 and peopled from the adjacent villages. In 1758 a heavy flood from the Ghára having damaged the town, it was abandoned and a new site, on a mound half a mile to the south was selected for the present town. Ahmad Khán also excavated a canal called the Ahmadwáh, now fallen into disuse. The present *katra* of Ahmad Khán Mallezaí and the Mahalla Khatík lie in its old bed. Ahmad Khán had 8 sons, named Bráhím Khán, Dáúd Khán, Islám Khán, Alam Khán, Mahabbat Khán, Qátil Khán, Qádir Dinne Khán and Qutb Khán; the last excavated the Qutbwáh, which still irrigates a large area round Ahmadpur, Qádir Dinne Khán excavated a *rájwáh* called the Wáhí Qádir Dinna, and Mahabbat Khán built a *pakka básár* which is still called after him. In 1782 Mahabbat Khán gave his daughter in marriage to Nawáb Baháwal Khán II and conferred Ahmadpur, together with the Qutbwáh, on him as her dower; thereafter it formed part of Baháwalpur. The road from the Railway Station leads through an avenue of trees for a quarter of a mile and then bifurcates, one road leading to Dera Nawáb Sáhib, the other to the Tahsíl, which lies in the old fort. The latter also contains the Munsif's Court, Police Station and Municipal Office. The eastern gate of the fort opens into the town. The eastern *básár* is called Mahabbat Khán-wálí and the

1748 A. D.

1758 A. D.

1782 A. D.

CHAP. IV. Places of interest.

northern the Háthián wálí. The Juma mosque was built on a platform close to the *Chauk* by Nawáb Baháwal Khan II. The date of its construction is found in the verse engraved on the gateway. No less than 82 private gardens lie in and about the town.

Public institutions.

Ahmadpur has an Anglo-Vernacular Middle and a Theological School, a Civil Dispensary and a Post and Telegraph office. The houses are mostly built of burnt brick and are often double-storied. The Baháwalwáh, which passes near the Station is called the *khúni* (or bloody) canal, because every year some one is drowned in it.

Noteworthy shrines at Ahmadpur are :—

Shrines.

(1) The Khangáh Akhír Bahá-ud-Dín which lies in an extensive grave-yard. Bahá-ud-Dín is said to have practised *chilla* for 6 years without eating and drinking. Votive offerings are made at the shrine by both the Hindus and Muhammadans of the town. (2) At the end of the Háthián wálí *bázár* is the shrine of Yárá *faqír*, which is also much frequented. (3) The shrine of Núr Sháh Bukhárí, a fine piece of enamel work. Every Muharram four *támas* of the Hasnain are made for the benefit of the saint's soul.

Municipality.

The Ahmadpur Municipality, constituted at the same time as that of Baháwalpur, has 16 nominated members with the Tahsíldár as its president. It employs 54 officials and menials and spends Rs. 2,540 on salaries annually. For income and expenditure see Table 46 of Part B. Weekly registers of births and deaths are kept in the municipal office. The trade of Ahmadpur is considerable. It has a large *sajji* trade, and Dera Nawáb Sáhib, where His Highness occasionally resides, adds to its prosperity. The earthenware of Ahmadpur is excellent and is largely exported. The Ahmadpuri shoes, plain and embroidered, are the best in the State. Mangoes are abundant, they sometimes sell at 4 annas per maund, and are largely exported.

ALLAHABAD.

Alláhábád is a small town lying 4 miles west of Chaudharí Station, on the North-Western Railway, in 28° 57′ N. and 70° 57′ E. It is the head-quarters town of the Alláhábád Tahsíl and is in the Baháwalpur Nizámat. It was dedicated to Alláh by Nawáb Sádiq Muhammad Khán I about 1142 H. after he had received in *jágír* the *pargana* of Chaudharí from Nawáb Hayátulláh Khán, Governor of Multán. The houses are both *pakka* and *kachcha*, and the only *bázár* runs from north to south, with 5 or 6 narrow lanes branching off from it. It owes its importance to its large export of rice. The water-supply is generally obtained from wells inside and outside the town, but in the summer people mostly use *seú* (canal) water, as the well-water becomes undrinkable owing to the rise of the water level in the wells.

1729 A. D.

Principal Institutions.

The principal institutions are the Munsif's Court, Post Office, Municipal Office, Primary School Police Station, and Dák-bungalow. Its only garden is the *Sarkárí*

bágh. Alláhábád is famous for its dates and rice. A large trade is done in these commodities and there is a rice mill near Chaudharí Railway Station. Rice is so abundant that people generally eat loaves made of rice flour in winter, though this is elsewhere regarded as a luxury.

CHAP. IV.
Places of interest.

BAHAWALGARH.

Baháwalgarh, now a village of about 150 houses, is built within the walls of the old fort of that name, erected by Nawáb Baháwal Khán, II, in 1791, on the site of a villa called the Musáfiránwála. A strong garrison was placed in it to overawe the Bíkánerís and the turbulent Joya and Wattú subjects, who were always in revolt against the Kárdárs sent to govern them. It was the Kárdár's head-quarters prior to the Agency during the first four years of which, *i. e.*, till 1870, it was a Tahsíl headquarters. Hardly any trace of the fortifications remains. In the ruins old copper coins are sometimes found and in 1896, 2,000 cannon balls, each weighing over 4 seers, were unearthed. A relic of the halting place of Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán II exists in the shape of a garden, which covers an area of 10 *bighas*, and is still kept up.

1791 A. D.

BAHAWALPUR.

Baháwalpur, the capital of the State and head-quarters of the Nizámat and Tahsíl to which it gives its name, lies 3 miles south of the Sutlej in 29° 22° N. and 71° 41° E. In 1162 H. (1748 A. D.) Nawáb Baháwal Khán I raised a wall round the villa of Muhammad Panáh Khán Ghumrání and within it built a town which he called Baháwalpur after his own name. For its irrigation he dug a canal which still runs as far as Pabarhala village. This he called the Khánwáh, but it is also known as the Nángní owing to its serpentine course. Elphinstone visited Baháwalpur in A.D. 1808 and wrote of this town thus :—

Elphinstone's visit, 1808 A. D.

"We passed for a mile and a half under the walls of Baháwalpur, which, as well as the roads, were crowded with spectators, who in their turn, afforded no uninteresting spectacle to us. A striking difference was observable between them and the people on the east of the desert. Those we now saw were strong, dark, harsh-featured; had their hair and beards long; wore caps oftener than turbans; and spoke a language entirely unintelligible to our Hindoostanny attendants.

"The better sort wore the dress and affected the manners of Persia. After crossing a small canal, and passing through some fields we left the woods and at length reached the banks of the Hyphasis. I was much disappointed in the breadth of the river as well as with the appearance of its shores; but it was impossible to look without interest on a stream which had borne the fleet of Alexander. On the next day but one Baháwal Khán arrived, having come forty miles on purpose to show attention to the Mission.

"We rode out often during our halt at Baháwalpur and saw the town and its environs. The town is about 4 miles in circumference, but there are gardens of mango trees within the walls. The houses are of unburnt bricks with traces of mud. The city is of mud and very thin. Baháwalpur remarkable for its loongees, or silken girdles and turbans The inhabitants

CHAP. IV. — Places of interest.

of this and all the neighbouring countries on the west and north are principally Jats and Biloches, who profess the Muhammadan religion. There are more Hindús at Baháwalpur than any of the other provinces the Mission passed through."[1]

Masson, 1827 A. D.

The traveller Masson who was here in 1827 A. D. writes thus :—

"Baháwalpur is seated about two miles from the Gárrah. It formerly had walls, the indications of which only exist, and are used as a walk for the inhabitants. The houses are chiefly constructed of kiln-burnt bricks, and are very much mixed with gardens, the whole is arranged in a loose straggling manner, and is on all sides encircled by grove of date and pípal trees. The public buildings are not very remarkable, neither are any of the Khan's palaces attractive residences. There is, indeed, a handsome stone masjit in progress of erection. This town is the seat of many manufactures, some of them costly, and has a large trade."[2]

Gates and Mahallas.

The town is now about 3 miles in circumference, and is surrounded by gardens. It is also encircled by a metalled road with an avenue of fine trees, mostly *sharíhn* and *shísham*. The town has six gates, the Shikárpurí, Bohar Darwáza, Multání, Bíkánerí, Ahmadpurí and Deráwarí. The Bohar and Deráwarí gates are mere entrances, as is also the Morí Darwáza, but the others are of *pakka* masonry. The *bázárs* used to be narrow and tortuous but in the Agency period two main *bázárs* of considerable width were constructed, each crossing the other; one joining the Shikárpurí and Bíkánerí and the other the Multání and Ahmadpurí gates. The *bázárs* and almost all the important streets are metalled, and every year improvements are made by the municipality. The following are the chief Mahallas : Khalil Khán, Háshim Alí Khán, Bhákhrián, Mubárakpura, Kajalpur, Miání, Khatíkán, Taunkí, Am Khás, Ganj, Gusáínwála, Mallánwála, &c. Of these the Kajalpura and Am Khás are mostly *kachcha*, the rest *pakka*, often double-storied. The Muhammadan Mahallas are mostly built of mud, while those of the Hindus are as a rule of kiln-burnt bricks, a sign of the wealth of the latter community. The best known *bázárs* are the Greyganj, Chauk, Ahmadpurí, Sádiqganj, Dáman Sháh and Machhíhatta *bázárs*.

Malák Sháh Shrine and Mosques.

The Malúk Sháh Shrine is resorted to by people every Thursday, and on the I'ds and Ashra days fairs on a small scale are held there. Other places noted for fairs in Baháwalpur are given on pages 1?0 -212. The Juma mosque, close to the Chauk, was built by Nawáb Baháwal Khán II in 1191 H. and is the largest place of worship in the State. His Highness occasionally attends it for the Juma prayers. Another Juma mosque called the Machhíhatta-wálí is also largely attended. It was founded by Nawáb Muhammad Mubárak Khán in 1884 H., but its founder died before its minarets were finished.

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(1) Cabul, Vol. I, pages 22—26.
(2) Masson's Journeys, Vol. I, pages 21 – 22.

CHAP. IV. Places of Interest. The Daulat Khána.

The old palace was the house in the city now occupied by the Chief Minister, part of which is used as an octroi office and grain mart, and the *mahal* in the Nizám Regimental Lines, now used as a military hospital. As these places were inadequate and old, Sir Sádiq Muhammad Khán IV built a new palace, called the Daulat Khána, in 1881—86, at a cost of about two lakhs of rupees. It has a castellated wall round it and a fine garden within the wall. Round it lie the *baggi-khána*, *rath-khána*, and the *toshe-khána* buildings, with the offices and houses of the private staff and servants. Close to it is a *kachchá* tank about 400 feet long by 150 wide, and the handsome Daulat Khána *masít*. The Núr Mahal is a fine building in the Italian style, completed in 1875 by Mr. Heenan, the then State Engineer, at a cost exceeding 12 lakhs. It is the finest building in the State, after Sádiqgarh, and was intended as a residence for the late Nawáb Sir Sádiq Muhammad Khán IV, but he gave up the idea of residing there, owing to the proximity of the Maluk Sháh graveyard and it is now only used for darbárs or for lodging guests of high rank. The Mahal is situated in a specious garden where open-air *darbárs* are occasionally held. It is decorated with handsome fittings and furniture and was lately repaired at a cost of a lakh of rupees on the occasion of the present Nawáb's installation. A conspicuous feature of the Núr Mahal is the new mosque, about 200 yards from the building, built in 1903 by the present Nawáb, at a cost of Rs. 20,000. It is a *facsimile* of the mosque built by the Nawáb at the Chiefs' College in Lahore while a student there. The date of its construction as inscribed on a marble slab at the entrance is given in the line—"*Báni-i-masjid Baháwal Khán Shah-i-wálá nasab,*" (1320 H.)

The Núr Mahal.

Public institutions and buildings.

Between the road leading from the Bíkánerí Gate to the Daulat Khána and the cantonment are the Darbár office, Political Agent's lodge (in the Grey gardens), Public Works and Canal office with the Iron Works and Ice Machine buildings, the Treasury, Military Inspection-bungalow, Darbár Record office, Chief Judge's Court, Mushír Mál's office, District Judge's Court, Munsiff's Court, State Press and Post office. Between the Multání and Bíkánerí gates are the Central Jail, Municipal Hall, Saráe Godhú, Cavalry Lines, and Dák-bungalow (called the *puráni kothi*). The Tahsíl, the Kotwálí of Baháwalpur town, and the Police Station of the Baháwalpur *iláqa*, all lie in the town inside the Multání Gate. Close to the Bohar Gate is a flour mill, opened in 1896. It has a large trade and not only supplies flour to the town but also exports it. The roads in Baháwalpur connecting the town with the Railway Station, Courts and other important places are all metalled. The road to Himáití, now Baháwalpur East Station, was constructed and metalled in 1893 after the Southern Punjab Railway was opened.

The cantonment contains buildings for the Nizám Regiment and Imperial Service Camel Corps, close to the Treasury office; and

CHAP. IV. Places of interest.

the Orderly Risála is quartered in the old Imperial Service Lines, close to the Minchin gardens.

Municipality.

The Baháwalpur Municipality was constituted in October 1874. Its octroi boundaries include the town proper, the Daulat Khána and cantonment lines, and octroi posts are maintained at the Railway Stations of Baháwalpur East and Baháwalpur West. The municipal income and expenditure will be found in Table 46 of Part B. The committee consists of 24 nominated members, half Hindus and half Muhammadans. The rules enjoin new elections every third year; but they have never been acted on and most of the members are of over 20 years' standing. In certain cases membership has become hereditary. The sewage outfalls of the houses outside the town are at 6 sites outside it, but the interior *mahallas* have no drainage system and rain water collects in ponds, natural or artificial. Water is obtained from wells in the streets and private houses, but in summer people mostly use *seú* or canal water, and consider it a luxury. An analysis of the water in the State wells has been given on page 21 The water is unwholesome and is supposed to cause spleen and scurvy. About 50 *tum-tums* are licensed, each paying Rs. 6 per annum as tax, but the drivers are not licensed. The trade of Baháwalpur town is virtually that of the State as a whole, and this has been described in Sec. F., Ch II. The octroi rates are elsewhere described. Until 4 years ago the octroi dues were levied by municipal servants, supervised by a *sarparast chungí*, but the contract has now been sold and they are realised by the contractor.

Educational institutions.

The town possesses the Sádiq Egerton College, the Sádiq Anglo Vernacular Middle School and the Church Mission School. The latter was started in 1866 by the Revd. Mr. Yeates of Multán, half its expenses being defrayed by the State. It teaches up to the Middle Standard, and now receives a consolidated grant-in-aid of Rs. 100 per mensem from the State. The town has also a theological school and an orphanage, elsewhere described. There are two *saráis* in the town; one the Láljíwálí outside the Shikárpurí Gate, built by the State in memory of Láljí Parshád, minister in 1879; the other, the *Sarái* Godhú Mal, built in 1875, outside the Morí Gate. Both afford good accommodation to travellers. Baháwalpur possesses 29 gardens, of which the following, among others, belong to the State; the Daulat Khána, Núr Mahal, Grey, Minchin, Lál Bágh, and Magazine gardens.

European cemetery.

About a mile from Baháwalpur, on the road to Ahmadpur, is a European cemetery which among others contains the grave of Colonel Adam Duffin, of the 2nd Bengal Cavalry, who died on the Sutlej in December 1838.

"Empress" bridge.

The river Sutlej or Ghára is crossed by the iron girder "Empress" bridge, of 16 spans, 4,258 feet long, opened on the

8th of June, 1878, by Colonel Sir Andrew Clarke, R.E., K.C.M.G., C.B., C.I.E., Director-General of Public Works, on behalf of Lord Lytton.

CHAP. IV. — Places of interest. "Empress" bridge.

BHÁGLA.

1767 A. D.

In 1181 H. (1767 A.D.) Alí Murád Khán Pirjání, founder of Taranda Alí Murád Khán, built this *kachcha* fort. It is 100 miles south-west of Baháwalpur, and is now in ruins but the four wells outside the fort called Mahrán-wálí Khúyán are still used by the people who sometimes gather there. Dheds generally live there, and in the rainy season cattle-breeders come from a distance.

BHIMWAR (see ISLAMGARH).

BHUTTA WAHAN.

Bhutta Wáhan, a very ancient place, founded, according to the Malfúzát-i-Shaikh Hákim, at the same period as Mau, is situated on a high mound, 10 miles north of Rahímyár Khán. It is said to have been founded by the Dahrs but its original name is unknown. It is stated that its name was changed into Bhutta Wáhan (*wáhan* =habitation in Sindhí) when it was wrested by the Bhuttas (a branch of the Bhattís) from the Dahrs about 1,000 years ago. At that period the Indus flowed at a distance of hardly a mile from Bhutta Wáhan, and its deserted bed called the Lurhwání is still sufficiently deep to form a lake into which fall the surplus waters of the Khánwáh Canal. The Lurhwání (lit. a stream on which a boat can be launched) is also called the Tirmúhín, (lit. three mouthed), because about 700 years ago two branches of the Indus joined at a point close to Bhutta Wáhan and thus formed three streams. Here the box containing Sassí was launched on the river. Sassí was the daughter, says the Bhutta Wáhan tradition, of a Thání Brahman, who cast her horoscope at her birth and divined that she would fall in love with a Muhammadan Biloch. In order to save his family from this humiliation he shut her up in a box and launched it on the river on the night of Tuesday, the 1st of Chet. The box was found by Atta, a washerman. The story is well-known in the Punjab, however the local tradition claims Bhutta Wáhan as the birth place of Sassí The point in the Tirmúhín where Sassí was thrown in is still shown. There are three families of the Thání Pushkarnas at Bhutta Wáhan, of which one, represented by Misrs Káhn Chand and Wású Rám, is believed to be directly descended from Sassí's parents. Bhutta Wáhan also claims to be the birth-place of Abul Fazl and Faizí, the sons of Mulla Mubárak. A place in the village is said to be so sacred that, if a woman be delivered of a child there, it is sure to attain to world-wide fame, and will either be a statesman (like Abul Fazl) or a scholar (like Faizí) or a lover (like Sassí) or be renowned in some other way. Unfortunately no one can point out the precise spot.

Story of Sassí.

CHAP. IV.
Places of Interest.

DERA NAWAB SAHIB.

Dera Nawáb Sáhib, or Dera Mubárak, or Dera Mualla (the high), by which names the place is generally known, is 8 miles south-south-east of Ahmadpur, and practically forms part of that town. The rulers of Baháwlpur, from Nawáb Baháwal Khán II to Baháwal Khán IV, had three capitals. Baháwalpur, Ahmadpur and Deráwar, but Ahmadpur was their favourite residence. None of them, however, lived in the town itself, except Nawáb Baháwal Khán II, who during his halts at Ahmadpur lived in the fort built by him in 1782 A. D. The site of their residence was the present Dera. Almost every Nawáb built a new Mahal for himself at Dera Mualla such as the *Hanjil Mahal*, the *Núr Mahal*, the *Daulat Khána*, &c. The place has gradually developed into a town, with a small *bázár* and much trade. The finest building in the State is the Sádiqgarh Palace, built by Nawáb Sir Sádiq Muhammad Khán IV at a cost of Rs. 11,35,000. It was begun in 1882 and completed in 1895. Later improvements cost more than four lakhs.

DERAWAR AND JAJJA.

The following account of Deráwar is taken from the Táríkh-i-Murád, which is based on the Shástrí chronicle of one Mauji Rám Biás, whose ancestors were the family *parohits* of the Bháti rulers of Deráwar. Jajja and Deva Sidh were two Bháti Rájás, Dera Sidh being the sister's son of Jajja. In 300 Hijra, Jajja ruled over the modern Tahsíls of Kháupur and Ahmadpur East. In Sambat 900 Jajja founded the town of Jajja, still a village of considerable importance. The Indus is said to have then flowed close to the town but it now runs 10 miles west of the village. Dera Sidh, also called Deva Ráwal or simply Ráwal, built a fort in the bed of the Hakra in the Cholistán, with the consent of Jajja Bhátia, in Sambat 909, and gave it his own name, but Jajja from jealousy ordered his nephew to discontinue building. Deva Ráwal's mother, Jajja's sister however interceded and wrote to Jajja:

878 A. D.
843 A. D.
852 A. D.

Ráe Jajja si wanuti bhen puchháwe. Kia Bhutta Kia Bhátia kot usárán de. The sister of Jajja informs him that Bhutta and Bhátia are one and the same; let the fort be built. No sooner was Jajja's permission thus secured than Deva Ráwal hastened to complete the fort and forty battlements or towers were built, twenty *kachchá* and twenty *pakká*. One tower to the left of the main gate was called the Kakúhá after an architect of that name. A *pakká* well was dug in the fort, and a tank outside it to collect rain-water. The fort had a gateway, just opposite to which a room was built and these were fortified with an iron gate.

1733 A. D.

From Sambat 909 to 1790 the fort remained in the possession of Deva Ráwal and his descendants. On

CHAP. IV.
Places of interest.

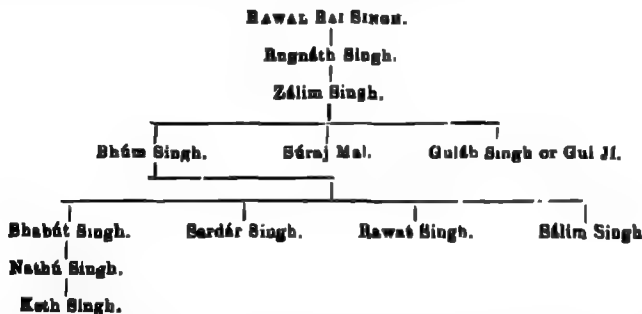
the 20th of Ziqad, 1146 H. Nawáb Sádiq Muhammad Khán I, dispossessed Ráwal Rái Singh and occupied Deráwar. The descendants of Deva Ráwal, who held the fort till the time of Ráwal Rái Singh, were:—(1) Deva Ráwal, (2) Ludda, (3) Bachhú, (4) Dosáwa, (5) Jaisal Jí, (the founder of Jaisalmer), (6) Kalyán Jí, (7) Chachú Jí, (8) Thej Ráe, (9) Jit Senh, (10) Múl Ráj, (11) Deo Ráj, (12) Kehar Jí, (13) Lakhman Kailun, (14) Bairsí, (15) Cháchú Jí, (16) Deví Dás, (17) Jit Senh, (18) Laun Karan, (19) Mal Dev, (20) Bhaun Singh, (21) Rám Chandar, (22) Dal Saháe, (23) Mádho Singh, (24) Kishan Singh, (25) Ráwal Rái Singh.

1733 A. D.

Though in Sambat 1804 Ráwal Rái Singh re-took the fort of Deráwar from Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán I, in Sambat 1816 he voluntarily made it over to Nawáb Mubárak Khán on condition that the latter paid him half the income from the tolls (*sakát*). Until Sambat 1842 Ráwal Rái Singh and his son Ragnáth Singh received the stipulated sum; but after the latter's death, his son Zálim Singh was content to receive Rs. 50 per mensem as a gratuity, which he and his son Bhúm Singh continued to enjoy till 1833 A. D. when it lapsed on the latter's death. The descendants of Bhúm Singh, who lived in the foreign territories, never laid claim to the concession, but when a representative of the family appeared in the court of the Nawáb he generally received a *khillat*. The descendants of Ráwal Rái Singh were:—

1747 A. D.

1759 A. D.

1785 A. D.

The descendants of Nathú Singh live at Gharyála, a village in Bíkáner State. He was related to the rulers of Bíkáner and Jaipur, his father's sister being the wife of Sardár Singh, ruler of Bíkáner, and his sister the wife of the Mahárája of Jaipur.

Tod's version.

For another interesting version of the history of Deráwar and its rulers see Col. Tod's Rájasthán—Annals of Jaisalmer.

DHUIN.

1772 A. D.

Dhúin was a ruined mound, on which in 1186 H. Aqil Khán, son of Kabír Khán Achrání, built a *kachcha* fort, now in ruins. It is 56 miles south-west of Baháwalpur, and 32 miles of Deráwar. In the rainy season cattle-breeders camp there. The water is bitter.

CHAP. IV.
Places of interest.

DINGARH OR TIRHARA.

1757 A. D.
1756 A. D.

This fort, now called Díngarh, lies in the Cholistán of Sádiqábád Tahsíl and is said to have been built by Bahádur Khán Haláni in 1171 H. at the instance of Lálú, a Hindu of Jaisalmer, on the site of the Tirhára, a place of considerable antiquity and a strategic point on the Jaisalmer border. Another story is that the fort was begun by one Brahím Khán, son of Muhammad Marúf Kehrání in 1170 H. and completed by his nephew Khudá Bakhsh Khán (son of Núr Muhammad Khán, son of Muhammad Narúf Khán). On the lintel of the inner gateway is inscribed the Muhammadan *kalima*, underneath which were some Persian lines which cannot be deciphered owing to the wood having been eaten away, but the words " Khudá Bakhsh Khán " are still visible. The fort is now in ruins.

FATEHGARH OR GAURDIANA.

1799 A. D.

In 1214 H. Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán II, built this fort, with a *pakka* exterior, on the site of Gaurjiána or Gaurdiána, 15 miles north-west of Amrúka Railway Station and 150 miles north-east of Baháwalpur, and named it Fatehgarh after his father Fateh Khán. The well inside the fort is now filled up. Outside the fort are two *pakka* wells and a *karhcha* tank, of which the latter is used as a reservoir for rain-water. Before the Agency times it was garrisoned with batteries, and placed in charge of the Arbáni Dáúdpotras, whose descendants still live in the village close to the now ruined fort.

GARHI IKHTIYAR KHAN.

1753 A. D.

Garhí Ikhtiyár Khán lies about 6 miles west of Khánpur, in 28° 40′ N., and 70° 34′ 30″ E., originally founded by Shádí Khán, an official of Khudá Yár Khán, Kalhora, during the supremacy of the Kalhoras in Sind, it was named Garhí Shádí Khán; but after the death of Núr Muhammad, Kalhora, (Sháh Qulí Khán) the Kalhora power declined, and in 1753 Háji Ikhtiyár Khán Mundháni of Gundí, by a sudden attack on the town, took it from the Kalhora officials, fortified it and changed its name to Garhí Ikhtiyár Khán. He also excavated the Ikhtiyár Wáh. An account of the conquest of the town by Nawáb Baháwal Khán II has been given in Sec. B of Chap. I. The town is built both of *karhcha* and *pakka* masonry and some houses have thatched roofs. The only *bázár* traverses the town from east to west. The chief buildings of interest are—

The Juma mosque built by Háji Ikhtiyár Khán in 1174 H., Ghází Khán's mosque, the Máí Sáhib *masjid*, Maulaví Muhammad Amín's mosque, the *masjid* of Maulaví Adam, and the Mahal and bungalow of the ex-Kháns of Garhí. All these are badly in need of repairs. Garhí Ikhtiyár Khán is famous for its manufacture of guns, and it used to make good cutlery,

swords and knives. Its gunmakers could imitate any gun they saw, even, it is said, machine-made English breech-loaders. They copied the English marks so exactly that they could hardly be distinguished from the original. Col. Minchin, as Political Agent, once gave them a new breech-loader to copy and it is said he could not distinguish the copy from the original. The Arms Act has practically put a stop to the making of arms there. Only licensed gun and sword holders and Police officials get arms mended at Garhí. The pottery of Garhí Ikhtiyár Khán is second to none. Its *súrâhís* and *piálás* bear comparison with those of Ahmadpur. The town is surrounded by large groves of date palms the fruit of which is largely exported, and there are a few orchards outside the town. Fish from the Gágrí Dhand is brought in daily to the town, which has the best fish-market in the State. The municipality consists of 8 members with the Tahsíldár of Khánpur as President. The income for the last 9 years is shown in Table 46 of Part B. The income and expenditure for 1903-04 were—

Income.	Rs	Expenditure.	Rs
Octroi ..	1,003	Municipal staff .	98
		Police	286
Other sources	150	Conservancy	274
		Lighting and miscellaneous	64
Total ..	1,153	Total ...	622

GAURDIANA (see FATEHGARH).

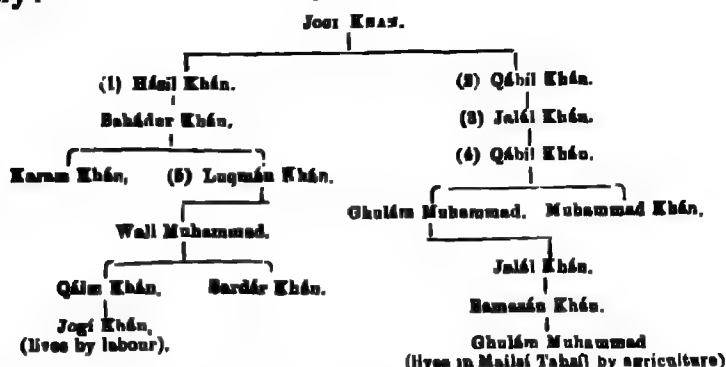
GHAUSPUR.

A Municipal town, in 30° 15′ N. and 70° 52′ E. It is believed to have been founded by Lál Khán, ancestor of the Ghaleja tribe of Ghauspur, and named after the saint Ghaus Bahá-ud-Dín Zakariya of Multán (see page 145). But the Kehrání Dáúdpotrás aver that it was founded by Ikhtiyár Khán (founder of Garhí Ikhtiyár Khán) in about 1750 A. D. and called after his son Ghaus Bakhsh Khán. No trace, however, of the Dáúdpotras is found at Ghauspur while the Ghalejas are numerous and own lands in and about the town. The whole town is built of kiln-burnt bricks and is surrounded by self-planted groves of date trees. The Municipality, established in 1903, has an annual income of Rs. 1,200. The population according to the local Census of 1906 was 2,310.

HASILPUR.

Hásilpur lies on the bank of the old bed of the Pakhála (*vide* Section A, Chapter I), about 7 miles south of the Sutlej and a mile to the north of Hásilpur Railway Station (29° 43′ N., 72° 38′ E.,) and was founded by Hásil Khán, son of Jogí Khán,

CHAP. IV. Places of interest.

Ghumrání. The following pedigree table elucidates this family's history:—

Ghumrání Chiefs.

Of these numbers 1 to 5 succeeded, in the order enumerated, to the chieftainship of Hásilpur, Qábil Khán (No. 4) was treated to as almost an equal by the Nawábs of Baháwalpur, and at weddings and funerals in his family the heir-apparent of the Pirjání family represented the Nawáb at Hásilpur. The family prospered till Qábil Khán's death, but his successors lost ground, and in the reign of Sádiq Muhammad Khán II dissensions arose among the Hásilpur Dáúdpotras, most of whom accepted pensions from, and transferred their shares in the Hásilpur domain to the Nawáb, and Sádiq Muhammad Khán sent his slave, Sohráb Khán Chácher, to administer them. The Hásilpur Dáúdpotras, however, took offence at his appointment and killed him as being a son of a maid-servant. Luqmán Khán, the Hásilpur chief, was also killed by Sohráb Khán's servants in the affray The Nawáb then annexed the whole of the Hásilpur territory, but gave ¼th of its income to Luqmán Khán's heirs. This grant was gradually reduced until in the Agency period the last remnant of the *jágír* was resumed. Usmán Khán Ghumrání, representative of the Hásilpur house, receives a *kasúr* of Rs 96 a year; and its other members live by labour and agriculture The town is partly *kachcha* and partly of *pakka* masonry.

Buildings of interest.

A small narrow *bázár* runs from north to south and is crossed at intervals by seven crooked lanes. The houses number nearly 350 The water supply is obtained from wells sunk within and without the town. Rain water runs off into the deep depression called the Pakhála, outside the town. The chief buildings of interest are the mosque of Karam Khán and Hásil Khán. The former was built about 140 years ago by Karam Khán, grandson of Hásil Khán, Ghumrání, founder of the town. Hásil Khán's mosque dates from 1768 A D., and was more than 6 years in building. Its front is decorated with verses of the Qurán in relief. All round the principal door is the *áyat-ul-kúrsí* in raised letters, to which the mosque owes its fame. It was half ruined, and its

CHAP. IV
Places of interest.

outer wall had crumbled to dust, when the late Nawáb Sir Sádiq Muhammad Khán IV granted a sum of money with which its lost beauties were to some extent restored, but much still remains to be done to it. When independent the principality of Hásilpur comprised a large area on the other side of the Sutlej with Luddan, Salol and Dára, now in the Mailsí Tahsíl of the Multán District. The boundary between the territories of the Lakhweras and Hásilpur Dáúdpotras was the Bastí of Dulla Bhadera, which they owned in equal shares. Eastward the limit of its area was Tibba Ráika, and southward Phúlra and Wallhar were both included in it.

Shrines and temples.

The places of religious interest at Hásilpur are:—the shrines of Muhammad Panáh Tiwána and of Muhammad Sháh, the *dháramsál pipalwálí*, the Bela Thákrán, *dharamsál* Rám Singhwálí, and two *marhís*. Of these the first two deserve a passing notice. The shrine of Muhammad Panáh lies about a mile west of the town. He was a wandering *faqír* who performed a *chilla* on the site of the shrine, which was built after his death by one of his descendants. It gradually fell into ruin until it was rebuilt a few years ago, at a cost of Rs. 24,000 by Ghulám Muhammad Khán Daulatána, Raís of Luddan. A fine mosque, *sarái* and *majlis khána* are attached to the shrine. It does not, however, count many believers among the local population and most of its votaries come from the Multán District. The shrine of Muhammad Sháh lies about a mile south-east of the town. Muhammad Sháh, locally surnamed Rangíla, was a *faqír* who in his wanderings, spent a *dupahr* (noon-tide) there. At first only a mound, on which the saint is said to have stayed, existed, and it is stated that any building erected on the spot at once fell to the ground. But nearly ten years ago one Umed Alí Sháh built the present shrine with the aid of the State. It attracts many believers from the neighbourhood, who offer all kinds of sacrifices and *nazars*. A *samádh* near the shrine of Muhammad Sháh has an interesting history. In the month of Sáwan, Sambat 1920, during the reign of Baháwal Khán IV, Báwa Bhajan Gur Singh, a *faqír*, came to Hásilpur. He was a disciple of Báwa Naráin Gur of Marhí Rudh Náthí Padwin Aughar in Bhatner. Though eighty years of age he was tall and handsome, and was the spiritual guide of Rája Sardár Singh of Bikáner. He performed *chillas* (penances in solitude) for five months at Hásilpur, and then one day in Maghar, Sambat 1920, chanced to visit the shrine of Muhammad Sháh Rangíla. He declared that its occupant was possessed of miraculous powers, and on account of his saintly merits desired to make his *samádh* close to it. He accordingly chose a site near a banyan tree, a mile south of Hásilpur, and on Maghar 10, Sambat 1920, ordered his grave to be dug, and getting into it begged that earth should be thrown over him. The by-standers were about to do so when an order was received from the Kárdár, saying that burying a man alive was contrary to the

CHAP. IV. — Places of Interest.

tenets of Islám. On this the assembly dispersed. Next morning some *faqírs* appeared on the spot and buried the Báwa alive in the presence of the Fazlání Dáúdpotrás. A fair is held annually about the end of Maghar, on the Sheorátrí, and is attended by all classes, both Hindu and Muhammadan, and *halwa* (flour cooked in sugar and *ghi*) is distributed for the benefit of the *faqír's* soul. The principal institutions of the town are a School, Post Office, *sarda*, Municipal Office, Dák Bungalow, Police Station, and a *daulat khána* or rest-house for the Nawáb.

Municipality.

The Municipal Committee consists of eight nominated members with the Tahsíldár of Khairpur as President. The income for the last four years is shown in Table 46 of Part B. In 1903-04 the income and expenditure were—

Income.	Rs.	Expenditure.	Rs.
Octroi	1,135	Police	209
		Conservancy	343
Other sources	162	Lighting, Public Works and Miscellaneous.	121
Total ...	1,297	Total ...	673

Trade.

The town has no particular industry. Its chief exports are indigo, wheat, *til*, wool and *ghi*, which are produced in abundance, while rice, *gur*, sugar, piece-goods, oils and pulses form the chief imports. The *methi* of Hásilpur is the best in the State. Its leaves are dried and the *ság* is sent away as presents.

ISLAMGARH.

Islámgarh, the old Bhímwar, was built by Ráwal Bhím Singh in Sambat 1665, as the following inscription on its gate in the Bhábrí character, proves:—"*Sambat* 1665, *Asuj Wadí* 2, *Máhráj Ráwal Siri Bhím Singh Jí Máhráj.*" In 1180 H. Ikhtiyár Khán Mundhání, chief of Garhí Ikhtiyár Khán, took the fort by a stratagem. Two officers named Jalál Khán and Shujáat Khán were appointed by Ráwal Múlráj (son of Ráwal Akhí Singh) to command the garrison, and they were regarded as too loyal to be mistrusted. They often went, however, to Garhí Ikhtiyár Khán to provide themselves with necessaries and Ikhtiyár Khán conspired with them there and promising them a pair of gold bangles and money, obtained the keys of the fort from them. Having got possession of the fort he changed its name to Islámgarh. But he only gave the traitors gilt bangles so that they gained nothing by their disloyalty. The fort, which is in the Tahsíl of Baháwalpur and is now a Police Station, has never been repaired since 1860. It is 28 miles south-east of Bhágla.

1608 A. D.

1766 A. D.

JAJJA—(see DERAWAR).

CHAP. IV.
Places of Interest.

JAMGARH.

1788 A. D.

In 1203 H. Jám Khán Marúfání built this fort, 30 miles east of Baháwalpur. Its exterior is *pakka*. It had four towers and a rampart on which roofed houses were built, but now no longer exist. Outside was a *kachcha* rampart, which has disappeared, leaving only a few traces of its mud towers; but its main gateway, which is *pakká*, is still to be seen. No timber was used in the fort, except in the main gateway and one smaller gate. The water is bad. The fort lies between Marot and Mírgarh.

JAND KHAND.

This is a very high mound close to the fort of Deráwar. The only tradition extant about it is that it was a flourishing town in the time of Alexander, who is said to have halted at the Jand Khand ferry and crossed the Hakra on his way to Lower Sindh. That Alexander reached a point so far below as Deráwar is hardly incredible, as according to the traditions recorded by Colonel Tod, Alexander marched as far as Dhandoosir (25 miles south of Bhatner). "An aged native of Dhandoosir," writes Colonel Tod, "replied to my inquiry as to the recollection attached to this place (*Rung-Mahall*) that it belonged to a Powár prince who ruled once all these regions when Sekundar Roomi attacked them." (1)

JANNPUR.

A town in the Allahábád Tahsíl, Baháwalpur Nizámat, 29° 1′ N. and 70° 50′ E. It is supposed to be the Jundrúd of early Arab rule in Sindh, but the old town was destroyed by the Indus more than three centuries ago and the present town is nearly 4 miles to the S. E. of the real site of the old Jundrúd. It is well known for its shrines and large trade in date fruits and rice. A Municipality was established here in 1903 and has an average yearly income of about Rs. 600.

KANDERA.

1764 A. D.

1805 A. D.

This fort was built with a *pakka* exterior on a ruined mound called the Kandera in 1178 H. by Fazal Khán, son of Bhakhar Khán Pirjání, and is 125 miles south-west of Baháwalpur. The fort has a gateway and four towers. In 1220 H. it was demolished by Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán II, and now only a ruined tower remains. The Cholistání people, especially the Mahrs, bring their cattle here in the rains.

KHAIRGARH.

1775 A. D.

In 1189 H. Hájí Khán, son of Ikhtiyár Khán, built a *kachcha* fort in the Cholistán and named it Khairgarh. It is 30 miles south-west of Baháwalpur. Near the gate of the fort are two *pakka* vaulted chambers and a *pakka* tank. It is now in ruins.

(1) Rájasthan, Vol. II, Annals of Bíkáner, Chapter III.

KHANGARH.

1783 A. D.

In 1198 H. Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán II built this fort 35 miles south-west of Deráwar and directed that the merchandise of Khurásán, etc., going to Hindustán through Maujgarh should in future go *viá* Khángarh, to ensure the safety of the caravans. The fort is now in ruins.

KHAIRPUR.

Khairpur is built on a mound about 6 miles south of the Sutlej and one mile north of Támewálí Station on the Southern Punjab Railway (29° 35′ N. and 72° 16′ E.). It is the head-quarters town of the Khairpur Tahsíl and lies in the Minchinábád Nizámat. The town, built of mud and *pakka* bricks, is surrounded on the south and east by ever-encroaching sand-hills. A narrow winding *bázár* runs from north to south and its three sections bear different names, *viz.*, the *Katra Nanpál* to the north, the *Machhí Hatta* in the middle, and the *Pipalwálí bázár* to the south. Unmetalled throughout, it is covered in at intervals by a *sarkána* roof. Almost all the shops are *pakka*, irregularly laid out. Owing to the proximity of the sand-hills, the streets and *bázár* are always covered with a layer of sand. The town is divided into four *mahallas*, *viz.*, Sadqání, Marúf Khání, Jamání, and Kirmání. It was built, near the Támewála mound in 1760, by Marúf Khán, a Dáúdpotra chief, who also built a mosque which he called the *Khair-ul-Masájid*. This mosque, now on its southern edge, originally stood in the centre of the town, which extended southwards to where now is the Támewálí Railway Station. The town has been driven to its present site by the ever-advancing waves of sand which pour in from the Rohí or Cholistán. If this process continues the town is doomed to destruction. The water-supply is obtained from wells dug within and without the town. The water is sweet unlike that of the Támewálí Station which is brackish. The chief building of interest, the *Khair-ul-Masájid*, is now in ruins and almost buried beneath the sand. The minaret standing 40 feet above the sand dunes commands a view of the whole town. A few gardens lie to the west. Of these the Sarkárí, the Sháh Sáhibwála, and that of Malik Tirath Dás are the best. The climate like that of most dry places is healthy, but the town is visited almost daily by strong winds and sand-storms. The shrine most frequented by believers is that of Maulaví Khudá Bakhsh Sáhib; but other shrines have sprung up of late. One of these, the shrine of the Yunání Hakíms, has elicited the following satire from a local poet:—*Nizám-ud-dín ajab káre riyá kard; Bazor-i-zar pidar rá auliyá kard*; *i. e.*, "Nizám-ud-dín has done a wonderful act of hypocrisy; he has canonized his father by means of money."

1760 A. D.

Municipality.

The Municipality, constituted in 1883, consists of 8 nominated members, with the Tahsíldár and Náib Tahsíldár as president and vice-president respectively. Its income for the last ten years

CHAP. IV.

Places of interest.

is shown in Table 46 of Part B. The income and expenditure for 1903-04 were :—

Income.	Rs.	Expenditure.	Rs.
Octroi	5,231	Police	506
		Conservancy	714
Other Sources	951	Dispensary	1,682
		Public Works	400
		Miscellaneous	183
Total ...	6,182	Total ...	3,487

Institutions.

The principal institutions are : an Anglo-Vernacular Middle School, a Theological School, Post Office, Dispensary, Municipal Office, and *serái*; the Munsif's Court, Tahsíl, *thána* and a Dák Bungalow. There is also a small *daulat-khána* for the use of the Nawáb when on tour. The town is especially noted for its *saldrís*, *lungís*, calico-printing, *duhars*, *surúhís* and other earthen ware, printed *palang-poshes* (bed-clothes), *kandúras* (table cloths), and *janamázes*, which, with grain, form its chief exports; while cloth, piece-goods, *gur*, sugar, oils and *ghí* are the chief imports. The people of Khairpur are given to intrigue, litigation and anonymous petition writing; hence Khairpur (literally 'virtuous town') is nicknamed Sharrpur (literally 'wicked town').

Trade.

KHAN BELA.

Khán Bela lies in 28° 59′ N., and 70° 46′ E., about 18 miles north-east of Khánpur, in a wonderfully fertile plain. It was built about 1750 by an Achrání Dáúdpotra. Some say it was built by Khán, an Aráín by caste, early in the 16th century when the country about Khán Bela was ruled by the Nahrs of Sítpur. The houses are both *pakka* and *kachcha*. The only *bázár* runs from north to south, and the streets are all unmetalled. The *khángáh* and *masjid* of Maulaví Sultán Mahmúd and the Juma mosque, also known as the Qází-dí-masjid, are the only buildings of interest. Khán Bela is surrounded by many small mango-groves, which stretch along the banks of the Sádiqwáh Canal for about three miles. Thousands of date palms also flourish, and people throng there in July and August for the date harvest. The Aráíns of Khán Bela, who form the bulk of the population of the *iláqa*, are well-to-do *zamíndárs* as well as good gardeners. Many of them are owners of small gardens. Khán Bela has a fifth class municipality constituted in December 1903. For its income and expenditure see Table 46 of Part B.

1750 A. D

KHANPUR.

Nizámat.

Khánpur, the head-quarters town of the Khánpur Nizámat and Tahsíl, lies close to the Railway Station of that name in 28° 37′ N. and 70° 37′ E. and 20 miles, as the crow flies, south

CHAP. IV. — Places of interest.

of the Indus. The town is intersected by the Hájíwáh Canal which runs from north to south. The eastern half forms the original town as it stood before the Sind Valley State Railway was constructed (1880) while the western half contains the houses of the Railway employés, European and Native. Nawáb Baháwal Khán II., after conquering Garhí Ikhtiyár Khán in 1806, built a new town and fort 6 miles to the east and named it Khánpur, to diminish the strength of Garhí and overawe the newly conquered *iláqá*. The water-supply is obtained from wells sunk in the town, but in summer the Hájiwáh Canal is the chief source of supply, and the *seú* or canal water is considered a luxury. The town has no drainage system, but most of the rain water flows off into the Hájíwáh and the depressions outside the town. The chief buildings are the *Háji Khán-dí-masít*, the Juma mosque. Hájí Khán's mosque, of *pakká* masonry with a lofty dome, lies in the centre of the town and was built by Hájí Khán, son of Ikhtiyár Khán, chief of Garhí, close to his favourite hunting preserve. It is almost in ruins. The Juma mosque, in the north-eastern corner of the town, was built by Nawáb Baháwal Khán II., when, after conquering Garhí, he induced the people of that place to settle at Khánpur. It is built on a high platform with rows of small rooms in its sides. The District Jail at Khánpur was washed away by floods from the Indus in 1871. The compound was re-built, but before it was completed the erection of the Central Jail at Baháwalpur obviated the necessity for a jail here.

1806 A. D.

Trade.

Khánpur is the chief trade centre for agricultural produce in the State. Its main export is rice. Two mills for husking rice and another for pressing oil from mustard, etc., with a branch for ginning cotton have now been built. The town also has a great reputation for its fine *katoras*,[1] but for the last few years the industry seems to have been on the wane, so that it must probably, in the near future, take second place to Baháwalpur, where the industry is rising in importance.

Public Institution.

The principal institutions are the District Judge's Court, Tahsíl, Thána, an Anglo-Vernacular Middle School, Civil Dispensary, Post Office, Municipal Office and a Dák Bungalow. Several gardens skirt the town. Khánpur as an Engine-changing Station is the head-quarters of many European and Eurasian Railway servants, who have a Railway Club, of which the local State officials are also members, with a small library of papers. There is also a European cemetery in the Railway compound.

Municipality.

The municipality, constituted in 1874, consists of 8 nominated members, 4 Hindus and 4 Muhammadans with the Tahsíldár and Náib Tahsíldar as president and vice-president, respectively. The assistant surgeon and the headmaster of the middle school are

(1) Hence it is generally called Khánpur Katoriánw ála.

CHAP. IV.

Places of interest.

ex-officio members. The income for the last 10 years is shown in Table 46 of Part B. The income and expenditure for 1903-04 were :—

Income.	Rs.	Expenditure.	Rs.
Octroi	11,692	Staff	180
		Conservancy	830
Other Sources	1,086	Lighting	68
		Dispensary	2,350
		Police	748
		Miscellaneous	48
Total ..	12,778	Total ...	4,244

KOT SABZAL.

1756 A. D.

History.

Kot Sabzal is a small town, built on a mound about 20 feet high. It lies 6 miles north-west of Walhár Station on the North-Western Railway, in 18° 12′ N. and 69° 56′ E. The town was built by Sabzal Khán, son of Mundhú Khán Kehráni, in 1756, with a rampart of mud bricks. In 1806 Nawáb Baháwal Khán II conquered Kot Sabzal and annexed it. Samáil Khán, son of Sabzal Khán, sought the assistance of Mír Násir Khán, chief of Haidarábád and Mír Sohráb of Khairpur in Sind and they re-conquered Kot Sabzal and its dependencies from the Nawáb and divided the *iláqá* amongst themselves. It remained in their possession till December, 1842, when Sir Charles Napier expelled them from it and the East India Company restored it to Nawáb Baháwal Khán III in 1844 (for further details *see* chapter I, Sec. B). The land about Kot Sabzal is subject to frequent floods, when the Indus rises in summer, and communication with the town is then nearly cut off for weeks together. It formed a Tahsíl in the Agency period. The town is built of *kachcha* and *pakka* masonry, and has two narrow *bázárs*, running from east to west and from north to south, with 15 narrow streets branching off from them. The *bázár* and streets are unmetalled. The majority of the Hindús are money-lenders who have also monopolised the petty trade; while the Muhammadans are either Dáúdpotras or artisans. Water is obtained from wells inside and outside the town. The chief buildings of interest are the Khán-Wálí-Masít and the tombs of Sabzal Khán and his son Samáil Khán. The Khán-Wálí-Masít consists of three vaults, prettily painted. It was built by Sabzal Khán the founder of the town, and repaired about 10 years ago from subscriptions raised locally and added to by the State. The town once had a lofty wall round it but it has gradually disappeared. The principal institutions are a Primary School, a *thána*, Post Office, a small *sarái* and a Dák Bungalow. A *jand* tree in the middle of the main *bázár* is still shown as the boundary mark between the Khairpur State and Baháwalpur territory about a century ago. The people of Kot Sabzal and its suburbs speak

CHAP. IV. Places of interest.

both the Baháwalpurí and Sindhí dialects. The latter dialect is also called *Seráiki*.

KOT SAMABA.

Kot Samába was built by Samába Khán Pirjání, son of Alí Murád Khán, in 1754 A. D. The town had originally a fortified wall which is now in ruins. It is situated about a mile from the Railway Station of the same name; 28° 35′ N. and 70° 21′ E. The village of Kot Samába and some land adjoining it was held in *Jágír* by Punnú Khán Pirjání, grandson of Samába Khán, but he revolted against Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán IV in 1864, upon which the *Jágír* was confiscated. Kot Samába has a considerable amount of trade, contains a public Vernacular School, a Police Station, and has a branch Post Office. Its population according to the local Census of 1906 (taken under the order of H. H. the Nawáb) was 1,269 souls, mostly Hindús.

1754 A. D.

LIYARA.

In 1195 H. Sabzal Khán, the founder of Kot Sabzal, built a fort with a *pakka* wall round it on the ruins of Liyára. In 1220 H. a flood from the Indus demolished Sáhibgarh and extended to Liyára, which, though on high ground, suffered badly. At present only fragments of the wall remain, and the place is uninhabited. It lies 180 miles south-west of Baháwalpur.

1780 A. D.
1804 A. D.

MAROT.

The fort of Marot lies on the southern bank of the Hakra, in 29° 10′ N. and 72° 28′ E. It is built of mud and is of considerable antiquity. On a brick at its entrance is an inscription in Hindí, which runs:—*Sambat 1548 Birkhí Poh Sudí 2, Marot pathá Malik Jám Súmrá kot Páki khel phirái*. This shows that it was once in possession of Jám Súmra, who repaired it in 1491 A. D. Inside the fort is the mosque of Sháh-i-Mardán and on a stone in the wall of the mosque is a Persian inscription which reads:—"*Biná shud ín masjid-i-mubárak dar daur-i-Jalál-ud-Dín Muhammad Akbar Bádsháh Ghází, Sultán Ghází, Sháh Mahmúd-ul-Mulk, Hákim Muhammad Táhir, Ahl-i-Farmáish Sayyid Nasrulláh 976 H. tamám shud dar máh-i-Zilhijj 976 Hijrí tamám shud.*" "This mosque was erected in the reign of Jalál-ud-Dín Muhammad Akbar by Muhammad Táhir, the ruler, at the instance of Sayyid Nasrulláh, in the month of Zilhijj 976 H." Possibly the founder of Marot was Mahrút, the ruler of Chittor, who fought with Chach, the usurper. It lay on the ancient road from Multán to Delhi *viá* Sarsutí (Sirsa) and Hánsí and thus was visited by the historian Minháj-ud-Dín in 648 H. (1250 A D.) It was conquered by Nawáb Mubárak Khán from the Rájá of Jaisalmer in 1749. There is a story that the commandant of Marot, having been dismissed for malpractices, petitioned Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán III to be reinstated in the charge, with the words "Yá

1491 A. D.
1569 A. D.
1250 A. D.
1749 A. D.

CHAP. IV.

Places of Interest.

maut yá Marot," meaning "Either death or Marot." This attempt at a pun pleased the Nawáb so much that he at once granted his request.

Masson in his journeys in Afghánistán and the Punjab writes of Marot thus:—

"Murót (Marot) is a town of importance, as regards its trade in grain, but of little as to its aspect. It is surrounded with mud walls of considerable extent, and strengthened by numerous towers. It is the station of a regiment with six guns." (1)

MAUJGARH.

1743 A. D.

This fort was founded in 1157 H. by Wadera Marúf Khán Kehrání, and his sons Ján Muhammad Khán, Azmat Khán, and Hamza Khán, on the ruins of a ruined town called Lodbra. It was only half built when the Wadera died on the 15th of Rabí-ul-Awwal 1171 H. He had, during his life-time, built a tomb about 400 yards to the south of the fort, and in this he was buried. Ján Muhammad continued the building of the fort, distinguishing the new work from the old by inserting two lines of projecting bricks in the walls. It was not quite finished when he died, and his successor Umar Khán completed it, but died immediately afterwards. Marúf Khán II now succeeded to the chieftainship and, on his dying childless, Khudá Bakhsh Khán, son of Núr Muhammad Khán (third son of Marúf Khán Wadera) held it. A door which forms the interior gateway of the main portico, has several iron plates fixed on it on one of which is the following inscription:—*Málik Wadera Ján Muhammad Khán wa Muhammad Marúf Khán Dáúdpotra Kehrání. In Darwáza sákht karda Musamma Srí Rám áhangar dar máh-i-Shawwál,* 1212 *H.* "Wadera Ján Muhammad Khán and Muhammad Marúf Khán are masters. This door was made by Srí Rám, iron-smith, in the month of Shawwál, 1212 H."

1757 A. D.

1769 A. D.

Elphinstone writes thus of Maujgarh:—

"We descried the high walls and towers of Maujgarh, with a conspicuous mosque, which stands over the gateway, and a tomb with a cupola ornamented with painted tiles, resembling, as I was told, the tombs of Imám zádahs in Persia. We arrived a little after dark, and encamped near the fort, which is small and weak. We remained here two days."(2) . . . .

Masson in his journeys in Afghanistán, etc., writes of Maujgarh as follows:—

"Mozgarh (Maujgarh) is not so large a town as Murót (Marot), but its contiguous fortress is a lofty structure, built of kiln-burnt bricks, on the western face the walls have been perforated with cannon balls, which we are told, happened in the siege it endured from the first Baháwal Khán. The apertures have never been repaired, being supposed evidences of the obstinacy of the defence and of the strength of the fortress. They, however, show its weakness, for they enable us to detect the slightness of the walls. East of the fort is a pool of water, shaded by a grove of trees, amongst which is a

(1) Vol. I, page 24 | (2) Cabul, Vol. I, page 31.

CHAP. IV. — Places of interest.

huge *pipal* an object of veneration to the Hindús of the town. At a slight distance to the north is a Muhammadan tomb, handsomely decorated with lacquered blue and white tiles." [1]

MAU MUBARAK.

Six miles north of Rahímyár Khán Station lies the ancient fortress called Mau Mubarak, one of the 6 fortresses of Rái Siháší II (28° 35′ N. and 70° 24′ E). The ruins of 20 bastions and towers can be traced, and one of the former still stands 50 feet high. The ramparts are about 600 yards in circumference and the walls very strongly and thickly built. According to the Táríkh-i-Murád the fort was built by Rái Hans Karor as a residence for his mother, whence the name, Mau. The fort was taken by Sháh Husain Arghún in 1525 (*see* Chap. I). The place is now a mere village with some 300 houses, built on a commanding height. There is a very old Hindú *Dwára* or *Thákardwára* at Mau, in which brazen images of Rámchanderjí, Lakshmanji, Sitájí, Krishnjí or Káhn, and of the *gopís* or female companions of Káhn are kept. For the shrine of Shaikh Hákim *see* Chap. I., Religion.

1525 A. D.

MINCHINABAD.

Minchinábád lies in 30° 10′ N. and 73° 37 E., about a mile north of its Railway Station on the Southern Punjab Railway. It was built in 1867-70 and was named after Colonel Minchin, Political Agent. It is the head-quarters town of the Nizámat and Tahsíl to which it gives its name.

It is built in European style, with two main *bázárs* intersecting each other at right angles, and with straight lanes parallel to one another. The houses are both *pakka* and *kachcha*. Only one *bázár* is metalled. The principal gates are:—the Bíkánerí to the south; Baháwalpurí to the west; Lahorí to the north; and Delhi to the east. The chief building is the Daulat Khána or lodge for the Nawáb's accommodation. The town possesses two gardens, the Sarkárí and that of Seth Murlídhar. It contains a large saltpetre factory, and is the head-quarters of a Názim, and has also the following Courts and Institutions: *viz.*, District Judge's Court, Tahsíl, Police Station, Munsif's Court, Civil Dispensary, Anglo-Vernacular Middle School, Post Office, and Settlement Office. The Daulat Khána, the rest-house for the Nawáb when on tour, is a spacious building constructed in 1882-83 at a cost of over Rs. 35,000. Minchinábad is a large grain market and exports grain in hundreds of thousands of maunds annually. The Municipality consists of 12 nominated members, 6 Hindús and 6 Muhammadans, with the Tahsíldár and Naib Tahsíldár as President and Vice-President, respectively. A Hospital Assistant supervises the conservancy arrangements. The income for the last 9 years is

[1] Vol. I, page 24.

given in Table 46 of Part B. The income and expenditure for 1903-04 were :—

Income.	Rs.	Expenditure.	Rs.
Octroi	5,655	Staff	130
		Police	499
Other sources	481	Conservancy	721
		Dispensary	1,073
		Lighting and miscellaneous ..	97
		Municipal works	428
Total ...	6,136	Total ...	2,948

MIRGARH.

1799 A. D.

In 1214 H. Núr Muhammad Khán, son of Jám Khán, founded this fort and completed it in 1218 H. (1802 A. D.). The exterior is *pakka*. It has seven towers and a main gateway, with a *pakka* rampart. The gateway has two doors, the outer protected by sheet-iron, iron-plate and huge spikes, while the inner door is of wood. The gateway is in fair preservation, but the houses inside the fort have fallen down. On the door of a ruined house the following verses were deciphered in 1874 :—

Nigáhe baro lutf-i-yazdání ast, Digar Sáya-i-Sháh-i-Jilání ast; Qila' Mírgarh zo binde girift, Ki har kas badídan sande girift; Shawad Gâus-i-azam nigáhbán-i-ú, Badandesh khwár-o-pareshán-i-ú. "On this (building) God looks with mercy; it is also under the shelter of the Jilání. The fort of Mírgarh has therefore been built, and is praised by all who see it. May the great Pír be its protector, and its enemies always in disgrace and sorrow." This shows that its founder was a disciple of the Gilání Makhdúms of Uch. In the fort was a *pakka* well of sweet water, now filled up. Outside it nine wells have been sunk by the people, of which only six contain sweet water.

MUBARAKPUR.

1757 A. D.

In 1174 H. Nawáb Mubárak Khán built, in the vicinity of Shahr Faríd a fort, which he named Mubárakpur. Its walls are of mud. At the main entrance, towards the north, is a bungalow and other *kachcha* buildings. The fort was built to overawe the Lakhwerás, and other Joya clans in the Ubha. Nawáb Baháwal Khán II placed in it a large gun which continued to be seen on the southern tower till 1880, and was thence removed to the cantonment lines in Baháwalpur. On it the following words are engraved. *Sarkár-i-Rukn-ud-Daula Nusrat-i-Jang Saif-ud-Daula Muhammad Baháwal Khán Bahádur Abbási* 1217, *Hijri.* The fort is now quite deserted, but is in fair preservation.

CHAP. IV.
Places of Interest.

MUCHKI.

1777 A.D.

Muchkí was built on the ruins of an old mound in 1191 H. by Lál Khán, son of Ikhtiyár Khán Kehrání. The buildings inside the fort were of mud bricks and are now in ruins, and only the outer walls exist. It lies Seventy-eight miles south-west of Baháwalpur.

MUNDE SHAHID.

Munde Shahíd is a ruined fort of great antiquity near Ahmadpur East and contains a *naugaja* tomb[1]. According to General Cunningahm these *nauçaja* tombs are remains of recumbent statues of Buddha after his attainment of Nírwána, and as Buddha was believed to have died with his face to the east all the *Nírwána* statues are placed from north to south; and since Muhammadan tombs are placed in the same direction, the early Muhammadans used them as ready made graves for their leaders who fell in battle. "Munde Shahíd is," says Colonel Minchin "the resting place of one of the Arab leaders". There are several *naugaja* tombs scattered along the edge of the sandhills which may be regarded as one of the proofs that Buddhism was the prevailing religion in Upper Sindh at the time of the Arab conquest.

MURIDWALA.

1777 A.D.

The Murídwála fort was fonded by Hájí Khán, son of Ikhtiyár Khán in 1191 H. It is eighty miles south-west of Baháwalpur, but was destroyed by an inundation, in 1805, and is now only a ruined mound.

NAUSHAHRA (see RAHIMYAR KHAN).

PATTAN MUNARA.

Pattan Munára, or Pattan, also known as Fattan, or Pattanpur, lies five miles east of Rahímyár Khán Railway Station, on the eastern bank of the old bed of the Indus, locally known as the Sej (in 28° 15′ N. and 70° 23′ E.) and is one of the most extensive ruins in the State. The only piece of ancient architecture in the midst of these ruins is a tower which stood in the centre of four similar but smaller towers all forming a Buddhist monastery. The four towers which were joined to the central tower at its upper storey existed in a dilapidated condition as late as the beginning of the 18th century, when they were pulled down by Fazl Alí Khán Halání and their bricks and stones utilized in making the new fortifications at Díngarh, Sáhibgarh and Bhágla. At present only one storey of the tower is standing; but tradition asserts that it

(1) The best known *naugaja* tombs in the State are those of Wer Shahíd, at Marot and Ahmad Sher, at Mailkhí, both in Khairpur Tahsíl, and that of Adam Sihába in Noushahra Tahsíl.

1740 A. D.

had three storeys. No one can say when the upper storeys fell down but the second storey was pulled down by Bahádur Khán Halání in 1740 A.D., and a brick was discovered which bore an inscription in Sanskrit[1] showing that the monastery was erected in the time of Alexander the Great. Colonel Minchin had the mounds close to the tower excavated in 1870, but nothing rewarded his exertions. In the course of the excavations the labourers came upon some putrid semi-liquid matter over which swarmed flies of a large size and peculiar colour. The deadly smell of the decayed matter and the venomous sting of the flies caused the instantaneous death of several coolies. The ruins extend over several miles, and no attempt has since been made to excavate them. Round Pattan Munára there are other ruined mounds, *viz.*, those of—Khokhár, which is five miles, Bhandár, four miles, and Darwáza, five miles to the east of the Pattan ruins; and of Bindor, three miles to the west of them. Tradition asserts that the city in the days of its prosperity extended over a hundred square miles, that the above named mounds are part of one and the same city, that Bhandár was a vast building for storing the grain collected from the subjects of the Rája of Pattan, that Darwáza was the main entrance to the city, and that Bindor was the central jail of the Pattan kingdom. The etymology of Khokhár is unknown, and there is no tradition about it. Nothing is known about the original name of this important place, and no Muhammadan historian appears to mention Pattan in his works. Hence it appears that it must have been depopulated and ruined long before their arrival. Pattan indeed appears to be a modern name, but nothing can be adduced to show the time when it began to be so called. Colonel Tod mentions Pattan in his annals of Jaisalmer where the names of the "Prince of Pattan", "Princess of Pattan", etc., occur[2] but he does not give the correct site of the place. Evidently the Pattan of Colonel Tod could only be the Pattan (Munára) which appears to have been the capital of a principality in Sambat 1100 (10th century A. D.). In the 10th century Pattan was rebuilt by the Súmras, whose capital it remained for a long time. The last chief of the dynasty was Hamír Súmra who was deposed by the Sammas. The branch of the Súmras settled here is said to have joined the Bilochés, now called the Gurchání section, and is settled at Harrand in the Dera Ghází Khán District. The legend runs that Goresh Súmra lost his way out hunting and was found in the last stage of exhaustion by a party of Biloches who carried him to their encampment, where they employed a young woman to nurse him. On his recovery he married her, was admitted into her tribe, and being joined by all his brethren founded the Gurchání section of the Biloch tribe. Another legend accounting for the voluntary exile of the Súmras is given by the

(1) See further details in Part B., Chapter I.
(2) See description of Derawar

CHAP. IV. Places of interest.

Táríkh-i-Murád. When Hamír Súmra flourished at Pattan, the country was split up into petty principalities quite independent of and often at war with one another; and the chief of Phul Wadda, (now Naushahra or Rahímyár Khán) was one Lákha, son of Phúl who was famous for his generosity to the bards Lákha gave some horses as a gift to a Cháran called Swámí. These were stolen at Pattan, where the bard halted on his way home, by some Súmra youths. The Cháran knowing that the theft was committed with the connivance of Hamír and his Wazír, composed a quatrain which spread far and wide in the country. The lines were:—*Dharí Dhúrá Ráe jainh Cháran sankhyá, Pattan patiji thio Sej Watáyo sáh, Hamíra púrá ráj na kandá Súmra.* "Cursed be Dhúrá Ráe who robbed a Cháran, may Pattan fall down and the Sej change its course. May Hamíra Súmra not be spared to reign to a full old age." The dishonour to which this verse subjected the Súmras was so unbearable that they left Pattan for the Bilochistán hills and are now called the Gurchánís. Pattan was also called Pattanpur as is shown by a few *sanads* of the time of Akbar in the possession of people in its neighbourhood; but in the Aín-i-Akbarí Pattan is nowhere mentioned as a place except in the Sarkár of Siwistán, which may or may not be this same Pattan. There is a tradition that Mahmúd of Ghazní passed by Pattan on his way to Somnáth, that he proceeded thence to the south-west by a branch of the Hakra, which was flowing in those days, and that his cavalry was so numerous that while the horses in the van could get grass to eat those in the rear had to subsist on the dung of those in front.

The Hindú Rájas and chiefs of Sindh, Bíkáner and Jaisalmer used to visit the tower as late as the beginning of the 18th century and annually celebrated a *mela*, called the *Shivrátrí*, in the month of Mángh. In those days the Sej received the overflow of the Indus and Pattan was an attractive place There was a subterranean building with seven rooms (all, including the floor and roof, of stone) in the centre of which were two reservoirs, one of which was filled with milk and the other with water during this festival, and one Bábá Rattá or Hájí Rattá used to administer the sacred milk and water to the pilgrims. In the time of Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán III (about 1840) a Jogí of the Ogur caste was in charge of this sacred building; he is said to have got himself buried in a heap of salt close to the subterranean chamber and thus ended his life. The disciple of the Jogí abjured old practices and placed a *ling* in the *marhi* (for so it was called). To this repaired barren Hindú women desirous of bearing children. The *ling* worship became so popular that Muslim women began also to visit the *marhi*. This excited the wrath of the orthodox Muslims who demolished the building and on its ruins built a mosque which is still standing. There is a proverb about Pattan

CHAP. IV. Places of interest.

which runs thus:—*Jainh sánge Pattan girq thiá. Uho wich bi nán hái*: i.e., the woman who was the cause of the destruction of Pattan was not in it (when it was destroyed). No adequate explanation is adduced as to the origin of the proverb. "On removing the plaster from the walls inside the building", says Colonel Minchin, "I found some inscriptions in Sindhi character which proved to be an account of votive offerings to the temple made between the years A.D. 1559 and 1569. One of them was as follows:—*Andi warki lani athi ámdani hamári awe san rupye pichhe adh anna bhejúngá*, i. e., I have promised to send half an anna in the rupee on whatever profit I may make."

1559 A. D.

PHULRA.

Phúlra is an ancient fort and is said to have existed long before the domination of the Víkas, the founders of Bikáner. In 1166 H. it was almost in ruins, but was repaired and strengthened by Karam Khán Arbání (son of Qáim Khán, the founder of Qáimpur). The exterior of the walls both within and without is made of *pakka* bricks, and the inner part is filled with mud. Near the western wall, inside the fort, is a *pakka* well, 118′ deep and 4′ in circumference, the water of which is sweet, a rare thing in the Cholistán. At each corner of the fort is a tower, with an inner chamber. The north-western tower is of burnt brick. In the south-eastern part of the fort is a three-storeyed house, whose upper storey forms a small bungalow. On the front of the bungalow are inscribed the words:—*Málik-i mahall Muhammad Akram Khán Dáúdpotra dar shahr-i-Ramazán* 1166 *Hijrí*, "Muhammad Akram Khan Dáúdpotra master of the palace, in the month of Ramazán 1166 H." There are three wells outside the fort, well built of stucco and containing sweet water. Regarding Marot, Phúlrá and Maujgarh "Masson says":—

1753 A. D.

Dáudpotra.

"The portion of desert stretching eastward of Bahawalpur to Bikanir is of course but little productive, yet, as in many parts of it the surface has more soil than sand, there are amongst other inhabited localities, the bazar towns of Phulra, Marot, and Mozgarh which drive a considerable trade in grain with the neighbouring states." . . . . . "Pularah (Phulra), on the frontier of Bikanir, has a good bazar, but is not perhaps very commercial. The fortress adjacent has been a superior building, for these parts, but is now sadly in decay. There was once a good trench; the walls are very high, and the battlements are tastefully decorated. The Killedar's house soars above the ramparts, and the whole has an antique and picturesque appearance, particularly from the northern side, where the walls are washed by a large expanse of water, in which is a small island studded with trees. There are three guns at Pularah."[1]

Colonel Tod says, "Phulra and Marot have still some importance, the first is very ancient, and enumerated amongst the '*Nokoti Marooka*' in the earliest periods of Pramara (vulg. *Powár*) dominion. I have no doubt that inscriptions in the ornamental *nail-headed* character belonging to the

(1) Volume I, page 23.

CHAP. IV. — Places of Interest.

Jains will be found here, having obtained one from *Lodorva*[1] in the desert, which has been a ruin for nine centuries. Phulra was the residence of Lákha *Phoolni*, a name well-known to those versed in the old traditions of the desert. He was contemporary with Sid Ráe of Anhulwara, and Udyadit of Dhar."[2]

PIR KHALIS.

The village of Pír Khális is very ancient, and is interesting as being the place where Tímúr Sháh (Tamerlane) halted after crossing the Sutlej in A.D. 1398, on his way to Bhatner, and marks the spot where the Sutlej was flowing at that date. For the Pír Khális shrine see Chapter I, Section C.

1398 A. D.

QAIMPUR.

Qáimpur lies 10 miles from Khairpur, on the high road to Hásilpur and Shahr Faríd, in 29°41′ N. and 72°28′ E. Founded in 1747 by Qáim Khán Arbání, and first called Qáim-Ráis-dí-Goth, it has lost its former importance and the number of houses has greatly diminished in the last 40 years. Qáim Khán built a fine Juma mosque, which still stands, and a fort, once of great strength but now deserted and in ruins. No lineal descendant from Qáim Khán is now living at Qáimpur, and his collateral descendants who are few in number and in straitened circumstances, live by agriculture. During the time of Nawáb Baháwal Khán III, many capitalists lived at Qáimpur, but none are now to be found there. The municipality was constituted in 1902 and its income and expenditure is shown in Table 46 of Part B. The number of the members is eight with the Tahsíldár of Khairpur as president.

1747 A. D.

RAHIMYAR KHAN (OR NAUSHAHRA).

Naushahra lies on a mound, about 400 yards south of the Rahímyár Khán station on the North-Western Railway (70°22′ E. and 28°15′ N.). Naushahra (lit. new town) was built in 1751 by Fazal Alí Khán Haláni on the ruins of the ancient Phul Wadda, the capital of Phul and his son Lákha during the Súmra supremacy in Sind. In 1881 the Railway authorities desired to alter the name of the Station as Naushahra was also the name of a Station in the Peshávar District, and so Nawáb Sir Sádiq Muhammad Khán named it Rahímyár Khán after his first son (who died in 1883). Thenceforward the Railway Station and Post-office were designated Rahímyár Khán, but this is merely the official name of the town, and it is always called Naushahra by the people. Of late the head quarters of the Khánpur Nizámat have also been removed to Naushahra. The houses are both *kachcha* and *pakka*. The main *bazar* traverses the town from east to west, and is intersected at right angles by another from north to south. A third, called the *nawán* (new *bázár*, runs parallel to the first and presents a fine vista but is not much frequented. The streets are all unmetalled.

1751 A. D

(1) Now Mauj[illegible]rh.
(2) Rajasthan, Volume II, page 72.

The water of the town wells is brackish and hence the water-supply is obtained from wells outside the town. There is no drainage system, but the position of the town renders one unnecessary. The municipal committee consists of eight nominated members, four Hindús and four Muhammadans, with the Tahsíldár and Náib Tahsíldár as president and vice-president, respectively. The head-master and the hospital assistant are *ex-officio* members. The income for the last nine years is shown in Table 46 of Part B. The income and expenditure in 1903-04 were :—

Income.	Rs.	Expenditure.	Rs.
Octroi	2,895	Municipal staff	916
		Police	415
Other Sources	1,015	Conservancy	464
		Lighting	47
		Dispensary	812
		Public Works	83
		Miscellaneous	44
Total ...	3,910	Total ...	2,781

The principal institutions are an Anglo-Vernacular Middle School, Dispensary, Munsiff's Court, Tahsíl, *thána*, Post Office, a *sarái*, and a Dák Bungalow.

RAI-KA-TIBBA.

The late Colonel Minchin left on record the following account of Rái-ká-Tibba :—

"Near the town of Qáimpur I discovered the remains of an old ruined town, known as the Rái-ká-Tibba; on the top of the mound there is a large irregular shaped enclosure, surrounded with double walls, with huge masses of burnt clay to fill up the space between the walls, evidently at one time a place of immense strength. The interior is filled with calcined bones, both of animals and human beings, adults and children, which were identified by the bones left *in situ*, which, however, crumbled to pieces when separated from the mass. An excavation made through the centre of the enclosure, 30' x 20' feet, shewed that the mass of calcined bones was nine feet thick with a layer of charcoal below extending the whole breadth of the excavation for at least two feet in depth. The size of this pit, for so it must be regarded, shews an area of 5,400 cubic feet of calcined bones and charcoal in the portion excavated alone (a large area on both sides being equally filled with calcined bones) and precludes the idea of the enclosure being an ordinary place of cremation, and leaves little doubt that it was used for sacrificial purposes. The immense strength of the walls was evidently necessary to guard it from attack from without and at the same time prevent the possibility of the victims escaping from within. The place is so ancient that there is no tradition regarding its former occupants. It lies on the border of the desert on one side, and a deep depression in front shows that the Sutlej must have at one time flowed below it. To these circumstances its preservation is due. For many years I have sought a clue to its former possessors bu without success but a perusal of General Cunningham and Professor Dawson's note on the Meds (page 530, Appendix, Sir H. Elliott's History of India, Volume I), has enabled me to indentify it with this ancient race."

CHAP. IV. — Places of Interest.

Colonel Minchin then gives reasons for assuming that the remains were those of sacrificial victims, at too great length however to be quoted here.

RUKNPUR.

This fort is in the Baháwalpur Nizámat and was built by Muhammad Marúf Khán Kehrání in 1190 H. (1776 A.D.) It is made of clay, which when burnt produces an inferior sort of lime. In 1198 H. (1783 A.D.) the Afghán caravans complained to Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán of being plundered by the officers of Umr Khán Marúfání, the officer at the fort. The Nawáb despatched Khudá Bakhsh Khán, son of Núr Muhammad Khán, who had deserted Umr Khán and sought refuge at Baháwalpur, with a body of soldiers to seize Ruknpur, which he succeeded in doing; and the fort thereafter remained part of the Pirjání territory. It has four towers. The walls are in ruins, as are the mosque, stables, and houses, etc. Inside it was a *pakka* well, now filled up.

SAHIBGARH.

This fort was built by Fazl Alí Khán Halání, the founder of Naushahra (Rahímyár Khán) in 1191 H. (1777 A.D.) The exterior of the four walls and other buildings, inside the fort is *pakka*, and the interior *kachcha*. It was destroyed by Nawáb Muhammad Baháwal Khán, II, (son-in-law of Fazal Alí Khán), in 1220 H. (1805 A.D.) and the walls are in a dilapidated condition. Inside the fort is a dwelling-house of Kaure Khán, son of Khudá Yár Khán, now falling into ruins. Outside the fort, there is a depression which serves as a tank for the storage of rain-water, and in the rainy season many cattle breeders resort to it. It is 78 miles south-west of Baháwalpur.

SARDARGARH.

Nawáb Mubárak Khán took the *iláqa* of Wallhar on lease from the Rájá of Bíkáner, in 1177, H. (1763 A.D.) He soon began to construct a fort on the ruins of Wallhar fort, but Rájá Gaj Singh of Bíkáner, alarmed at the proposed fortifications, sent a force under Díwán Múl Chand Brahlia to recover the *iláqa* from the Nawáb. The latter sent Khair Muhammad Khán and Mehrú Khán Pirjánís and Karam Khán Arbání with a large force to resist the Bíkánerís. After a sanguinary fight the Bíkánerís were repulsed and the fortress was subsequently completed. It was named Sardárgarh, and the *iláqa* was annexed to the Baháwalpur State. One well was sunk within the fortress and another outside it; but the waters of both are brackish. The boundary pillars of the Bíkáner State are only 2½ miles from this place. In 1866, when the Agent was appointed, the fortress contained 8 guns, in one of which was engraved the words: —'Máhárája Dhiráj Máhárájá Sirí Zoráwar Singh Jio, Sambat 1797,' (1740 A.D.) which shows that that gun once belonged to the Bíkáner State. The fortress is now deserted and the guns were brought to the capital many years ago.

CHAP. I

Places of interest.

SARWAHI.

1525 A. D.

Sarwáhí or Seoráí lies six miles north-east of Kot Sabzal. It was one of the six forts repaired by Ráe Sihásí in the sixth century A. D. It was destroyed by Sháh Husain Arghún in 1525 A. D., and is now only a ruined mound. It was identified by General Cunningham with Sodrae or Sogdi of the Greek historians (see pp. 253-56, Ancient Geography of India, Vol. I). Mendra, the lover of Múmil, who is said to have been a contemporary of Hamír Súmra of Pattan, was the chief of Seoráí, which shows that the place was inhabited and formed the capital of a petty principality in those days. The mound has never been excavated for archæological purposes, but "curious burnt clay balls, about the size of a man's head, have been found among the ruins, which are supposed to have been used as missiles."(1)

For the Sarwáhí shrines, see Chapter I Section C

SHAHR-FARID.

Shahr-Faríd lies on a mound about five miles south of the Sutlej and four miles north of the Chishtián Railway Station. The town is traversed by a single unpaved *bázár* running from south to north. The streets are narrow, crooked and also unpaved. The water-supply is obtained from wells dug within and without the town. The principal buildings of interest are the Rangíl Mahal, Masjid Mai Sáhib, and Masjid Khánán. The Rangíl Mahal was built by Faríd Khán II. In the time of Lál Khán, one of his successors, the Mahal caught fire and was badly damaged by the explosion of the gun-powder stored in one of the rooms. The Masjid-i-Khánán was begun by Salem Khán, father of Faríd Khán I; but while under construction he was summoned to Delhi and in his absence the building was completed by Faríd Khan II. The Mái Sáhibwálí Masjid was built by a childless lady of the Lakhwera family. It is said to have been a seat of learning and stood originally in the centre of the town, but it now lies in its unfrequented eastern corner. In 1893 the late Nawáb had it repaired at a cost of Rs. 3,200 and it is now in fair order. Shahr Faríd also contains the shrine of Shaikh Badr-ud-dín Chishtí, a descendant of Báwá Faríd. This attracts many votaries, and is in charge of two ladies of the Chishtí family, which has no male heirs. Shahr Faríd derives its name from Faríd Khán, son of Salem Khán Lakhwera, and its history has been given under "Tribes and Leading Families" in Chapter I. Founded about the time of Aurangzeb it was first called Salemgarh, after Salem, a descendant of Lakhkho, but when the Lakhweras revolted against the governor of Multán, it was demolished, though its site was again chosen as that of the new Shahr Faríd of Faríd II. The town contains a Police Station, Post Office and School and has a good Dák Bungalow. It is specially noted for its *lungís*, *salárís*, *khes* and *dohars*, made by the Bhákhrís. These are exported to Bíkáner State and Multán, Montgomery and Ferozepur Districts.

(1) Ross' Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh, p. 77.

Chap. IV.

Places of Interest.

Sui Vihar.

Súí Vihár lies sixteenth miles south-west of Baháwalpur. There is a tower there the present height of which is about forty-five feet, twenty feet above the surface of the earth and the rest buried in a mound, but it is said that several years ago its upper portion, about eight feet in height fell down from the effects of an earthquake. The ruin represents the remains of a compartment about eight feet square. The tower is a strong one and is built of large bricks 5×2 feet each. The compartment had a floor made of the same bricks as are used in the building. In the centre of the tower there was a narrow masonry shaft leading to a small recess in which were found a copper plate, a few coins and fragments of oxidized iron. The copper plate bore the following inscription in Bactrian Pálí characters :—*Mahárájá Rájáo Ráji Dalo Tapoá Kanishká samut, ser akádasi sim 11 di sassá, masavsá diwási atáwisti 28, antar osi bichhá Naga Dattasá sekhá, bhátsá achi yádmá tajá sashá acharyá, bhád pá sashsattá yánan avo phálá abád bhini, dhárá tajhanno upáská bálá nandi wahja, bano bálá jáyá matá já amám yati, par bhánptá, deto piri waram dá dá darám súdsátanan, hirá sekhi délát;* meaning :—"On the 28th day of the month of Sasios in the 11th year of the Great King, the supreme King of Kings, the son of gods, Kánishká; on the said day to the mendicant Naga Datta, learned in the *Sankhya* philosophy, the disciple of Acharya Damatrata the disciple of the disciple of the Acharya Bhawa putting up his staff (or pillar); here the owner of the Damana Vihárá, a female lay devotee Bála Nandí who is much given to penances, and Bálájaya her mother, give a shrine for the staff and the customary accessories. May it be for the health and wealth of all beings." (See Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. VIII., August 1881).

A. D. 89.

Tajgarh.

Tájgarh is situated about four miles to the north-west of Rahímyár Khán Railway Station on a high mound. Its name was Hurár in the 10th century A. D. when it was built by Rání Húrán, daughter of a Jaisalmer chief. Húrán was converted to Islám by a saint called Sayyid Ahmad Billaurí. It remained a fortified place for a long time under the Summa and Súmra kings of Sindh and the Bhátia chiefs of Jaisalmer, but towards the close of the 18th century it was a desolate mound and on this site Fazal Alí Khán Halání (see page 122) founded a new town and called it Tájgarh after his brother Táj Muhammad Khán (about 1780 A.D.). Although founded by the Dáúdpotras the place does not now contain a single house of members of that tribe. The residents are mostly Kirárs and number 526 (Local Census for 1906). The place is only noted for its antiquity.

Tibba Jajjal.

Close to Jajjal Sárhú village, which is about eight miles south of Hásil Sárhú is a large mound called "Tibba Jajjal." It is believed

CHAP. IV.

Places of interest.

that it was once a flourishing town and that below it ran the Sutlej, which now flows more than ten miles to the north. Tradition avers that the town was built by Rái Jajja Bhutta entirely of *pakka* masonry, a fact borne out by the large bricks found on digging below the surface of the mound. Here Rái Jajja had his hunting preserves, which he visited every year during the rainy season. Whenever rain falls the people of the neighbourhood unearth old copper and silver coins.

TIRHARA. (*see* DINGARH)

UCH.

Etymology.

The following etymologies of the name are given :—(*a*) Once Rája Hodí ruled the country round Uch and built a town called Hod, which in course of time became Hoj, Hoch, and Uch.(1) This name takes us back to a very remote period. General Cunningham believes Rája Hodí to have been an Indo-Scythian, who commanded the Saka tribes at the battle of Kahror, when the Indo-Scythians were defeated by the Bhattís under Saliváhana, and the conquerors to commemmorate the event established the Saka era. According to the same authority Rája Hodí established himself at Siálkot after the Bháttís had left that locality. The old city at Uch must therefore have been deserted about A. D. 77. (*b*) Hodí had a governor named Chuch who dug earth from a tank called Rárín Talá to the south of Uch to make a mound on which he founded a city which he named Chuch and which afterwards came to be known as Uch.(2) (*c*) According to Músa Pák Shahíd, whose shrine is situated at Multán, and who was descended from Sayyid Muhammad Bandagí Ghaus, the founder of Uch Gilání, Uch was founded in 980 A. D. by Sayyid Safí-ud-Dín Haqqání, Gázrúní, on the site of an old mound (Ucha or high) and which is still called Rája Hodí's mound.(3) (*d*) The ancient name of Uch was Devgarh. In 1244 A. D. Sher Sháh Sayyid Jalál-ud-Dín, Kechí Bukhárí, reached Uch, when its ruler Deo Singh fled to Márwár and Sundarpurí his daughter accepted Islám. The Sayyid appointed Sundarpurí ruler of the city in place of her father; and at the Sayyid's behest she founded a fort which on account of its height was called Ucha or Uch (high).(4) (*e*) Possibly Sher Sháh Sayyid Jalál-ud-Dín imported this name from Turkistan where Utch Kargan and Uch Utchak were, and still are, two important towns.(5)

In the Minháj-ul-Masálik, the Persian version of which is known as the Chach Náma, and which according to Sir Henry Elliot was compiled before 186 Hijra,(6) Uch is mentioned as Askandra,

(1) Chronicles of the Bukhárí Makhdúms.
(2) Chronicles of the Gílání Makhdúms.
(3) Malfúzát, Músa Pák Shahíd.
(4) Jawáhir Jalálí.
(5) Schuyler's Turkistan, Vol. I, pages 310, 330, 340, 347, 351.
(6) Elliot's History of India, I, 136

CHAP. IV. Places of interest.

Identified with Alexandria.

Askalanda and Askanda, which tends to show that in the beginning of the 2nd century of the Hijra the name of the city was not Uch but Askandra (or Alexandria). The Tuhfat-ul-Kirám[1] gives it as Ashkand and Ashandah; Mirza Kálich Beg in his English translation of the Chachnáma[2] reads it as Iskandah; and the Tárikh-i-Masúmí[3] as Iskandar (which is exactly the Arabic and Persian form of Alexander); and McCrindle, Cunningham, and other authorities state that at the junction of the river Sindh with the Chenáb, Alexander the Great laid the foundation of Alexandria in the realm of the Sogdí (Sohdas) and that it is not improbable that Uch is the place to which we should look for the site of Alexandria.[4] Askalanda and Askanda are corruptions of Askandria. In the Jámi-ut-Tawáríkh the historian Rashíd-ud-Dín calls it Askalanda Ussah. This author flourished in the 7th century Hijra; and hence it is certain that the city was known as Ussah (or Uch) in those days, and that the author added Askalanda to Ussa as a distinctive name, which is an additional proof of the identity of Uch with Askandria. Rashíd-ud-Dín also mentions the city as one of the four principalities of Sindh under Ayand the son of Kafand, who reigned after Alexander.[5]

Uch as Basmad.

In the Masálik-wal-Mamálik (also known as the Ashkál-ul-bilád), written by Ibn Haukal in 589 Hijra, Uch is called Basmad. This tends to show that the name of the city at that time was neither Askandria nor Uch, and that the etymology (*c*) is erroneous, for if in the 4th century of the Hijra the city had been named Uch by Sayyid Safi-ud-Dín Gázrúni it is improbable that Ibn Haukal should have called it by quite a different name in the 6th century. Ibn Haukal thus describes it[6]:—

"Basmad is a small city situated like Multán and Chandráwar on the east of the river Mihrán. The river is at a distance of a *parasang* from each of these places. The inhabitants use well water for drinking. Basmad has a fort."

Uch as Sandur.

In the 6th century of the Hijra (11th century A. D.,) Abú-Abdulláh Muhammad-al-Idrísí wrote the Nuzhat-ul-Masálik, in which he gives the following account of Uch, which he calls Sandur:— "Sandur is situated three days' journey south of Multán. It is famous for its trade, wealth, sumptuous apparel, and the abundance which prevails on the tables of the inhabitants. It is considered to form part of India, and is situated on the banks of a river which falls into the Mihrán above Samand."[7] Sandur appears to be an abbreviated form of Askandar and affords an additional proof that the city of Uch was Alexandria. Ibu Batuta of Tangiers,

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(1) Vol. III, 80 (Persian Edition).
(2) Vol. I. [illegible]—7
(3) Manuscript History of Sindh by Mir Masúm Sháh, written in 1600 A. D.
(4) McCrindle's Invasion of India, page 156.
(5) Cunningham's Ancient Geography. Vol. I, page 248 also compare Postans, J. A. S. B., 1838, page 94.
(6) Elliot. Vol I page 37.
(7) Elliot's Al-Idrísi, Vol. I, page 83.

CHAP. IV.

Places of interest.

a contemporary of Sayyid Jalál-ud-Din describes Uj (Uch) in his Travels thus :—

"Leaving Bhakkar we reached Uj, which is situated on the Indus. It is a large city with fine streets and buildings. Its ruler is the learned Sayyid Jalál-ud-Din Kaji,[1] so well known for his magnanimity and hospitality. I made friends with the ruler and lived much in his company. We both met at Delhi also The Emperor went to Daulatábád and Sayyid Jalál-ud-Dín accompanied him. He permitted me to collect the village revenues in his absence in case of need. I collected and expended about 5,000 dinars. Sayyid Jalál-ud-Dín Haidrí Ulavi, one of the most pious of saints, gave me his Khirka (saintly sheet), which was stolen by Hindú pirates on the sea."

Pírzáda Muhammad Husain identifies Sayyid Jalál-ud-Dín with the Makhdúm-i-Jahániyán, grandson of Sher Sháh Sayyid Jalál.[3]

Sir Henry Elliot (pages 366-67, Volume I) thus describes Uch :—

"The ancient kingdom of Sindh was divided into four satrapies, of which the third comprised the fort Askalanda and Maibar, *which are also called Talwara and Chachpur*. . . . . . Its proximity to the Bias and its name of Askalanda-Usa lead us to regard it as the Uch of more modern times. That place bears marks of the most undoubted antiquity, and the absence of all mention of it in the Chachnáma, where we are, both in the time of Chach and Muhammad-Kasim, introduced to many transactions in its neighbourhood, can only be accounted for on the supposition that it is disguised under some other appellation.

"It has been supposed indeed that the name of the Oxydracæ is derived from this old town of Uch, but their position, according to Strabo and Arrain, appears rather to have been on the western side of the Acesines, and it is a curious coincidence that, in that direction also, there is another ancient Uch now in ruins, near the junction of the Hydaspes with that river, which offers a far more probable identification and allows us moreover to assign to the Osaddii instead of the Oxydracæ, the Uch or Asklanda-Usa near the junction of the Hyphasis with the Acesines. The name of the Oxydracæ assumes various forms in different authors :—Hydracæ in Strabo, Syracousæ in Diodorus, Seydroi, Sesthroi and Scythroi in Dionysius, Sydraci in Pliny, Sygambri in Justin, and Oxydracæ in Strabo, Arrian, Curtius, Stephanus, and others. . . . . . Nevertheless, although Alexander may himself have raised no city there, we might still be disposed to admit that the celebrity of his power and conquests may have given rise to the name of Askalanda or Askandra. . . . ."

Uch as Bhatiyáh.

The author of the Chachnáma was a native of Uch, yet he does not say it was ever called Askand or Asal-kanda. He says that Muhammad ibn Qasim[2] marched from Aror towards Multán until he reached the fort of Bábizah (Bhátiáh or Uch) then on the south or left bank of the Biás (and at that time according to Mír Másúm of Bhakkar called Chachpur). The place surrendered and leaving in it a garrison Muhammad crossed the Biás and appeared

(1) Ibn Batuta, Vol. II, page 19.
(2) Urdu Translation, Vol II.
(3) J. A. S. B. 1892, pp. 261-62.

CHAP. IV. — Places of interest.

before Askand, Askandara or Asatkanda, anciently called according to Mír Másúm, Talwára. This place then was quite distinct from Uch.

It is said that Muhammad of Ghor delivered Multán from the Karámita and then invested the Bhátias in Uch. We know that the Bhátí stronghold was Uch; they apparently obtained possession of it before the time of Máhmúd of Ghazní. As regards that ruler's capture of Uch the Gardezi, a contemporary historian, says that the Sultán attacked the fortress of the Bhátias in 396 H., and that Bajhrá the Bhátia, who killed himself when his troops were surrounded, was its ruler. Bú-"íhán, however, speaks of Bháti as midway between Multán and Aror—which Uch is not. Under Muhammad of Ghor Násir-ud-Dín-i-Aetamur, one of his bravest leaders, was feudatory of Uch, and on his death Násir-ud-Dín Qabájah became its holder. He held it at the time of Qatb-ud-Dín's death and was subsequently ousted from it by Táj-ud-Dín Yaldúz, but recovered it after the defeat of the latter by Iyaltimsh. Qabájah was however defeated by Jalál-ud-Dín, the Khwárazmí (1221 A. D.) and Uch was burnt by him (1228 A. D.). Iyaltimsh five years later wrested Multán and Uch fram Qabájah and conferred the latter with its dependencies on Taj-ud-Dín Sanjar-i-Gazjlak Khán. At this period Uch was a centre of Muhammadan learning for in 1227 or 1228 Minuj-ud-Dín, the Persian historian, was made by Qabájah chief of the Fírúzi College at Uch. Saif-ud Dín Ibak-i-Uchchah succeeded Taj-ud-Dín and was governor of Uch when Iyaltimsh died. He defeated the inroad under Hasan the Qárlagh in 1236-37. Malik Muayyíd-ud-Dín, Hindú Khán, then obtained the fief from Sultán Raziyyah and the Malik Izz-ud-Dín Kabír, Khán-i-Ayáz, was made to exchange the fief of Lahore for that of Multán in consequence of his revolt in 1258. He took the opportunity of the Mughal capture of Lahore to assume independence and seized Uch and its dependencies (1241 A. D.), and when he died, in the same year, his son Táj-ud-Dín Abú Bakr-i-Ayáz succeeded him. He kept the Qárlaghs at bay, but shortly afterwards died, and Uch fell into the hands of a slave of his father's who gallantly defended it against a Mughal siege until relieved by an army from Delhi under Ghiás-ud-Dín Balban. Malik Izz-ud-Dín Balban-i-Kashlú Khán then became feudatory of Uch. Though he defeated the Qárlaghs near Multàn, he was compelled to surrender it to them and retire to Uch, whence he advanced again to recover Multán from Sher Khan's deputy (1250). He was however unable to old it, and again retreated to Uch.

1005-06 A. D. — 1221 A. D. — 1227 A. D. — 1236 A. D. — 1241 A. D. — 1250 A. D.

When Humayún, after his defeat by Sher Sháh Súrí, came to Uch, Bakhshoí Khán Langáh was its governor on behalf of Sháh Husain Arghún. About 400 yards from Uch Bukhárí is a well which is still pointed out as the place where Humáyún stayed.

(1) J. A. S. B. 1892, pp. 247-4

CHAP. IV. Places of interest.

Bakhshoí Khán treated Humáyún with great harshness and the ex-emperor was compelled to set out for Deráwar. In Akbar's reign Uch was permanently annexed to the Delhi Kingdom and till the invasion of Nádir Sháh it remained an appanage of Multán. In the Aín-i-Akbarí its cultivated[1] area and revenue are given as below :—

Areas in bighas.	Revenue in dáms.	Cavalry.	Foot.
290,506	1,10,140	100	400

Uch is seven miles to the north of Channigoth Railway Station, and 12 miles from Ahmadpur, in 71° 7′ 30″ E. and 29° 16′ N. Its elevation above sea level is 327 feet. These are really three towns, *viz*: Uch Bukhárí, Uch Gílání, and Uch Moghla. Uch Bukhárí is a large town and its buildings are almost all of burnt bricks. It is the residence of the Bukhárí Makhdúms. 300 yards from it is Uch Gílání, which was founded by Muhammad Bandagí Ghaus. Uch Moghla was so named because the Moghal officials collected *batái* and dwelt there and for the former reason it is also called Uch Munassila. Barnes[2] also states that Uch is formed of three distinct towns, a few hundred yards apart from each other, and each encompassed by a brick wall, now in ruins. Mirza Mughal Beg, Wilford's Surveyor, who surveyed the country about Uch in 1787-88, mentions Uch as "consisting of seven distinct villages."[3] Colonel Minchin says that in the time of Jalál-ud-Dín Khilji it used to be a colony of infidel Moghals who embraced Islám.

The following accounts are given by European travellers :—

Charles Masson wrote in 1827 :—

"Uch is, perhaps, the most ancient of the towns in the country. The name is borne by two towns contiguous to each other. One of them *Pír-ka-Uch* is bestowed on Pír Násir-ud-Dín, the spiritual adviser of the Khán. They have both good *bázárs* and some commerce. Starting from Ghara, grain boats frequently descend from the two Uchs to Sindh. They are principally, however, distinguished by the ruins of the former towns, their predecessors, which are very extensive and attest the pristine prosperity of the locality."[4]

David Ross writes of Uch thus :—

"Down to the times of Taimur and Akbar the junction of the Chanab and Indus took place opposite Uch, sixty miles above the present confluence at Mithankot. It was unchanged when Runnel wrote his "Geography of India" in 1788, and still later in 1796 when visited by Wilford's Surveyor Mirza Mugal Beg.[5] But early in the present century the Indus gradually changed its course and leaving the old channel twenty miles above Uch, flowed to the south-west rejoining the former at Mithankot."[6]

(1) Aín-i-Akbarí, Vol. II, pp 163.
(2) Bokhara I, 79.
(3) Cunningham's Ancient Geography, I, 242.
(4) Travels, Vol. I, p. 23.
(5) Also compare Cunningham's Ancient Geography, Vol. I, p. 242.
(6) P. 79.

CHAP. IV.

Places of Interest.

According to the census of 1901 the population of Uch is 7,583. Further details will be found in Table 43. Its population consists in the main of Bukhárí and Gílání Sayyids, Khojas, Langáhs and Kirárs (usually Aroras) who form the bulk of the population.

Shrines.

An account of the famous shrines has been given in the note on Muhammadan Shrines in Chap. I, Section G., pages 160—166. Below is given a description of the places not mentioned therein.

(1) Shrine of Bíbí Jawindí:—Bíbí Jawindí was a daughter of Sayyid Jalál, son of Sayyid Hámid, son of Sayyid Jalál, son of Sayyid Abú Bakr, son of Sayyid Mahmúd, son of Sayyid Ghiyás-ud-Dín, son of Shaikh Alím-ud-Dín, son of Shaikh Mahmúd Násir-ud-Dín, son of Makhdúm-Jahánián. Bíbí Jawindí was a very pious lady, highly respected by the people for her devotion to religion. She died in 805 Hijra (1403 A. D.). Her shrine was built in 900 Hijra (1494 A.D.). In 1233 Hijra the Chenab cut down half of the dome as it did the dome of Sayyid Baháwal Halím, which lies quite close to it. The remaining half of the dome still exists with her tomb under it.

(2) Tomb of Sayyid Safí-ud-Dín Haqqání Gázrúní:—The tomb is enclosed by a wall. Sayyid Safí-ud-Dín Gázrúní was born in Gázrún (Persia) in 353 Hijra. He came to Uch in 370 and died in 398 Hijra. There are now at Uch only one or two members of the Gázrúní family which was once so illustrious there.

(3) In addition to the above there are also at Uch the following shrines and tombs:—

(1) Shrine of Sháh Abdul Jalíl, known as Chanchal Sháh Bukhárí. (2) Shrine of Pír Munnan Mashaikh. (3) Shrine of Sayyid Alá-ud-Dín Gardezí. (4) Shrine of Sayyid Muizzd-ud-Dín Gardezí. (5) Shrine of Sayyid Pír Fateh Daryá Bukhárí. (6) Shrine of Shaikh Kabír. These six are each enclosed by walls without roofs. (7) Shrine of Wiláyat Sháh Jattí, under a small dome. (8) Shrine of Abú Hanifa. (9) Tomb of Faqír Jahángír Sarmast. (10) Tomb of Faqír Sultán Khar Pál. (11) Tomb of Faqír Salem Sudhár.

Sacred relics.

Makhdúm Nau Bahár, Bukhári, *Sajáda Nashín* of Uch Bukhárí, has the following relics in his possession:—

(1) Turban of the Prophet. (2) Sheet[1] of the Panj Tan (five members of the Prophet's family, *i. e.*, the Prophet himself, Alí, Hasan, Husain and Fátima). (3) Cloak of the Prophet. (4) Samsám and Qamqám, *i. e.*, swords of Hasan and Husain. (5) The Qorán written by Makhdúm-i-Jahánián himself. (6) Cap, beads, and scissors of Shaikh Abdul-Qádir Jílání. (7) Bairágan (a prop kept beneath the armpit when a person is in a state of

[1] This was the sheet with which the Prophet covered himself and his family and declared that they were pure and chosen people of God.

Places of interest.

attempted communion with God). (8) Cloak of Makhdúm-i-Jahánián. (9) Sheet of Salmán Fársí, a lover of the Prophet.

An account is given of some of these relics in the note on Muhammadan Shrines in Chap. I, pages 160–166.

Besides the above both families have the portraits of the 12 Imáms, of Hasan, Husain, and the Prophet, and of a host of other Muhammadan saints, such as Khwája Muín-ud-Dín Chishti, Shaikh Abdul-Qádir Jíláni, Sher Sháh Sayyid Jalál, Bahá-ud-Dín Zakariya of Multán, Báwa Faríd Shakar Ganj, Lál Sháhbáz Qalandar, &c.

The *Sajjáda Nashíns* of Uch Bukhárí and Gíláni command much respect in the State and have the privilege of return visits from the rulers of Baháwalpur.

Successors of Sayyid Jalál.

The Bukhárí *Sajjáda Nashíns* or successors of Sher Sháh Sayyid Jalál have been:—

(1) Sayyid Ahmad Kabír, son of Sher Sháh Sayyid Jalál (2) Sayyid Jalál Makhdúm Jahániyán. (3) Makhdúm Mahmúd Násir-ud-Dín. (4) Shaikh Hámid Kabír. (5) Makhdúm Shaikh Rukn-ud-Dín Abul Fateh. (6) Shaikh Muhammad Kímya Nazar. (7) Shaikh Hámid Kabír *alias* Budha. (8) Muhammad Rájan Sadá Bhág. (9) Zain-ul-Abdín. (10) Shaikh Hasan. (11) Shaikh Muhammad. (12) Shaikh Nau Bahár I. (13) Shaikh Hasan *alias* Ahan Maror. (14) Hámid Kabír. (15) Shaikh Rájú, *alias* Rajan Kalán. (16) Shaikh Mahmúd *alias* Mahmúd Násir-ud-Dín. (17) Shaikh Rájan *alias* Kanghí-wála. (18) Hámid Nau Bahár I. (19) Shaikh Muhammad Násir-ud-Dín. (20) Makhdúm Hámid Nau Bahár (21) Makhdúm Mahmúd Násir-ud-Dín. (22) Hámid Muhammad Nau Bahár Shahíd. (23) Hámid Muhammad Nau Násir-ud-Dín. (24) Makhdúm Nau Bahár the present *Sajjáda Nashín.*

Gílání Sajjáda Nashíns.

The *Sajjáda Nashíns* of Uch Gíláni have been:—

(1) Shaikh Abdul Qádir II, son of Hazrat Bandagí. (2) Shaikh Abdur-Razzáq. (3) Shaikh Hámid Ganj Bakhsh I. (4) Shaikh Abdul Qádir III. (5) Shaikh Muhammad Shams-ud-Dín II. (6) Shaikh Abdul Qádir IV. (7) Sayyid Muhammad II. (8) Sayyid Murtazá Ali. (9) Shaikh Abdul Qádir V. (10) Shaikh Hámid Muhammad Ganj Bakhsh III. (11) Shaikh Hámid Muhammad Ganj Bakhsh IV. (12) Shaikh Hámid Muhammad Shams-ud-Dín III. (13) Shaikh Hámid Muhammad Ganj Bakhsh V. (14) Shaikh Hámid Muhammad Shams-ud-Dín IV. (15) Shaikh Hámid Muhammad Ganj Bakhsh VI. (16) Shaikh Shams-ud-Dín V, present *Sajjáda Nashín.*

Hindú Temples.

Uch Bukhárí has two Hindu Temples, namely, (1) Khetar Páljí, and (2) Gopí Náthjí.

Jamál Darwesh.

Uch Moghla, also known as Jamálí, after Shaikh Jamál Darwesh Khojandí is famous for the shrines of the said Darwesh, who was tutor to Makhdúm-i-Jahánián. Shaikh Jamál Darwesh was descended

CHAP. IV. Places of interest.

from Abú Huraira, the companion of the Prophet, thus :—Shaikh Jamál, son of Shaikh Hasan, son of Shaikh Abul Qásim Muhammad, son of Muhammad, son of Yahya, son of Hám, son of Idrís, son of Buhlol, son of Qází Hamdún, son of Háris, son of Abad, son of Hilál, son of Usmán, son of J'afar, son of Sulaimán, son of Abad, son of Zuhra, son of Huraira, son of Háshim, son of Abad Manáf. Shaikh Jamál died on 25th of Muharram 700 Hijra.

There are also the shrines of the following :—(1) Ganj Alam, son of Shaikh Jamál Darwesh, who was born in 667 Hijra and died in 770 Hijra. (2) Pir Hásham Qattál (an enclosure). (3) Salím Sudhár Faqír (an enclosure).

WINJHROT.

The fort of Winjhrot or Bijnot was erected by one Rája Wínjha or Bíja Bhátia according to Sayyid Murád Sháh, and it was demolished by Shaháb-ud-Dín Ghorí in 574 H.[1] But according to Col. Tod it was founded by Tunno, the father of Bijí Rái (the Bija of Murád Sháh) and grandfather of Deoráj, the founder of Deráwar. "Tunno having by the interposition of the goddess Beejasanni," says Col. Tod, "discovered a hidden treasure, erected a fortress, which he named Beejnote; and in this he placed a statue of the goddess, on the 13th, the enlightened part of the month Megsir, the Rohoni Nakshatra, S. 813 (A.D. 757)."[2]

1167 A.D.

757 A.D.

(1) Tarikh-i-Murad, I, p. 129 and III, p. 118.
(2) Rajasthan, II, p 189—90.

INDEX

A

B

C

D

G

I

K

O

P

Q

R

T